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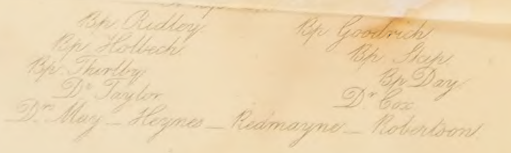

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BEING

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BY

CHARLES WHEATLY, M.A.

VICAR OF BRENT AND FURNEUX PELHAM IN HERTFORDSHIRE.

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THE PREFACE.

In a former edition of this book, which was printed in folio, I was at a loss in what manner I was to address the reader; that is, whether I was to bespeak his candour as to an entire new book, or whether only the continuance of it as to a new edition of an old one. I called it indeed the third edition in the title-page; though I think I had but little other reason for doing so, than my having twice published a treatise upon the same subject before. For scarce a fifth part of what I then offered to the world was printed from either of the former editions; nor had so much of them as I have mentioned been continued entire, had I foreseen how little I should have confined myself to the rest. But when it first went to the press, I had no other design than to have reprinted it exactly from the second edition; except that I had yielded to the request of the booksellers, who, being encouraged by the quick sale of two large impressions, in a smaller volume, were willing to run the hazard of one in a larger size. This was all the alteration I proposed: nor did I think of any other, till the introductory discourse, the whole first chapter, and great part of the second, were worked off from the press; which therefore, for the most part, stand just as they did before, and not in the method into which I should have thrown them, had I known from the beginning what alterations I should have made. However, the reader will have no reason to complain; since though the form would have been different, the arguments notwithstanding must have been much the same: and they sure will appear to a better advantage by standing entire, and in the light they are set by the authors themselves, from whom I have borrowed them, than if they had been broke into comments and notes, and produced in parcels, as the rubrics would have required; which was the method I afterwards thought fit to pursue.* For

* I desire that what I have said may be principally understood of the introductory discourse (which is almost verbally transcribed from Dr. Bennet's *Brief History of the joint Use of precomposed set Forms of Prayer*) and of the three first sections of the second chapter; for the first of which I am partly obliged to bishop Beveridge's Discourse on *The Necessity and Advantage of Public Prayer;* for the second to Dr. Cave's *Primitive Christianity;* and for the third to Mr. Roberts's excellent Sermon at the Primary Visitation of the late bishop of Exeter at Oakhampton. The two following sections of that chapter are pretty much in the method I afterwards observed, and so for the most part is the whole first chapter; for the first division of which (concerning the Tables and Rules) I must not forget to repeat the acknowledgments I have more than once made to the learned Dr. Brett.

when I observed at the close of the second chapter, (which is upon the general rubric concerning *The Order for Morning and Evening Prayer*,) that I had taken no notice in what part of the Church Divine Service should be performed, (the appointment of which was yet the principal design of the first part of that rubric,) I not only found it necessary to add a new section to supply that defect; but taking the hint, to examine how I had managed the rubrics in general, I perceived that I had been equally deficient in most of them; and that consequently, to make the work truly useful, the like additions would be necessary through the whole.

The occasion of this defect in the two first editions was owing to a neglect of those parts of our offices in all who had writ upon the Liturgy before me: for as I never, till the third edition, attempted any further than to give the substance and sum of what others had treated of more at large; it could not be expected, that the epitome, or abridgment, should give more light than the books from whence it was taken supplied. However, as I considered the price of my own book would then be very considerably advanced, I thought it but reasonable to make the purchaser what amends I was able, by putting it into his hands as complete as I could.

To this end I applied myself, in the first place, to the comparing our Liturgy, as it stands at present, with the first Common Prayer Book of King Edward VI., and with all the reviews that have been taken of it since; from whence, together with the history of compiling it, and of the several alterations it has undergone from time to time, I easily foresaw the rubrics would be best illustrated and explained. Nor have I found myself disappointed in the advantage I proposed; for I do not remember that I have met with a difficulty through the whole Common Prayer, but what I have been enabled, by this means, in some measure to remove.

And whilst I was upon these searches, it came into my mind, from the extravagant prices which the Old Common Prayer Books have borne of late, that it would not be unacceptable to the curious reader, to note the differences between them: wherever therefore I met with any variations, I have also been diligent to transcribe them at large, and to give the reason of the several changes: another improvement which I thought would be looked upon to be so much the more useful, as it furnished me with occasions of inquiring into several ancient usages of the Church, and of shewing how far we have advanced to, or gone back from, the primitive standard, since our first Reformation.

These are the two principal alterations which I observed: and though these perhaps may seem but slight at first mentioning, yet I can assure the reader, that from my first laying the design, I found that, instead of what I had at first undertaken, which was only the supervising a few sheets as they were worked off, I had got an entire new work upon my hands, and that I was to prepare for, as well as to correct from, the press. New additions I perceived were necessary to be made almost in every page, and where the old matter was continued, it was to be often transposed, and to be worked

up again in different parts of the book. So that neither of my former editions was, from the time above mentioned, of any other use to me in compiling of this, than any of the authors that lay open before me: except that what was scattered in different books, which treat some of them of one thing and some of another, I generally found ready collected in my own, which therefore for the most part saved me the trouble of new weaving the materials which others had supplied. Not that I took any advantage from hence to spare myself the pains of reading over again the several authors themselves; for I do not know that there was a single piece on the subject, how inconsiderable soever, but what I gave a fresh review, and with the utmost care, that not a hint should escape me, which I judged would be any ways worth observation. And yet I dare affirm that the whole that I borrowed from all who have writ professedly upon the Common Prayer, does not amount to near a fourth part of what the following sheets contain. Nor will it seem incredible, that every thing that is pertinent to my own design, should be reduced into so narrow a compass as I have mentioned; when it is considered that though the authors I made use of were numerous, yet the matters they treat of are generally the same; that some of them have printed the Liturgy itself, as well as their explanations and comments upon it; that they are most of them but small; and that in the two that are voluminous (Dr. Comber and Dr. Nichols) scarce an eighth part of either of them come within the limits I confined myself to. The bulk of the former consists in large Paraphrases and practical Discourses, which I wholly passed by: and if the latter has done nothing in a practical way, yet the repetition of his Paraphrases, where the same forms return in different offices, together with his enlarging upon subjects that a reader would never think to look for in a *Comment upon the Common Prayer*, have very much contributed to swell his work with materials that I judged might be spared, without any danger of its being thought a defect; especially since the omission of them made room for the enlarging upon other points much more pertinent to the subject of the book; and which indeed make the principal part of the whole, though most of them are touched upon but lightly, if at all, in any former direct *Exposition of the Liturgy*. To name all the particulars would be more ostentatious than useful; and therefore I shall only observe in general, that wherever I knew any point I was to mention, handled more particularly by authors who have made it their principal view, I always had recourse to them, and took the liberty of borrowing whatever contributed to the perfecting my scheme.

In such cases I have generally given notice in the margin to whom I have been beholden; though there is one thing perhaps in which I have been deficient, and that is, in not using sometimes the ordinary marks of distinction, when I have taken the words as well as the thoughts of my author: for it was always my rule when I could not mend an expression, not to do it an injury by changing it: and yet as I was frequently forced to transpose the order of his sentences, and to blend and mix with them what my own thoughts

supplied, it often came to pass, that when the paragraph was finished, I questioned whether the author, from whom most of it was taken, would acknowledge it to be his own.

And thus I have given the reader an account, as well of my first attempts on this subject, as of the further progress I made upon it when it came the third time to the press; which I have done, not so much for the sake of acquainting him with the old editions, as of informing him more distinctly what it is he may look for in the new ones. It will be a needless caution I suppose to add, that I shall stand to nothing that I have said before, any further than it agrees with the contents of the last: the particulars indeed are but few, as far as I can remember, where my notions are changed; but where they are, it is but common justice to take my sentiments from what I deliver upon maturer judgment; and not to expect I should always vindicate an error or mistake, because I once advanced it in a juvenile performance. I should have very ill bestowed the pains I took to review my original papers, (which was more a great deal than it cost me at first to collect and compile them; and which took up as many years as it would have done months, had they been only reprinted as they were before,) if they did not come out with some improvements at last. Not that I am so vain as to think, they are at last without faults and imperfections; I am sensible there are many; I can only plead that none willingly escaped me, and that wherever any escaped unwillingly, nobody could have been more industrious to find them. For in order to this, I not only, during the tedious delay that I then created to the press, examined the sheets upon every occasion that called the matter of them fresh to my mind; but also importuned the assistance and corrections of such learned friends as I knew were in no danger (except from too favourable an indulgence to the author) of overlooking the slightest mistakes.

And this I take to be the proper place to explain myself in relation to one passage particularly which I know has been thought to need the greatest amendment, though I have let it stand without making any. And indeed an explanation of it is so much the more needful, as it is not only judged to be indefensible in itself, but also to be inconsistent with what I have said in another part of the book. The passage I mean is concerning the Absolution in the daily Morning and Evening Service, which I have asserted to be "an actual conveyance of pardon, at the very instant of pronouncing it, to all that come within the terms proposed."* And again, that it "is more than DECLARATIVE, that it is truly EFFECTIVE; insuring and conveying to the proper subjects thereof the very absolution or remission itself."† This has been thought by some, from whose judgment I should be very unwilling to differ or recede, not only to carry the point higher than can be maintained, but also to be irreconcilable with my own notions of Absolution, as I have described them upon the office for the *Visitation of the Sick*, where they are thought to be more consistent with Scripture and

* Page 115. † Page 119, 120.

antiquity. I have there endeavoured to shew that there is no "standing authority in the Ministers of the Gospel, to pardon or forgive sins immediately and directly in relation to God, and as to which the censure of the Church had been in no wise concerned." * And again, "that no absolution pronounced by the Church can cleanse or do away our inward guilt, or remit the eternal penalties of sin, which are declared to be due to it by the sentence of God, any further than by the prayers which are appointed to accompany it, and by the use of those ordinances to which it restores us, it may be a means, in the end, of obtaining our pardon from God, himself, and the forgiveness of sin as it relates to him."† These passages, I acknowledge, as they are separated from their contexts, and opposed to one another, seem a little inconsistent and confusedly expressed: but if each of them are read in their proper places, and with that distinction of ideas which I had framed to myself when I writ them, I humbly presume they may be easily reconciled, and both of them asserted with equal truth. I desire it may be remembered that in the latter place I am speaking of a judicial and unconditional absolution, pronounced by the Minister in an indicative form, as of certain advantage to the person that receives it. By this I have supposed the Church never intends to cleanse or do away our inward guilt, but only to exercise an external authority, founded upon the power of the keys; which though it may be absolute, as to the inflicting and remitting the censures of the Church, I could not understand peremptorily to determine the state of the sinner in relation to God. And thus far I have the happiness to have the concurrence of good judges on my side; so that it is only in what I assert on the daily absolution, that I have the misfortune not to be accounted so clear. But, with humble submission, I can see nothing there inconsistent with what I have said on the other. The absolution I am speaking of is conditional, pronounced by the Priest in a declarative form, and limited to such as *truly repent and unfeignedly believe God's holy Gospel.* This indeed I have asserted to be effective, and that it insures and conveys to the proper subjects thereof the very absolution or remission itself: but then I desire it may be remembered that I attribute the effect of it not to a judicial, but to a ministerial act in the person who pronounces it: but to such an act however as is founded upon the general tenor of the Gospel, which supposes, if I mistake not, that God always accompanies the ministrations of the Priest, if there be no impediment on the part of the people. And therefore when the Priest, in the name of God, so solemnly declares to a congregation that has been humbly confessing their sins, and importuning the remission of them, that God does actually pardon all that *truly repent and unfeignedly believe;* why may not such of them as do repent and believe humbly presume that their pardon is sealed as well as made known by such declaration?

* Page 442. † Page 443.

I am sure this notion gives no encouragement either of presumption to the penitent, or of arrogance to the Priest: I have supposed that, to receive any benefit from the form, the person must come within the terms required: and such a one, though the form should have no effect, is allowed notwithstanding to be pardoned and absolved. And the Priest I have asserted to act only ministerially, as the instrument of Providence; that he can neither withhold, nor apply, the absolution as he pleases, nor so much as know upon whom or upon how many it shall take effect; but that he only pronounces what God commands, whilst God himself ratifies the declaration, and seals the pardon which he proclaims.

It is true, indeed, it does not appear by the ancient Liturgies, that the primitive Christians had any such absolution to be pronounced, as this is, to the congregation in general. But yet, if they had absolutions upon any occasion, and those absolutions were supposed to procure a reconcilement with GOD, (neither of which, I presume, will be thought to want a proof,) I see no reason why they may not be usefully admitted (as they are with us) into the daily and ordinary service of the Church. For allowing that the persons they were formerly used to, were such as had incurred ecclesiastical censure; yet it is confessed that the forms pronounced on those occasions immediately respected the conscience of the sinner, and not the outward regimen of the Church; that they were instrumental to procure the forgiveness of GOD, whilst the ecclesiastical bond was declared to be released by an additional ceremony of the imposition of hands.* If then absolutions, even in the earliest ages, were thought to be instrumental to procure GOD's forgiveness to such sins as had deserved ecclesiastical bonds; why may they not be allowed as instrumental and proper to procure his forgiveness to sins of daily incursion, though they may not be gross enough, or at least enough public, to come within the cognizance of ecclesiastical censures? If it be urged, that the ancient absolutions were never declarative, but either intercessional, like the prayer that follows the absolution in the office appointed for the *Visitation of the Sick*, or optative, like the form in our *Office of Communion;* I think it may be answered, that the effect of the absolution does not at all depend upon the form of it, since the promises of GOD are either way applied, and it must be the sinner's embracing them with repentance and faith, that must make the application of them effectual to himself.

I hope this explanation will justify my notions upon the daily absolution, as well as reconcile them with what I have said upon the other. I shall add nothing more in defence of them, than that they seem fully to be countenanced by the form itself, (as I have shewed at large upon the place,) and particularly by the inhibition of Deacons from pronouncing it:† which to me is an argument that our Church designed it for an effect, which it was

* See Dr. Marshall's Penitential Discipline, page 93, &c. See also the forms of Absolution in his Appendix, numb. 4, 5, 6, 7. † See page 120, &c.

beyond the commission of a Deacon to convey. Not that I would draw an argument from the opinion of our Church, where that opinion seems repugnant to Scripture or antiquity: but where it does not appear to be inconsistent with either, I think her decision should be allowed a due weight. Wherever I have found or suspected her to differ from one or the other, the reader will observe I have not covered or disguised it; but on the contrary perhaps have been too hasty and forward, and too unguarded in my remarks. But TRUTH was what I aimed at through my whole undertaking; which therefore I was resolved at any hazard to assert just as it appeared to me. It is not at all indeed unlikely that in so many points as the nature of this work has led me to consider, some things may appear as truths to me, which others, who have better opportunities of inquiring into them, may find to be otherwise: and therefore I can only profess that I have not advanced any thing but what I have believed to be true; and that if I am any where in an error, I shall be always open to conviction, let the person that attempts it be adversary or friend; since if truth can be attained to by any means at last, I shall not value from whom or from whence it proceeds: though I cannot but say, the satisfaction will be the greater if it appear on the side which our Church has espoused, notwithstanding the discovery may possibly demand some retractations on my own part, which in such case I shall always be ready to make, and think it a happiness to find myself mistaken.

In the mean while, I request that where I am allowed to be right, I may not meet with the less favour, because I have shewed myself fallible; and particularly I would importune my reverend brethren of the CLERGY, (upon whose countenance the success of this work must depend,) that if the Rubrics especially have been any where cleared, and with proper arguments enforced, they would join their assistance to make my endeavours of some service to the CHURCH. For it will be but of very little use to have illustrated the rule, unless they also concur to make the practice more uniform. And indeed I would hope that a small importunity would be sufficient to prevail with them, when they see what disgrace their compliances have brought both upon the Liturgy and themselves; since not only the occasional offices are now in several places prostituted to the caprice of the people, to be used where, and when, and in what manner they please; but even the daily and ordinary service is more than the Clergy themselves know how to perform in any Church but their own, before they have been informed of the particular custom of the place.

But I would not presume to dictate to those from whom it would much better become me to learn: and therefore I shall only observe further with regard to the citations I have had occasion to make, that I have but very seldom set down any of them at large, because I was willing to avoid all unnecessary means of swelling the book. Besides, I considered, that though I should cite them ever so distinctly, yet those who understand not the language they

were written in, must take my word for the meaning of them at last: and those who are capable of reading the originals, I supposed, would turn to the books themselves for any thing they should doubt of, how careful soever I should have been in transcribing them; so that I thought it sufficient to be exact in my references, as to the tome, and page, and marginal letter, and then to insert a general table of the ecclesiastical writers, which should once for all shew the editions that I have used.* The reason of my adding the times when the writers flourished, was, that my less learned reader might gather from thence the antiquity of the several rites and ceremonies I had occasion to treat of, by consulting when those authors lived who are produced in defence of them.

* If I have any where made use of a different edition, I have taken care to specify it in the citation itself.

AN ALPHABETICAL INDEX

OF THE

ECCLESIASTICAL WRITERS CITED IN THIS BOOK;

WITH THE TIMES WHEN THEY FLOURISHED, AND THE EDITIONS MADE USE OF.

Alcuin, A. D. 780. De Offic. Divin. Paris. 1610.
Ambrose, A. D. 374. Opera, ed. Bened. Paris. 1686.
Arnobius, A. D. 303. Adv. Gentes. Lugd. Bat. 1651.
Athanasius, A. D. 326. Opera, ed. Benedict. Paris. 1698.
Athenagoras, A. D. 177. Legatio by Dechair. Oxon. 1706.
Augustin, A. D. 396. Opera, ed. Benedict. Paris. 1679.
Basil the Great, A. D. 370. Opera. Paris. 1638.
Bernard, A. D. 1115. Opera. Paris. 1640.
Canons called Apostolical, most of them composed before A. D. 300. By Coteler. Antwerp. 1698.
Cedrenus, A. D. 1056. Histor. Compend. Paris. 1649.
Chrysostom, A. D. 398. Opera, ed. Savil. Eton. 1612.
Clemens of Alexandria, A. D. 192. Opera. Paris. 1629.
Clemens of Rome, A. D. 65. Epistolæ by Wotton. Cant. 1718.
Codex Theodosianus, A. D. 438. Lugd. 1665.
Constitutions called Apostolical, about A. D. 450. By Coteler. Antwerp. 1698.
Cyprian, A. D. 248. Opera by Fell. Oxon. 1682.
Cyril of Jerusalem, A. D. 350. Opera by Mills. Oxon. 1703.
Dionysius of Alexandria, A. D. 254. Epist. adv. Paul. Sam. Paris. 1610.
Dionysius, falsely called the Areopagite, A. D. 362. Opera. Paris. 1615.
Durandus Mimatensis, A. D. 1286. Rationale. Lugd. 1612.
Durantus. De Rit. Eccles. Cath. Rom. 1591.
Epiphanius, A. D. 368. Opera. Paris. 1622.
Euagrius Scholasticus, A. D. 594. Eccles. Histor. Paris. 1673.
Eusebius, A. D. 315. Opera. Paris. 1659.
Gennadius Massiliens, A. D. 495. De Eccles. Dogmat. Hamb. 1614.
Gratian, A. D. 1131. Opera. Paris. 1601.
Gregory the Great, A. D. 590. Opera. Paris. 1675.
Gregory Nazianzen, A. D. 370. Opera. Paris. 1630.
Gregory Nyssen, A. D. 370. Opera. Paris. 1615.
Hierom or Jerome, A. D. 378. Opera, edit. Ben. Paris. 1704.
Ignatius, A. D. 101. Opera by Smith. Oxon. 1709.
Irenæus, A. D. 167. Adv. Hæres. by Grabe. Oxon. 1702.
Isidore Hispalensis, A. D. 595. Opera. Paris. 1601.
Isidore Peleusiota, A. D. 412. Opera. Paris. 1638.
Justin Martyr, A. D. 140. Apol. 1. by Grabe. Oxon. 1700. Opera. Paris. 1615.
Lactantius, A. D. 303. Opera by Spark. Oxon. 1684.
Micrologus, A. D. 1080. De Eccles. Observ. Paris. 1610.

Minucius Felix, A. D. 220. Octavius by Davis. Cant. 1712.
Nicephorus Calistus, A. D. 1333. Eccles. Histor. Paris. 1630.
Optatus Milevitanus, A. D. 368. Opera. Paris. 1679.
Origen, A. D. 230. Opera Latine. Paris. 1604.
Paulinus, A. D. 420. Lib. contr. Felic. Paris. 1610.
Paulus Diaconus, A. D. 757. Opera. Paris. 1611.
Polycarp, A. D. 108. Ep. ad Phil. by Smith. Oxon. 1709.
Pontius Diaconus, A. D. 251. Vita S. Cypr. before St. Cyprian's Works. Oxon. 1682.
Proclus, A. D. 434. De Trad. Div. Lit. Paris. 1560.
Ruffinus, A. D. 390. In Symbolum at the end of St. Cyprian's Works.
Socrates, A. D. 439. Eccles. Histor. Paris. 1668.
Sozomen, A. D. 440. Eccles. Histor. Paris. 1668.
Synesius, A. D. 410. Opera. Paris. 1631.
Tatian, A. D. 172. Orat. ad Gr. by Worth. Oxon. 1700.
Tertullian, A. D. 192. Opera by Rigaltius. Paris. 1675.
Theodoret, A. D. 423. Opera. Paris. 1642.
Theodosius Junior. See *Codex Theodosianus.*
Theophilus Antiochen, A. D. 168. Ad Autolyc. by Fell. Oxon. 1684.
Theophylact, A. D. 1077. Commentarii. Paris. 1631.

COUNCILS.

By Labbée and Cossart, in 15 *tomes. Paris.* 1671.

Agathense, A. D. 506.
Aurelianense 1, A. D. 511.
Bracharense 1, A. D. 563.
Calchutense, A. D. 787.
Carthaginense 3, A. D. 252.
Carthaginense 4, A. D. 253.
Constantinop. 2, Gen. A. D. 381.
Constant. 6, Gen. See *Quini-sextum.*
Eliberitanum, A. D. 305.
Gerundense 1, A. D. 517.
Laodicenum, A. D. 367.
Milevitan. 1, A. D. 402.
Neocæsariense, A. D. 315.
Nicenum 1, Gen. A. D. 325.
Orleance 1. See *Aurelianense* 1.
Placentinum, A. D. 1095.
Quini-sextum in Trullo, A. D. 692.
Rhemense 2, A. D. 813.
Sardicense, A. D. 347.
Toletanum 3, A. D. 589.
Triburiense, A. D. 895.
Trullan. See *Quini-sextum.*
Vasense 1, A. D. 442.
Vasense 2, A. D. 529.

A

RATIONAL ILLUSTRATION

OF THE

BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER.

AN INTRODUCTORY DISCOURSE,

SHEWING THE LAWFULNESS AND NECESSITY OF A NATIONAL PRECOMPOSED LITURGY.

Most of the objections urged by the Dissenters against the Church of England, to justify their separation from it, being levelled against its form and manner of divine worship, prescribed in the *Book of Common Prayer*, &c., are, in the following Discourse, answered, as fully as its brevity would permit. So that, though the principal design of this book be to instruct such as are friends to our Church and Liturgy; yet it is not impossible but that, by the blessing of God, it may in some measure contribute to the undeceiving some that are enemies to both, (such I mean as are disaffected to the former, upon no other account, than a prejudice to the latter;) especially could we, by first convincing them of the *Lawfulness and Necessity of National precomposed* Liturgies in general, prevail with them to take an impartial view of what is here offered in behalf of our own. To this end therefore, and to make the following sheets of as general use as I can, I shall, by way of Introduction, endeavour to prove these three things; viz.

I. First, That the ancient Jews, our Saviour, his Apostles, and the primitive Christians, never joined (as far as we can prove) in any prayers, but precomposed set forms only.

II. Secondly, That those precomposed set forms, in which they joined, were such as the respective congregations were accustomed to, and thoroughly acquainted with.

III. Thirdly, That their practice warrants the imposition of a National precomposed Liturgy.

I. FIRST, I am to prove that the ancient Jews, our Saviour, his Apostles, and the primitive Christians, never joined (as far as we can prove) in any prayers, but precomposed set forms only. And this I shall do by shewing,

1. First, That they did join in precomposed set forms of prayer.

2. Secondly, That (as far as we can conjecture) they never joined in any other.

1. First, I shall shew that the ancient Jews, our Saviour, his Apostles, and the primitive Christians, *did join in precomposed set forms of prayer.*

1st, To begin with the Jews, we find that the first piece of solemn worship recorded in Scripture is a hymn of praise, composed by Moses upon the deliverance of the children of Israel from the Egyptians, which was sung by all the congregation alternately; by Moses and the men first, and afterwards by Miriam and the women:[1] which could not have been done unless it had been a precomposed set form. Again, in the expiation of an uncertain murder, the elders of the city which is next to the slain are expressly commanded to say, and consequently to join in saying, a form of prayer, precomposed by God himself.[2] And in other places of Scripture[3] we meet with several other forms of prayer, precomposed by God, and prescribed by Moses; which though they were not to be joined in by the whole congregation, are yet sufficient precedents for the use of precomposed set forms. But further, the Scriptures assure us, that David appointed the *Levites to stand every morning to thank and praise the Lord, and likewise at even*,[4] which rule was observed in the temple afterwards built by Solomon, and restored at the building of the second temple after the captivity.[5] Lastly, the whole book of Psalms were forms of prayer and praise, indited by the Holy Ghost, for the joint use of the congregation; as appears as well from the titles of several of the Psalms,[6] as from other places of Scripture.

Innumerable proofs might be brought, both ancient and modern, that the Jews did always worship God by precomposed set forms: but the world is fully satisfied of this truth, from the concurrent testimonies of Josephus, Philo, Paul

[1] Exod. xv. 1, 20, 21. [2] Deut. xxi. 7, 8. [3] Numb. vi. 22, &c. chap. x. 35, 36. Deut. xxvi. 3, 5, &c. ver. 13, &c. [4] 1 Chron. xxiii. 30. [5] Neh. xii. 44, 45, 46. [6] See Psal. xlii., xliv., &c. Psal. iv., v., vi., &c. Psal. xcii. [7] 1 Chron. xvi. 7. 2 Chron. xxix. 30. Ezra iii. 10, 11.

Fagius, Scaliger, Buxtorf, and Selden in Eutychium. The reader may consult two learned men of our own, viz. Dr. Hammond (who both proves that the Jews used set forms, and that their prayers and praises, &c. were in the same order as our Common Prayer[8]) and Dr. Lightfoot, who not only asserts they worshipped God by stated forms, but also sets down both the order and method of their hymns and supplications.[9] So that there is no more reason to doubt of their having and using a precomposed settled Liturgy, than of our own having and using the Book of Common Prayer, &c., and of its consisting of precomposed set forms. We shall therefore proceed in the next place to inquire into the practice of our Saviour, his Apostles, and the primitive Christians.

And, 1st, for our Saviour; there is not the least doubt to be made, but that he continued always in communion with the Jewish Church, and was zealous and exemplary in their public devotions; and consequently took all opportunities of joining in those precomposed set forms of prayer, which were daily used in the Jewish congregations, as the learned Dr. Lightfoot has largely proved.[10] And we may be sure, that had not our Saviour very constantly attended their public worship, and joined in the devotions of their congregations, the scribes and Pharisees, his bitter and implacable enemies, and great zealots for the temple-service, would doubtless have cast it in his teeth, and reproached him as an ungodly wretch, that despised prayer, &c. But nothing of this nature do we find in the whole New Testament; and therefore, had we no other grounds than these to go upon, we might safely conclude, that our blessed Saviour was a constant attendant on the public service of the Jews, and consequently that he joined in precomposed set forms of prayer.

And, 2ndly, as to the Apostles and our Lord's other disciples, their practice was doubtless the same till our Saviour's ascension; after which (besides that they did probably still join as before in the Jewish worship,[11] which consisted of precomposed set forms) it is plain that they used precomposed set forms in their Christian assemblies, during the remainder of their lives.

As the primitive Christians also did in the following ages: as will appear,

[8] View of the Directory, p. 136, and his Oxford Papers, p. 260, vol. i. [9] Dr. Lightfoot's Works, vol. i. p. 922, 942, 946. [10] Ibid. vol. ii. part ii. p. 1036, &c. [11] See Acts iii. 1. xiii. 15. xvii. 2.

1. From their joining in the use of the Lord's prayer.
2. From their joining in the use of Psalms.
3. From their joining in the use of divers precomposed set forms of prayer, besides the Lord's prayer and Psalms.

1. They joined in the use of the Lord's prayer. And this is sufficiently evident from our Saviour's having commanded them so to do: for whatever dispute may be made about the word οὕτως, in St. Matthew vi. 9, which is translated not exactly, but paraphrastically, *after this manner*, but ought with greater accuracy to be rendered *so*, or *thus*;[12] yet if we should grant that our Lord in this place only proposed this prayer as a directory and pattern to make our other prayers by, we should still find afterwards, upon another occasion, viz. when his disciples requested him to *teach them to pray, as John had also taught his disciples*, he prescribed the use of these very words; expressly bidding them, *When ye pray, say, Our Father*.[13] I suppose nobody hath so mean an opinion, either of St. John's or our Saviour's disciples, as to think they were ignorant how to pray: therefore it is plain they could mean nothing else by their request, but that Christ would give them this peculiar form, as a badge of their belonging to him; according to the custom of the Jewish Doctors, who always taught their disciples a peculiar form to add to their own;[14] so that either our Saviour instructed them to use this very form of words, or else he did not answer the design of their requests.

But it is objected, that "if our Lord had intended this prayer should be used as a set form, he would not have added the *Doxology*, when he delivered it at one time, as it is recorded in St. Matthew, and omit it, when he delivered it upon another occasion, as in St. Luke."

But to this we answer, That learned men are very much divided in their opinions, concerning the Doxology in St. Matthew; some thinking it is, and others that it is not, a part of the original text. Whether it be or be not, we need not here dispute, but argue with our adversaries upon either supposition.

For, 1st, if they think it is *not* a part of the original text,

[12] In which signification it is always used in the Septuagint Version of the Bible, as appears by comparing Numb. vi. 23. xxiii. 5. Isa. viii. 11. xxviii. 16. xxx. 15. xxxvii. 33. and some other places, with Numb. xxiii. 16. Isaiah xxx. 12. xxxvii. 21. liii. 3. For in the former texts, οὔτω λέγει ὁ Κύριος, *thus saith the Lord*, bears the same signification as τάδε λέγει ὁ Κύριος, *this saith the Lord*, in the latter. [13] Luke xi. 1, 2, &c. [14] Dr. Lightfoot, vol. ii. p. 158.

then their objection is groundless: for there is nothing found in one Evangelist, but what is also found in the other; and the form, as to the sense of it, is exactly the same in both: for though one or two expressions may differ, yet the Syriac words, in which we know our Lord delivered it, are equally capable of both translations.

But, 2ndly, if they think the Doxology is a part of the original text; we answer, The addition of it is as good an argument against the Lord's prayer being a directory for the matter of prayer, as it can be against its being an established set form of prayer. For we may say, in the language of our adversaries, if Christ had intended his prayer for a directory for the matter of prayer, he would not have given such different directions, ordering us to add a Doxology to the end of our prayers at one time, and omitting that order at another. If therefore the addition of the Doxology be (as they must grant upon their own principles) no objection against its being a directory for the matter of prayer; then certainly it is no objection against its being an established set form. For the difference of our prayers will be every whit as great in following this pattern, by sometimes omitting and sometimes adding a Doxology at the end of our prayers, as it can possibly be, by using the Lord's prayer, sometimes with, and at other times without, the Doxology. The utmost therefore that can be concluded from the Doxology's being a part of the original text in St. Matthew, is this: That our Lord, though he commanded the use of the Lord's prayer, does not insist upon the use of the Doxology, but leaves it indifferent; or at most, orders it to be sometimes used, and sometimes omitted, as our established Church practises. But the other essential parts of the prayer are to be used notwithstanding; it being very absurd to omit the use of the whole, because the latter part of it is not enjoined to be used constantly with the rest.

But it is further objected, 1st, That, "supposing our Saviour did prescribe it as a form; yet it was only *for a time*, till they should be more fully instructed, and enabled to pray by the assistance of the Holy Ghost." And to urge this with the greater force, they tell us, 2ndly, "That before Christ's ascension, the disciples had asked nothing *in his name*,[15] whereas they were taught, that after his ascension they should offer up all their prayers in his name.[16] Now this prayer, say

[15] John xvi. 24. [16] John xiv. 13. and chap. xvi. 23.

they, having nothing of his name in it, could not be designed to be used after his ascension." Accordingly they tell us, 3rdly, "That though we read in the Acts of the Apostles of several prayers made by the Church, yet we find not any intimation, that they ever used this form."[17]

Whatever resemblances of truth these objections may seem to carry with them at first sight, if we look narrowly into them, we shall find them to be grounded upon principles as dangerous as false.

For, 1st, If, because our Saviour hath not in express words commanded this form of prayer to be used for ever, we conclude that it was only prescribed *for a time*; we must necessarily allow, that whatever Christ hath instituted without limitation of time does not always oblige; and, consequently, we may declare Christ's institutions to be null without his authority; and at that rate cry down baptism and the Lord's supper for temporary prescriptions, as well as the Lord's prayer.

In answer to the second objection, we may observe, that to pray *in Christ's name*, is to pray in his mediation; depending upon his merits and intercession for the acceptance of our prayers; and therefore prayers may be offered up in Christ's name, though we do not name him. And as for the Lord's prayer, it is so framed, that it is impossible to offer it up, unless it be in the name of Christ: for we have no right or title to call God *our* Father, unless it be through the merits and mediation of Jesus Christ; who hath made us *heirs of God, and joint-heirs with himself*. And therefore Christ's not inserting his own name in his prayer, does by no means prove, that he did not design it for a standing form.

And, 3rdly, as to the objection of the Scriptures not once intimating the use of this prayer, in those places where it speaks of others; we might answer, that we may as well conclude from the silence of the Scripture, that the Apostles did not baptize *in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost*, as that they did not use this prayer; since they had as strict a command to do the one as the other. But besides, in all those places, except two,[18] there is nothing else mentioned, but that they prayed; no mention at all of the words of their prayers; and therefore there is no reason why we

[17] Chap. i. 24. ii. 42. iv. 24. vi. 6. viii. 15. xii. 12. xiii. 3. xx. 36. [18] Acts i. 24. and chap. iv. 24.

should expect a particular intimation of the Lord's prayer. And as for those prayers mentioned in the aforesaid places, I do not see how they can prove from thence, that they were offered up in the name of Christ.

But, lastly, it is objected, that "the words of this prayer are improper to be used now; because therein we pray that God's *kingdom* may *come* now, which came many ages since, viz. at our Saviour's ascension into heaven."

But in answer to this, I think it sufficient to observe, that though the foundations of God's kingdom were laid then, yet it is not yet completed. For since we know that all the world must be converted to Christianity, and the Jews, Turks, and Infidels still make up the far greater part of it, we have as much reason upon this account to pray for the coming of God's kingdom now as ever. And if we consider those parts of the world which have already embraced Christianity, I cannot think it improper to pray, that they may sincerely practise what they believe; which conduces much more to the advancement of God's kingdom, than a bare profession does without such practice.

Since therefore, from what has been said, it appears that our Saviour prescribed the Lord's prayer as a standing form, and commanded his Apostles and other disciples to use it as such; it is not to be suspected but that they observed this command; especially since the accounts which we have from antiquity do (though the Scriptures be silent in the matter) fully prove it to have been their constant custom; as appears by a numerous cloud of witnesses, who conspire in attesting this truth: of which I shall only instance in a few.

And first, Tertullian was, without all doubt, of opinion, that Christ delivered the Lord's prayer, not as a directory only, but as a precomposed set form, to be used by all Christians. For he says, "[19]The Son taught us to pray, Our Father, which art in heaven;" i. e. he taught us to use the Lord's prayer. And speaking of the same prayer, he says, "[20]Our Lord gave his new disciples of the New Testament a new form of prayer." He calls it, "[20]The prayer appointed by Christ," and "[21]The prayer appointed by Law," (for so the word *legitima* must be rendered,) and "the ordinary" (i. e. the usual and customary) "prayer which is to be said before our other prayers; and upon which, as a foundation, our other prayers are to be

[19] Adv. Prax. c. 23, p. 514, A. [20] De Orat. c. i. p. 129, A. [21] Ibid. c. ix. p. 133, B.

built:" and tells us, that "[22] the use of it was ordained by our Saviour."

Next, St. Cyprian [23] tells us, that "Christ himself gave us a form of prayer, and commanded us to use it; because, when we speak to the Father in the Son's words, we shall be more easily heard;" and that "[24] there is no prayer more spiritual or true than the Lord's prayer." And therefore he most earnestly [25] exhorts men to the use of it as often as they pray.

Again, St. Cyril of Jerusalem calls it, "[26] the prayer which Christ gave his disciples, and [27] which God hath taught us."

About the same time Optatus takes it for granted that it is commanded.[28]

After him, St. Chrysostom calls it, "[29] the prayer enjoined by laws, and brought in by Christ."

In the same century St. Austin tells us, "[30] that our Saviour gave it to the Apostles, to the intent that they should use it: that he taught it his disciples himself, and by them he taught it us; that he dictated it to us, as a lawyer would put words in his client's mouth; that it is necessary for all, i. e. such as all were bound to use; and that we cannot be God's children, unless we use it."

Lastly, St. Gregory Nyssen says, "[31] that Christ shewed his disciples how they should pray, by the words of the Lord's prayer." And Theodoret assures us, that "[32] the Lord's prayer is a form of prayer, and that Christ has commanded us to use it." But testimonies of this kind are numberless.

If therefore the judgment of the ancient Fathers may be relied on, who knew the practice of the Apostles much better than we can pretend to do; we may dare to affirm, that the Apostles did certainly *use* the Lord's prayer: and if it be granted that they used it, we may reasonably suppose that they *joined* in the use of it. For, besides that it is very improbable that a Christian assembly should, in their public devotions, omit that prayer which was the badge of their discipleship; the very petitions of the prayer, running all along in the plural number, do evidently shew, that it was primarily designed for the joint use of a congregation.

That the *Christians of the first centuries* used it in their

[22] De Orat. c. ix. p. 133, A. [23] De Orat. Domin. p. 139. [24] Ibid. [25] Ibid. p. 139, 140. [26] Catech. Mystag. 5, §. 8, p. 298, lin. 12, &c. [27] Ibid. §. 15, p. 300, lin. 24. [28] De Schism. Donatist. l. 4, p. 88. [29] Hom. II. in 2 Cor. tom. iii. p. 553, lin. 21, 22. [30] Ep. 157, tom. ii. col. 543, B. et Serm. 58, tom. v. col. 337, D. E. [31] De Orat. Domin. Orat. 1, tom. i. p. 712, B. [32] Hæret. Fabul. lib. 5, cap. 28, tom. iv. p. 316, B.

assemblies, is evident from its being always used in the celebration of the Lord's supper,[33] which for some ages was performed every day.[34] And St. Austin tells us in express words, that "[35] it was said at God's altar every day." So that, without enlarging any more, I shall look upon it as sufficiently proved, that the Apostles and primitive Christians did join in the use of the Lord's prayer; which is one plain argument that they joined in the use of precomposed set forms of prayer. Another argument I shall make use of to prove it, is,

2. Their joining in the use of *Psalms*. For we are told, that Paul[36] and Silas, when they were in prison, *prayed and sang praises to God*. And this we must suppose they did audibly, because *the prisoners heard them*, and consequently they would have disturbed each other, had they not united in the same prayers and praises.

Again, St. Paul blames the Corinthians, because, when they came together, *every one had a psalm, had a doctrine*,[37] &c. Where we must not suppose that he forbad the use of psalms in public worship, any more than he did the use of doctrines, &c.; but that he is displeased with them for not having the psalm all together, i. e. for not *joining* in it; that so the whole congregation might attend one and the same part of divine service at the same time. From whence we may conclude, that the use of psalms was a customary thing, and that the Apostle approved of it; only ordering them to *join* in the use of them, which we may reasonably suppose they did for the future; since we find by the Apostle's second Epistle to them, that they reformed their abuses.

Thus also in his Epistle to the Ephesians,[38] the Apostle exhorts them *to speak to themselves with psalms, and hymns, and spiritual songs, singing and making melody in their hearts to the Lord*. And he bids the Colossians[39] *teach and admonish one another in psalms, and hymns, and spiritual songs, singing with grace in their hearts to the Lord*. From all which texts of Scripture, and several others that might be alleged, we must necessarily conclude, that joint psalmody was instituted by the Apostles, as a constant part of divine worship.

And that the primitive Christians continued it, is a thing so notorious, that it seems wholly needless to cite any testimonies

[33] Cyril. Hieros. (as before quoted in note [26] and [27], page foregoing). Hieron. adv. Pelag. lib. 3, cap. 5, tom. ii. p. 596, C. August. Epist. 149, tom. ii. col. 505, C. [34] Cyprian. de Orat. Dom. p. 147. Basil. Epist. 289, tom. iii. p. 279, A. B. [35] Serm. 58, cap. 10, t. v. col. 342, F. [36] Acts xvi. 25. [37] 1 Cor. xiv. 26. [38] Chap. v. 19. [39] Col. iii. 16.

to prove it: I shall therefore only point to such places at the bottom of the page,[40] as will sufficiently satisfy any, that will think it worth their while to consult them.

The practice therefore of the Apostles and primitive Christians, in joining in the use of psalms, is another intimation, that they joined in the use of precomposed set forms of prayer. For though all psalms be not prayers, because some of them are not spoken to God; yet it is certain a great part of them are, because they are immediately directed to him; as is evident, as well from the psalms of David, as from several Christian hymns:[41] and, consequently, the Apostles and primitive Christians, by jointly singing such psalms in their congregations, did join in the use of precomposed set forms of prayer. It only remains then that I prove,

3. That they joined in the use of *divers precomposed set forms of prayer*, besides the Lord's prayer and psalms.

And 1st, as to the Apostles, we are told that Peter and John, after they had been threatened, and commanded not to preach the Gospel, *went to their own company, and reported all that the chief priests and elders had said unto them. And when they heard that, they lift up their voice to God with one accord, and said, Lord, thou art God*,[42] &c.

Now in this place we are told, that *the whole company lift up their voice with one accord, and said*, (i. e. they joined all together with audible voices in using these words,) *Lord, thou art God*, &c.; which they could not possibly have done, unless the prayer they used was a precomposed set form. For whatever may be said in favour of joining mentally, with a prayer conceived extempore; I suppose nobody will contend, that it is possible for a considerable congregation to join vocally or aloud, as the Apostles and their company are here said to have done, in a prayer so conceived.

But some may object, that "though it is affirmed, that the whole company *lift up their voice*, and said the prayer here mentioned; yet it is possible that one only might do so in the name of all the rest, who joined mentally with him, though not in an audible manner." To this we answer, That the

[40] Plin. Epist. l. 10, Ep. 97, p. 284. Oxon. 1703. Euseb. Eccl. Hist. lib. 5, c. 28, p. 196, A. Just. Mart. Epist. ad Zen. et Seren. p. 509, A. Cyril. Hieros. Catech. 13, §. 3, p. 180, lin. 9, &c. Catech. Mystag. 5, §. 17, p. 300, lin. 34, &c. Socr. Hist. Eccl. l. 2. c. 11, p. 89, A. Athanas. ad Marcellin. Epist. §. 27, t. i. par. 2, p. 999, B.—All these, and many others, mention the Church's using psalms in the public assemblies, as a practice that had universally obtained from the times of the Apostles. [41] As St. Ambrose's Te Deum, and the like. [42] Acts iv. 23, 24.

Scripture never attributes that to a whole congregation or multitude, which is literally true of a single person only, except in such cases, where the thing related requires the consent of the whole multitude, but could not conveniently be performed or done by every one of them in their own persons. But I suppose no one will pretend, either that it was impossible for the Apostles and their company to lift up their voice, and say the prayers recited in the context, or that God could not hear or understand them when speaking all together.

But that which puts the matter out of all doubt, is the following consideration, viz. that the company is not barely said to have lift up their voice, but to have lift it up [ὁμοθυμαδὸν] *with one accord*, or all together; which adverb is so placed, that it cannot be joined to any other verb than ἦραν; and nothing is more evident, than that this adverb implies and denotes a conjunction of persons; and consequently, since it is here applied to all the company, and particularly to that action of theirs, viz. their lifting up their voice; it is manifest that they did all of them lift up their respective voices, and that they could not be said to have lift up their voices in that sense which this objection supposes, viz. by appointing one person to lift up his single voice for them all. For if they did so, then the historian's words must signify, that the whole congregation lift up their voice together, by appointing one man to lift up his particular voice in conjunction with himself alone; which is such nonsense, as cannot, without blasphemy, be imputed to an inspired writer. So that it is undeniably plain, that the persons here said to have been present, uttered their prayer all together, and spake all at the same time; and consequently, that the prayer must be a precomposed set form.

If any person should be so extravagant as to imagine, that "the whole congregation was inspired at that very instant with the same words; and, consequently, that they might all of them break forth at once, and join vocally in the same prayer, though it were not precomposed;" we need only reply, that this assertion is utterly groundless, having neither any show of reason, nor so much as one example in all history to warrant it.

But it may perhaps be objected, that "the Apostles and their company could have no notice of this unforeseen accident; and therefore could not be prepared with such a precomposed set form of thanksgiving; and that it was uttered so soon after the relation of what had befallen the Apostles, that if it

had been composed upon that occasion, it seems impossible that copies of it should have been delivered out for the company to be so far acquainted with it, as immediately to join vocally in it." To which we answer, (1.) That since we have evidently proved, from their joining vocally in it, that it must have been a precomposed set form; it lies upon our adversaries to answer our argument, more than it does upon us to account for this difficulty; for a difficulty, though it could not be easily accounted for, is by no means sufficient to confront and overthrow a clear demonstration. But, (2.) this difficulty is not so great as it may at first appear: for there is nothing in the whole prayer, but what might properly be used every day by a Christian congregation, so long as the powers of the world were opposing and threatening such as preached the Gospel, and the miraculous gifts of the Holy Ghost were continued in the Church: so that those who think this prayer to have been conceived and used on that emergency only, and never either before or after, do, in reality, beg the question, and take that for granted which they cannot prove. For the Scripture says nothing like it, nor do the circumstances require it; and therefore it is very probable that it was a standing form, well known in the Church, and frequently used, as occasion offered: and, consequently, upon this occasion, (on which it is manifest it was highly seasonable and proper,) they immediately brake forth, and vocally uttered, and jointly said it, and perhaps added it to their other daily devotions, which, we may very well suppose, they used at the same time, though the historian takes no notice of it.

There remains still another objection, which may possibly be made, viz. that "the holy Scriptures, when they relate what was spoken, especially by a multitude, do not always give us the very words that were spoken, but only the sense of them; and accordingly in this instance, perhaps the congregation did not jointly offer up that very prayer, but when they had heard what the Apostles told them, they might all break out at one and the same time into vocal prayer, and every man utter words much to the same sense, though they might not join in one and the same form." But to remove this objection, we need only reflect upon the intolerable confusion such a practice must of necessity cause; for that they all prayed vocally, has been evidently proved: if therefore they did not join in the same prayer, but offer up every man different words, though

to the same sense: it must necessarily follow, that the whole company would, instead of uniting in their devotions, interrupt and distract each other's prayers.

How much more reasonable then is it to believe, that the Apostles and their company, who then prayed all together vocally, upon so solemn an occasion, did really use the same prayer, and join in the same words! And if so, then the argument already offered is a demonstration that they joined in a precomposed set form of prayer, besides the Lord's prayer and psalms.

And that the primitive Christians did very early use precomposed set forms in their public worship, is evident from the names given to their public prayers; for they are called the *common prayers*,[43] *constituted prayers*,[44] and *solemn prayers*.[45] But that which puts the matter out of all doubt, are the *Liturgies* ascribed to St. Peter, St. Mark, and St. James; which, though corrupted by later ages, are doubtless of great antiquity. For besides many things which have a strong relish of that age, that of St. James was of great authority in the Church of Jerusalem in St. Cyril's time, who has a comment upon it still extant,[46] which St. Jerome says was writ in his younger years:[47] and it is not probable that St. Cyril would have taken the pains to explain it, unless it had been of general use in the Church; which we cannot suppose it could have obtained in less than seventy or eighty years. Now St. Cyril was chosen Bishop of Jerusalem either in the year 349 or 351; to which office, it is very well known, seldom any were promoted before they were pretty well in years. If therefore he writ his comment upon this Liturgy in his younger years, we cannot possibly date it later than the year 340; and then, allowing the Liturgy to have obtained in the Church about eighty years, it necessarily follows that it must have been composed in the year 260, which was not above 160 years after the apostolical age. It is declared by Proclus[48] and the sixth general Council,[49] to be of St. James's own composing. And that there are forms of worship in it as ancient as the Apostles, seems highly probable; for all the form, *Sursum corda*, is there, and in St. Cyril's comment

[43] Κοιναὶ εὐχαί. Just. Mart. Apol. 1, c. 85, p. 124, lin. 28. [44] Εὐχαὶ προσταχθεῖσαι. Origen. cont. Cels. l. 6, p. 312. Aug. Vindel. 1605. [45] Preces solennes. Cypr. De Laps. p. 132. [46] Catech. Myst. 5, a p. 295 ad p. 301. [47] Catalog. Scriptor. Eccles. tom. i. p. 317, num. 123. [48] De Trad. Div. Liturg. ap. Bonam. de Rebus Liturgicis, l. 1, c. 9, p. 157. [49] Can. 32. Concil. tom. vi. col. 1158, B.

The same is in the Liturgies of Rome and Alexandria, and in the Constitutions of Clemens,[50] which all agree are of great antiquity, though not so early as they pretend; and St. Cyprian, who was living within an hundred years after the Apostles, makes mention of it as a form then used and received,[51] which Nicephorus does also of the *Trisagium* in particular.[52] We do not deny but that these Liturgies may have been interpolated in after-times: but that no more overthrows the antiquity of the groundwork of them, than the large additions to a building prove there was no house before. It is an easy matter to say, that such Liturgies could not be St. James's or St. Mark's, because of such errors or mistakes, and interpolations of things and phrases of later times. But what then? Is this an argument that there were no ancient Liturgies in the churches of Jerusalem or Alexandria; when so long since as in Origen's time,[53] we find an entire collect produced by him out of the Alexandrian Liturgy? And the like may be shewed as to other churches, which by degrees came to have their Liturgies much enlarged by the devout additions of some extraordinary men, who had the care of the several churches afterwards: such as were St. Basil, St. Chrysostom, and others. So that, notwithstanding their interpolations, the Liturgies themselves are a plain demonstration of the use of divers precomposed set forms of prayer, besides the Lord's prayer and psalms, even in the first and second centuries.

And that in Constantine's time the Church used such precomposed set forms, is evident from Eusebius, who tells us of Constantine's[54] composing a prayer for the use of his soldiers; and in the next chapter[55] gives us the words of the prayer; which makes it undeniably plain, that it was a set form of words. If it be said, that "Constantine's composing a form is a plain evidence, that at that time there were no public forms in the Church;" we answer, that this form was only for his heathen soldiers; for the story tells us,[56] that he gave his Christian soldiers liberty to go to church. And therefore all that can be gathered from hence is, that the Christian Church had no form of prayers for heathen soldiers; which is no great wonder, since if they had, it is very unlikely that

[50] L. 8, c. 12, tom. i. p. 345, E. [51] De Orat. Domin. p. 152. [52] Hist. Eccles. l. 18. c. 53, tom. ii. p. 883, B. [53] Orig. in Jerem. Hom. XIV. vol. i. p. 141, edit. Huet. Rothomag. 1668. [54] De vita Constant. l. 4, c. 19, p. 535, B. [55] Ibid. c. 20, p. 535, C. [56] Ibid. c. 18, p. 534, D.

they would have used it. But that the Church had forms of prayer is evident, because the same author calls the prayers which Constantine used in his court (Ἐκκλησίας Θεοῦ τρόπον, according to the manner of the Church[57] of God) εὐχὰς ἐνθέσμους, *authorized prayers;* which is the same title he gave to that form which he made for his heathen soldiers.[58] And therefore if by the authorized prayers, which he prescribed to the soldiers, he meant a form of prayer, as it is manifest he did, then by the authorized prayers which he used in his court, after the manner of the Church of God, he must mean a form of prayers also. And since he had a form of prayers in his court, after the manner of the Church, the Church must necessarily have a form of prayers too.

It is plain then, that the three first centuries joined in the use of divers precomposed set forms of prayer, besides the Lord's prayer and psalms: after which, (besides the *Liturgies* of St. Basil, St. Chrysostom, and St. Ambrose,) we have also undeniable testimonies of the same.[59] Gregory Nazianzen says, that "St. Basil composed orders and forms of prayer."[60] And St. Basil himself, reciting the manner of the public service that was used in the monastical oratories of his institution, says,[61] that "nothing was therein done but what was consonant and agreeable to all the churches of God." The Council of Laodicea expressly provides,[62] "that the same Liturgy or form of prayer should be always used, both at the ninth hour, and in the evening." And this canon is taken into the Collection of the Canons of the Catholic Church; which Colleetion was established in the fourth general Council of Chalcedon, in the year 451;[63] by which establishment the whole Christian Church was obliged to the use of Liturgies, so far as the authority of a general Council extends.

It were very easy to add many other proofs of the same kind, within the compass of time to which those I have already produced do belong;[64] but the brevity of my design only allows me to mention such as are so obviously plain as to admit of no objections. To descend into the following ages, is not worth my while; for the greatest enemies to precomposed set forms of prayer do acknowledge, that in the fourth and fifth centuries, and ever after, till the times of the Reformation,

[57] De vita Constant. l. 4, c. 17, p. 534, A. [58] Ibid. c. 19, p. 535, B. [59] See St. Chrysost. Homil. XVIII. in Ep. 2, ad Corinth. tom. iii. p. 647. Concil. Carthag. 3, can. 23, tom. ii. col. 1170. De Concil. Milev. 2, can. 12, tom. ii. col. 1540, E. [60] Orat. 20, in Basil. [61] Epist. 63, tom. ii. p. 843, D. [62] Can. 18, Concil. tom. i. col. 1500, B. [63] Can. 1, Concil. tom. iv. col. 756, B. [64] See Dr. Bennet's History of the joint Use of precomposed set Forms of Prayer, from chap. viii. to chap. xvi.

the joint use of them obtained all over the Christian world. And therefore I shall take it for granted, that what has been already said is abundantly sufficient to prove, that the ancient Jews, our Saviour, his Apostles, and the primitive Christians, did join in the use of precomposed set forms of prayer. I shall now proceed to prove,

2. Secondly, That (as far as we can conjecture) they never joined in any other. And first, that the ancient Jews, our Saviour, and his Apostles, never joined in any other than precomposed set forms, before our Lord's resurrection, may very well be concluded, from our having no ground to think they ever did. For as he that refuses to believe a matter of fact, when it is attested by a competent number of unexceptionable witnesses, is always thought to act against the dictates of reason; so does that person act no less against the dictates of reason, who believes a matter of fact without any ground. And what ground can any man believe a matter of fact upon, but the testimony of those, upon whose veracity and judgment in the case he may safely rely? But what testimonies can our adversaries produce in this case? They cannot pretend to any proof (either express or by consequence) within this compass of time, of the joint use of prayers conceived extempore, because there is not the lowest degree of evidence, or so much as a bare probability of it. And therefore they ought of necessity to conclude, that the ancient Jews, our Saviour, and his Apostles, never joined in any other prayers than precomposed set forms, before our Lord's resurrection. It only remains therefore that I show, that there is no reason to suppose that they ever joined in any others afterwards.

And here as for our Saviour, we have no particular account of his praying between the time of his resurrection and that of his ascension; and therefore we can determine nothing of his joining therein. But as for the Apostles and primitive Christians, we may conclude, that they never joined in any other than precomposed set forms after our Lord's resurrection, by the same way of reasoning, as we concluded they never did before his resurrection. For unless our adversaries can bring sufficient authorities, to prove that they joined in the use of prayers conceived extempore, we may very reasonably conclude they never did.

I know indeed there are some objections, which our adversaries pick up from words of like sound, and, without considering the sense, or how the holy penmen used them, urge them for

solid arguments: but these my time will not permit me to examine, nor is it indeed worth my while. I shall only desire it may be considered, that nothing more betrays the badness of a cause, than when groundless suppositions are so zealously opposed to evident truths.[65]

I shall however mention one thing, which is of itself a strong argument, that the Apostles and primitive Christians did never join in any other than precomposed set forms of prayer, viz. The difference between precomposed set forms of prayer, and prayers conceived extempore, is so very great; and the alteration from the joint use of the one, to the joint use of the other, so very remarkable; that it is utterly impossible to conceive, that if the joint use of extempore prayers had been ever practised by the Apostles and first Christians, it could so soon have been laid aside by every Church in the Christian world; and yet not the least notice to be taken, no opposition to be made, nor so much as a hint given, either of the time or reasons of its being discontinued, by any of the ancient writers whatsoever: but that every nation, that has embraced the Christian faith, should, with a perfect harmony, without one single exception, (as far as the most diligent search and information can reach,) from the Apostles' days to as low a period of time as our adversaries can desire, unite and agree in performing their joint worship by the use of precomposed set forms only. Certainly such an unanimous practice of persons, at the greatest distance both of time and place, and not only different, but perfectly opposite in other points of religion, as well as their civil interests, is, as I said, a strong argument, that the joint use of precomposed set forms was fixed by the Apostles in all the churches they planted, and that, by the special providence of God, it has been preserved as remarkably as the Christian sacraments themselves.

Much more might be added, but that I am satisfied, what has already been said is enough to convince any reasonable and unprejudiced person; and to those that are obstinate and biassed it is in vain to say more. I shall therefore proceed to shew,

II. SECONDLY, That those precomposed set forms of prayer, in which they joined, were such as the respective congregations were accustomed to, and thoroughly acquainted with. And upon this I shall endeavour to be very brief, because a little

[65] For further satisfaction see Dr. Bennet's Discourse of the Gift of Prayer, and his History of the joint Use of precomposed set Forms of Prayer, chap. xviii.

reflection upon what has been said will effectually demonstrate its truth.

And, 1st, as to the practice of the ancient Jews, our Saviour, and his disciples, it cannot be doubted, but that they were accustomed to, and well acquainted with, those precomposed set forms which are contained in the Scriptures: and as for their other additional prayers, the very same authors, from whom we derive our accounts of them, do unanimously agree in attesting that they were of constant daily use; and consequently the Jews, our Saviour, and his disciples, could not but be accustomed to them, and thoroughly acquainted with them.

The matter therefore is past all dispute till the Gospel-state commenced; and even then also it is equally clear and plain. For it has been largely shewed, that the Apostles and primitive Christians did constantly use the Lord's prayer and psalms; whereby they must necessarily become accustomed to them, and thoroughly acquainted with them.

But then it is objected, that "their other prayers, which made up a great part of their divine service, were not stinted imposed forms, but such as the ministers themselves composed and made choice of for their own use in public." But this may likewise be answered with very little trouble; because the same authorities, which prove that they were precomposed set forms, do also prove that the respective congregations were accustomed to them, and thoroughly acquainted with them. For since the whole congregation did with one accord lift up their voice in an instant, and vocally join in that prayer which is recorded in the fourth chapter of the Acts; since the public prayers, which the primitive Christians used in the first and second centuries, were called *common prayers*, *constituted prayers*, and *solemn prayers;* since the Liturgy of St. James was of general use in the Church of Jerusalem within an hundred and sixty years after the apostolical age; since the Church in Constantine's time used authorized set forms of prayer; since the Council of Laodicea expressly provides, that "the same Liturgy be constantly used both at the ninth hour, and in the evening;" I say, since these things are true, we may appeal to our adversaries themselves, whether it was possible, in those and the like cases, for the respective congregations to be otherwise than accustomed to, and thoroughly acquainted with, those precomposed set forms of prayer, in which they joined.

We own indeed, that, by reason of the ancient Christians

industriously concealing their mysteries, copies of their offices of joint devotion might not be common. And therefore (except the Lord's prayer, which the catechumens were taught before their baptism, and the psalms, which they read in their Bibles) none were acquainted with their joint devotions before they were baptized; but were forced to learn them by constant attendance upon them, and by the assistance of their brethren. But the forms, notwithstanding, were well known to the main body of the congregation; and those very persons, who at first were strangers to them, did, as well as others, by frequenting the public assemblies, attain to a perfect knowledge of them; because they were daily accustomed to them, and consequently, in a very short time, thoroughly acquainted with them: which was the second thing I was to prove. I come now in the last place to prove,

III. THIRDLY, That the practice of the ancient Jews, our Saviour, his Apostles, and the primitive Christians, warrants the imposition of a national precomposed Liturgy: and this I shall make appear in the following manner.

1. Their practice proves that a precomposed Liturgy was constantly imposed upon the laity. For that, without joining in which it was impossible for the laity to hold Church-communion, was certainly imposed upon the laity. Now their practice proves that it was impossible for the laity to hold communion with either the Jewish or Christian Church, unless they joined in a precomposed Liturgy; because the joint use of a precomposed Liturgy was their particular way of worship: and consequently as many of the laity as held communion with them must submit to that way of worship; and as many as submitted to that way of worship had a precomposed Liturgy imposed upon them.

2. Their practice shews that a precomposed Liturgy was imposed on the clergy, i. e. the clergy were obliged to the use of a precomposed Liturgy in their public ministrations. For since the use of such a Liturgy was settled amongst them, it was undoubtedly expected from the respective clergy, that they should practise accordingly. For any one that is in the least versed in antiquity, must know how strict the Church-governors were in those times, and how severely they would animadvert upon such daring innovators, as should offer to set up their own fancies in opposition to a settled rule. So that it is no wonder, if in the first centuries we meet with no law to

establish the use of Liturgies; since those primitive patterns of obedience looked upon themselves to be as much obliged by the custom and practice of the Church, as they could be by the strictest law. But we find that afterwards, when the perverseness and innovations of the clergy gave occasion, the governors of the Church did, by making canons on purpose, oblige the clergy to the use of precomposed Liturgies; as may be seen in the eighteenth canon of the Council of Laodicea; which, as I have shewed, enjoined, that "the same Liturgy should be used both at the ninth hour, and in the evening:" which is as plain an imposition of a precomposed Liturgy, as ever was or can be made. Thus also the second council of Mela enjoins, [66] that "such prayers should be used by all, as were approved of in the Council, and that none should be said in the church, but such as had been approved of by the more prudent sort of persons in a synod:" which is another as plain imposition of a precomposed Liturgy as words can express, even upon the clergy.

But though neither clergy nor laity had been thus obliged, yet one would think that the practice of all the ancient Jews, our blessed Saviour himself, his Apostles, and the whole Christian world, for almost fifteen hundred years together, should be a sufficient precedent for us to follow still. We may be sure, that had they not known the joint use of Liturgies to have been the best way of worshipping God, they would never have practised it: but since they did practise it, we ought in modesty to allow their concurrent judgments to be too great to be withstood by any person or society of men; and consequently that their practice warrants the imposition of a precomposed Liturgy.

And if of a precomposed Liturgy, it does for the same reason warrant the imposition of a national precomposed Liturgy: for it appears, from what has been said upon my second head, that the precomposed Liturgies of both Jews and Christians were such as the respective congregations were accustomed to, and thoroughly acquainted with; and therefore their practice warrants the imposition of such a precomposed Liturgy, and consequently of a national precomposed Liturgy. For upon supposition that it is expedient for the congregations to be accustomed to, and thoroughly acquainted with, the Liturgies which they join in the use of; it is plain that a

[66] As before quoted in notes [59], [62], p. 15.

whole nation may as well have the same Liturgy, as each congregation may have a distinct one. And the clergy of a whole nation may as well resolve in a synod, or require by a canon made to that purpose, that the same Liturgy shall be used in every part of the nation, as leave it to the liberty of every particular bishop or minister to choose one for his own diocese or congregation. Nor is such an imposition of a national precomposed Liturgy any greater grievance to the laity, than if each pastor imposed his own precomposed Liturgy or prayer conceived extempore on his respective flock; because every precomposed Liturgy or extempore prayer is as much imposed, and lays as great a restraint upon the laity, as the imposition of a national Liturgy. Nor, again, is the synod's imposing a national Liturgy any grievance to the clergy; since it is done either by their proper governors alone, or else (especially according to our English constitution) by their proper governors, joined with their own representatives. So that such imposition, being either what they are bound to comply with in point of obedience, or else an act of their own choice, cannot for that reason be any hardship upon them.

Since therefore (to draw to a conclusion) this imposition of a national precomposed Liturgy is warranted by the constant practice of all the ancient Jews, our Saviour himself, his Apostles, and the primitive Christians; and since it is a grievance to neither clergy nor laity, but appears quite, on the other hand, as well from their concurrent testimonies, as by our own experience, to be so highly expedient, as that there can be no decent or uniform performance of God's worship without it; our adversaries themselves must allow it to be necessary.

And if so, they can no longer justify their separation from the Church of England, upon account of its imposing *The Book of Common Prayer*, &c. as a national precomposed Liturgy; unless they can shew, that though national precomposed Liturgies in general may be lawful; yet there are some things prescribed in that of the Church of England, which render it unlawful to be complied with: which that they cannot do, is, I hope, (though only occasionally, yet) sufficiently shewn in the following illustration of it. From which I shall now detain the reader no longer than to give him some small account of the original of *The Book of Common Prayer*, and of those alterations which were afterwards made in it, before

it was brought to that perfection in which we now have it. And this I choose to do here, because I know not where more properly to insert such an account.

An Appendix to the Introductory Discourse, concerning the Original of the Book of Common Prayer, and the several Alterations which were afterwards made in it.

How the Liturgy stood before the Reformation.

BEFORE the Reformation, the Liturgy was only in Latin, being a collection of prayers made up partly of some ancient forms used in the primitive Church, and partly of some others of a later original, accommodated to the superstitions which had by various means crept by degrees into the Church of Rome, and from thence derived to other Churches in communion with it; like what we may see in the present Roman Breviary and Missal. And these being established by the laws of the land, and the canons of the Church, no other could publicly be made use of: so that those of the laity, who had not the advantage of a learned education, could not join with them, or be any otherwise edified by them. And besides, they being mixed with addresses to the saints, adoration of the host, images, &c., a great part of the worship was in itself idolatrous and profane.

What was done in relation to Liturgical matters in king Henry VIII.'s time.

But when the nation in king Henry VIII.'s time was disposed to a reformation, it was thought necessary to correct and amend these offices: and not only have the service of the Church in the English or vulgar tongue, (that men might *pray, not with the spirit only, but with the understanding also;* and *that he, who occupied the room of the unlearned, might understand that unto which he was to say Amen;* agreeable to the precept of St. Paul;[67]) but also to abolish and take away all that was idolatrous and superstitious, in order to restore the service of the Church to its primitive purity. For it was not the design of our Reformers (nor indeed ought it to have been) to introduce a new form of worship into the Church, but to correct and amend the old one; and to purge it from those gross corruptions which had gradually crept into it, and so to render the divine service more agreeable to the Scriptures, and to the doctrine and practice of the primitive

[67] 1 Cor. xiv. 15, 16.

Church in the best and purest ages of Christianity. In which reformation they proceeded gradually, according as they were able.

And first, the Convocation[68] appointed a committee, A. D. 1537, to compose a book, which was called, *The godly and pious institution of a christen man;* containing a declaration of the Lord's Prayer, the Ave Maria, the Creed, the Ten Commandments, and the Seven Sacraments,[69] &c.; which book was again published A. D. 1540, and 1543, with corrections and alterations, under the title of *A necessary doctrine and erudition for any christen man:* and as it is expressed in that preface, was *set furthe by the King, with the advyse of his Clergy; the Lordes bothe spirituall and temporall, with the nether house of Parliament, having both sene and lyked it very well.*

Also in the year 1540, a committee of bishops and divines was appointed by king Henry VIII. (at the petition of the Convocation) to reform the rituals and offices of the Church. And what was done by this committee for reforming the offices was reconsidered by the Convocation itself two or three years afterwards, viz. in February, 1542-3. And in the next year the king and his clergy ordered the prayers for processions, and litanies, to be put into English, and to be publicly used. And finally, in the year 1545, the king's *Primer* came forth, wherein were contained, amongst other things, the Lord's Prayer, Creed, Ten Commandments, Venite, Te Deum, and other hymns and collects in English; and several of them in the same version in which we now use them. And this is all that appears to have been done in relation to liturgical matters in the reign of king Henry VIII.

The Book of Common Prayer compiled in the reign of king Edward VI.

In the year 1547, the first of king Edward VI., December the second, the Convocation[70] declared the opinion, *nullo reclamante*, that the Communion ought to be administered to all persons under *both kinds*. Whereupon an Act of Parliament was made ordering the Communion to be so administered. And then a committee of bishops, and other learned divines, was appointed to compose *an uniform order of Communion, according to the rules of Scripture, and the use of the primitive Church*. In order to this, the com-

[68] For what relates to the authority of the Convocation, in this and the two following paragraphs, see Bishop Atterbury's Rights of an English Convocation, 2nd edit., from p. 184 to p. 205. [69] Strype's Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer, p. 52—54. [70] See Strype's Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer, p. 157, 158.

mittee repaired to Windsor Castle, and in that retirement, within a few days, drew up that form which is printed in bishop Sparrow's collection.[71] And this being immediately brought into use the next year, the same persons, being empowered by a new commission, prepare themselves to enter upon a yet nobler work; and in a few months' time finished the whole Liturgy, by drawing up public offices not only for Sundays and Holidays, but for Baptism, Confirmation, Matrimony, Burial of the Dead, and other special occasions; in which the forementioned Office for the Holy Communion was inserted, with many alterations and amendments. And the whole book being so framed, was set forth *by the common agreement and full assent both of the Parliament and Convocations provincial*: i. e. the two Convocations of the provinces of Canterbury and York.

The Committee appointed to compose this Liturgy were,

1. Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury; who was the chief promoter of our excellent Reformation; and had a principal hand, not only in compiling the Liturgy, but in all the steps made towards it. He died a martyr to the religion of the Reformation, which principally by his means had been established in the Church of England; being burnt at Oxford in the reign of queen Mary, March 21, 1556.

2. Thomas Goodrich, bishop of Ely.

3. Henry Holbech, alias Randes, bishop of Lincoln.

4. George Day, bishop of Chichester.

5. John Skip, bishop of Hereford.

6. Thomas Thirlby, bishop of Westminster.

7. Nicholas Ridley, bishop of Rochester, and afterwards of London. He was esteemed the ablest man of all that advanced the Reformation, for piety, learning, and solidity of judgment. He died a martyr in queen Mary's reign, being burnt at Oxford, October 16, 1555.

8. Dr. William May, dean of St. Paul's, London, and afterwards also master of Queen's College in Cambridge.

9. Dr. John Taylor, dean, afterwards bishop of Lincoln. He was deprived in the beginning of queen Mary's reign, and died soon after.

10. Dr. Simon Heynes, dean of Exeter.

11. Dr. John Redmayne, master of Trinity College in Cambridge, and prebendary of Westminster.

12. Dr. Richard Cox, dean of Christ Church in Oxford,

[71] Page 17.

almoner and privy-councillor to king Edward VI. He was deprived of all his preferments in queen Mary's reign, and fled to Frankfort; from whence returning in the reign of queen Elizabeth, he was consecrated bishop of Ely.

13. Mr. Thomas Robertson, archdeacon of Leicester.

And confirmed by Act of Parliament.

Thus was our excellent Liturgy compiled by martyrs and confessors, together with divers other learned bishops and divines; and being revised and approved by the archbishops, bishops, and clergy of both the provinces of Canterbury and York, was then confirmed by the king and the three estates in parliament, A. D. 1548,[72] who gave it this just encomium, viz. *which at this time BY THE AID OF THE HOLY GHOST, with uniform agreement is of them concluded, set forth*, &c.

But afterwards submitted to the censure of Bucer and Martyr.

But about the end of the year 1550, or the beginning of 1551, some exceptions were taken at some things in this book, which were thought to savour too much of superstition. To remove these objections, therefore, archbishop Cranmer proposed to review it; and to this end called in the assistance of Martin Bucer and Peter Martyr, two foreigners, whom he had invited over from the troubles in Germany; who not understanding the English tongue, had Latin versions prepared for them: one Alesse, a Scotch divine, translating it on purpose for the use of Bucer; and Martyr being furnished with the version of Sir John Cheke, who had also formerly translated it into Latin.[73]

Upon whose exceptions it was reviewed and altered.

What liberties this encouraged them to take in their censures of the first Liturgy, and how far they were instrumental to the laying aside several very primitive and venerable usages, I shall have properer opportunities of shewing hereafter, when I come to treat of the particulars in the body of the book. It will be sufficient here just to note the most considerable additions and alterations that were then made: some of which must be allowed to be good; as especially the addition of the *sentences*, *exhortation*, *confession*, and *absolution*, at the beginning of the morning and evening services, which in the first Common Prayer Book began with the *Lord's Prayer*. The other changes were the removing of some rites and ceremonies retained in the former book; such as the use of *oil in*

[72] Second and third of Edward VI. chap. i. [73] Strype's Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer, p. 210.

baptism; the *unction of the sick*; *prayers for souls departed*, both in the Communion-office, and in that for the burial of the dead; the leaving out the *invocation of the Holy Ghost* in the consecration of the Eucharist, and the prayer of *oblation* that was used to follow it; the omitting the rubric, that ordered *water* to be mixed with wine, with several other less material variations. The *habits* also, that were prescribed by the former book, were ordered by this to be laid aside; and, lastly, a rubric was added at the end of the Communion-office to explain the reason of *kneeling* at the Sacrament. The book thus revised and altered was again confirmed in parliament A. D. 1551, who declared, that the alterations that were made in it proceeded from *curiosity rather than any worthy cause*. But both this and the former act made in 1548, were repealed in the first year of queen Mary, as not being agreeable to the Romish superstition, which she was resolved to restore.

And again confirmed by Act of Parliament.

Both which Acts were repealed by Q. Mary.

But upon the accession of queen Elizabeth, the act of repeal was reversed; and, in order to the restoring of the English service, several learned divines were appointed to take another review of king Edward's Liturgies, and to frame from them both a book for the use of the Church of England. The names of those who, Mr. Camden[74] says, were employed, are these that follow:

But the second book of K. Edward was again established in the reign of Q. Elizabeth.

Dr. Matthew Parker, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury.
Dr. Richard Cox, afterwards bishop of Ely.
Dr. May.
Dr. Bill.
Dr. James Pilkington, afterwards bishop of Durham.
Sir Thomas Smith.
Mr. David Whitehead.
Mr. Edmund Grindall, afterwards bishop of London, and then archbishop of Canterbury.

To these, Mr. Strype says,[75] were added Dr. Edwin Sandys, afterwards bishop of Worcester, and Mr. Edward Guest, a very learned man, who was afterwards archdeacon of Canterbury, almoner to the queen, and bishop of Rochester, and afterwards of Salisbury. And this last person, Mr. Strype thinks, had the main care of the whole business; being, as he supposes, recommended by Parker to supply his absence. It was debated

[74] In his History of Q. Elizabeth. [75] Strype's Annals of Q. Elizabeth, p. 82, 83.

at first, which of the two books of king Edward should be received; and secretary Cecil sent several queries to Guest, concerning the reception of some particulars in the first book; as prayers for the dead, the prayer of consecration, the delivery of the sacrament into the mouth of the communicant, &c.[76] But however, the second book of king Edward was pitched upon as the book to be proposed to the parliament to be established, who accordingly passed and commanded it to be used, *with one alteration or addition of certain lessons to be used on every Sunday in the year, and the form of the Litany altered and corrected, and two sentences added in the delivery of the sacrament to the communicants, and none other, or otherwise.*

The alteration in the Litany here mentioned was the leaving out a rough expression, viz. *from the tyranny of the Bishop of Rome, and all his detestable enormities*, which was a part of the last deprecation in both the books of king Edward; and the adding those words to the first petition for the queen, *strengthen in the true worshipping of thee, in righteousness and holiness of life*, which were not in before. The two sentences added in the delivery of the sacrament were these, *the body of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was given for thee;* or *the blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was shed for thee; preserve thy body and soul to everlasting life:* which were taken out of king Edward's first book, and were the whole forms then used: whereas in the second book of that king, these sentences were left out, and in the room of them were used, *take, eat*, or *drink* this, with what follows; but now in queen Elizabeth's book both these forms were united.

Though, besides these here mentioned, there are some other variations in this book from the second of king Edward, viz. the first rubric, concerning the situation of the chancel and the proper place of reading divine service, was altered; the habits enjoined by the first book of king Edward, and forbid by the second, were now restored. At the end of the Litany was added a prayer for the queen, and another for the clergy. And lastly, the rubric that was added at the end of the Communion-office, in the second book of king Edward VI., against the notion of our Lord's *real* and *essential* presence in the holy Sacrament, was left out of this. For it

[76] Strype, ut supra.

being the queen's design to unite the nation in one faith, it was therefore recommended to the divines to see that there should be no definition made against the aforesaid notion, but that it should remain as a speculative opinion not determined, in which every one was left to the freedom of his own mind.

And some alterations made in it in the reign of king James I.

And in this state the Liturgy continued without any further alteration, till the first year of king James I., when, after the conference at Hampton Court, between that prince with archbishop Whitgift of Canterbury, and other bishops and divines, on the one side; and Dr. Reynolds, with some other Puritans, on the other, there were some forms of *thanksgiving* added at the end of the Litany, and an addition made to the *Catechism* concerning the sacraments; the Catechism before that time ending with the answer to that question which immediately follows the Lord's prayer. And in the rubric in the beginning of the Office for private baptism, the words *lawful minister* were inserted, to prevent midwives or laymen from presuming to baptize, with one or two more small alterations.

And the whole book again reviewed after the Restoration.

And in this state it continued to the time of king Charles II., who, immediately after his restoration, at the request of several of the Presbyterian ministers, was willing to comply to another review, and therefore issued out a commission, dated March 25, 1661, to empower twelve of the bishops, and twelve of the Presbyterian divines, to consider of the objections raised against the Liturgy, and to make such reasonable and necessary alterations as they should jointly agree upon: nine assistants on each side being added to supply the place of any of the twelve principals who should happen to be absent. The names of them are as follow:

On the Episcoparian side.	*On the Presbyterian side.*
Principals.	*Principals.*
Dr. Fruen, archb. of York.	Dr. Reynolds, bp. of Norwich.
Dr. Shelden, bp. of London.	Dr. Tuckney.
Dr. Cosin, bp. of Durham.	Dr. Conant.
Dr. Warner, bp. of Rochester.	Dr. Spurstow.
* Dr. King, bp. of Chichester.	Dr. Wallis.

* I do not meet with this name either in the copy of the commission that was printed in 1661, in the account of the proceedings of the Commissioners, or in that copy of it which Dr. Nichols has printed at the end of his preface to his book upon the Common Prayer; nor in that which Mr. Collier gives us in his Ecclesiastical History.[a] But Mr. Baxter inserts it in the copy of the commission that he has printed

[a] Vol. ii. p. 876.

On the Episcoparian side.	*On the Presbyterian side.*
Principals.	*Principals.*
Dr. Henchman. bp. of Sarum.	Dr. Manton.
Dr. Morley, bp. of Worcester.	Mr. Calamy.
Dr. Sanderson, bp. of Lincoln.	Mr. Baxter.
Dr. Laney, bp. of Peterborough.	Mr. Jackson.
Dr. Walton, bp. of Chester.	Mr. Case.
Dr. Stern, bp. of Carlisle.	Mr. Clark.
Dr. Gauden, bp. of Exeter.	Mr. Newcomen.
Coadjutors.	*Coadjutors.*
Dr. Earles, dean of Westminster.	Dr. Horton.
Dr. Heylin.	Dr. Jacomb.
Dr. Hackett.	Mr. Bates.
Dr. Barwick.	Mr. Rawlinson.
Dr. Gunning.	Mr. Cooper.
Dr. Pearson.	Dr. Lightfoot.
Dr. Pierce.	Dr. Collins.
Dr. Sparrow.	Dr. Woodbridge.
Mr. Thorndike.	Mr. Drake.

These commissioners had several meetings at the Savoy, but all to very little purpose: the Presbyterians heaping together all the old scruples that the Puritans had for above a hundred years been raising against the Liturgy, and, as if they were not enough, swelling the number of them with many new ones of their own. To these, one and all, they demand compliance on the Church side, and will hear of no contradiction even in the minutest circumstances. But the completest piece of assurance was the behaviour of Baxter, who (though the king's commission gave them no further power, than *to compare the Common Prayer Book with the most ancient Liturgies that had been used in the Church, in the most primitive and purest times;* requiring them *to avoid, as much as possible, all unnecessary alterations of the Forms and Liturgy wherewith the people were altogether acquainted, and had so long received in the Church of England)* would not so much as allow that our Liturgy was capable of amendment, but confidently pretended to compose a new one of his own; and, without any regard to any other Liturgy whatsoever, either modern or ancient, amassed together a dull, tedious, crude,

in the narrative of his own life,[b] and Dr. Nichols mentions him in his introduction to his Defence of the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church of England: and there are not twelve principal Commissioners on the Church side without him: and therefore I suppose he was left out of the copy of the commission in 1661, by the printer's mistake, and that from thence Dr. Nichols and Mr. Collier might continue the omission.

[b] Page 303.

and indigested heap of stuff; which, together with the rest of the commissioners on the Presbyterian side, he had the insolence to offer to the bishops, to be received and established in the room of the Liturgy. Such usage as this, we may reasonably think, must draw the disdain and contempt of all that were concerned for the Church. So that the conference broke up, without any thing done, except that some particular alterations were proposed by the episcopal divines, which, the May following, were considered and agreed to by the whole Clergy in Convocation. The principal of them were, that several *lessons* in the calendar were changed for others more proper for the days; *the prayers upon particular occasions* were disjoined from the Litany, and the two prayers to be used in the *Ember-weeks*, the prayer for the *Parliament*, that for *all conditions of men*, and the *general thanksgiving*, were added: several of the *collects* were altered, the *Epistles* and *Gospels* were taken out of the last translation of the Bible, being read before according to the old translation: the office for *baptism of those of riper years*, and *the forms of prayer to be used at sea*, were added.[77] In a word, the whole Liturgy was then brought to that state in which it now stands; and was unanimously subscribed by both houses of Convocation, of both provinces, on Friday, the 20th of December, 1661. And being brought to the house of lords the March following, both houses very readily passed an act for its establishment; and the earl of Clarendon, then high chancellor of England, was ordered to return the thanks of the lords to the bishops and clergy of both provinces, for the great care and industry shewn in the review of it.

The compiling of our Liturgy, &c. done by an ecclesiastical, and not a civil power.

Thus have I given a brief historical account of the first compiling the Book of Common Prayer, and of the several reviews that were afterwards taken of it by our bishops and Convocations: one end of which was, that so "whosoever will may easily see (as bishop Sparrow shews on a like occasion[78]) the notorious slander which some of the Roman persuasion have endeavoured to cast upon our Church, viz. That her reformation hath been altogether *lay* and *parliamentary*." For it appears by the proceedings observed in the reforma-

[77] For a more particular account of what was done in this review, see the Preface to the Common Prayer Book. [78] Preface to his collection of Articles, &c., towards the end.

tion of the service of the Church, that this reformation was regularly made by the bishops and clergy in their provincial synods; the king and parliament only establishing by the *civil sanction* what was there done by *ecclesiastical authority*. "It was indeed (as my lord bishop of Sarum has excellently well observed[79]) confirmed by the authority of parliament, and there was good reason to desire that, to give it the force of a law; but the authority of [the book and] those changes is wholly to be derived from the Convocation, who only consulted about them and made them. And the parliament did take that care in the enacting them, that might shew they did only add the force of a law to them: for in passing them it was ordered, that the Book of Common Prayer and Ordination should only be read over, (and even that was carried upon some debate; for many, as I have been told, moved that the book should be added to the act, as it was sent to the parliament from the Convocation, without ever reading it; but that seemed indecent and too implicit to others,) and there was no change made in a tittle by parliament. So that they only enacted by a law what the Convocation had done." And therefore, as his lordship says in another place,[80] "As it were a great scandal on the first general councils to say, that they had no authority for what they did, but what they derived from the civil power; so is it no less unjust to say, because the parliament *empowered* (I suppose his lordship means *approved*) some persons to draw up forms for the more pure administration of the sacraments, and enacted that these only should be lawfully used in this realm, which is the civil sanction; that therefore these persons had no other authority for what they did. Was it ever heard of that the civil sanction, which only makes any constitution to have the force of a law, gives it any other authority than a civil one? The prelates and other divines, that compiled [these forms], did it by virtue of the authority they had from Christ, as pastors of his Church; which did empower them to teach the people the pure word of God, and to administer the sacraments, and to perform all holy functions, according to the Scripture, the practice of the primitive Church, and the rules of expediency and reason; and this they ought to have done, though the civil power had opposed it: in which case their duty had been to have submitted to whatever severities and

[79] Vindication of Ordinations of the Church of England, p. 53, 54. [80] P. 74, 75.

persecutions they might have been put to for the name of Christ, or the truth of his gospel. But on the other hand, when it pleased God to turn the hearts of those which had the chief power, to set forward this good work; then they did, as they ought, with all thankfulness acknowledge so great a blessing, and accept and improve the authority of the civil power, for adding the sanction of a law to the reformation, in all the parts and branches of it. So by the authority they derived from Christ, and the warrant they had by the Scripture and the primitive Church, these prelates and divines made those alterations and changes in the ordinal; and the king and the parliament, who are vested with the supreme legislative power, added their authority to them, to make them obligatory on the subjects." These excellent words of this right reverend prelate are a full and complete answer to the Romanists' cavil of the lay original of our Liturgy. And I cannot but wonder, that others, who have wrote exceeding well on the Common Prayer Book, have not been careful to obviate this objection; but have indeed rather given occasion for it, by intimating as if the Book of Common Prayer had been compiled by some persons only by virtue and authority of the king's commission: whereas it was indeed a committee of the two houses of Convocation, and the book was revised and authorized by the whole synod, and in a synodical way, before it received the civil sanction from the king and parliament.

And for this reason I have given a true account of this matter, that others who are led away by Erastian principles, and think that the civil magistrate only has authority in matters of religion, may be convinced that this is not agreeable to the doctrine of our Church; who declares in her twentieth article, *that the Church* (that is, the ecclesiastical governors, the bishops and their presbyters; for there may be a Church where there is no Christian civil magistrate) *hath power to decree rites and ceremonies and authority in matters of faith:* and affirms again in the thirty-seventh article, that *where we attribute to the Queen's Majesty the chief government, we give not to our Princes the ministering either of God's word, or of the Sacraments; but that only prerogative, which we see to have been given always to all godly Princes in holy Scripture by God himself; that is, that they should rule all estates and degrees committed to their*

charge by God, whether they be ecclesiastical or temporal, and restrain with the CIVIL sword the stubborn and evil doers. Our Liturgy was therefore first established by the Convocations or provincial Synods of the realm, and thereby became obligatory *in foro conscientiæ;* and was then confirmed and ratified by the supreme magistrate in parliament, and so also became obligatory *in foro civili.* It has therefore all authority both ecclesiastical and civil. As it is established by ecclesiastical authority, those who separate themselves and set up another form of worship are schismatics; and consequently are guilty of a damnable sin, which no *toleration* granted by the civil magistrate can authorize or justify. But as it is settled by act of parliament, the separating from it is only an offence against the state; and as such may be pardoned by the state. The *act of toleration* therefore (as it is called) has freed the Dissenters from being offenders against the state, notwithstanding their separation from the worship prescribed by the Liturgy: but it by no means excuses or can excuse them from the schism they have made in the Church; they are still guilty of that sin, and will be so as long as they separate, notwithstanding any temporal authority to indemnify them.

And here I designed to have put an end to the Introduction; but having in the first part of it vindicated the use of Liturgies in general, and in this Appendix given an historical account of our own; I think I cannot more properly conclude the whole than with Dr. Comber's excellent and just encomium of the latter; by which the reader will, I doubt not, be very well entertained, and perhaps be rendered more inquisitive after those excellencies and beauties which are here mentioned, and which it is one chief design of the following treatise to shew. In hopes of this, therefore, I shall here transcribe the very words of the reverend and learned author.

A character of our Liturgy.

"Though all churches in the world," saith he,[81] "have, and ever had forms of prayer; yet none was ever blessed with so comprehensive, so exact, and so inoffensive a composure as ours: which is so judiciously contrived, that the wisest may exercise at once their knowledge and devotion; and yet so plain, that the most ignorant may pray with understanding: so full, that nothing is omitted which is fit to be asked in public; and so

[81] Dr. Comber's preface, p. 4, of the folio edition.

particular, that it compriseth most things which we would ask in private; and yet so short, as not to tire any that hath true devotion: its doctrine is pure and primitive; its ceremonies so few and innocent, that most of the Christian world agree in them: its method is exact and natural; its language significant and perspicuous; most of the words and phrases being taken out of the holy Scriptures, and the rest are the expressions of the first and purest ages; so that whoever takes exception at these must quarrel with the language of the Holy Ghost, and fall out with the Church in her greatest innocence; and in the opinion of the most impartial and excellent Grotius, (who was no member of, nor had any obligation to, this Church,) the English Liturgy comes so near to the primitive pattern, that none of the Reformed Churches can compare with it.[82]

"And if any thing *external* be needful to recommend that which is so glorious *within*; we may add that the compilers were [most of them] men of great piety and learning; [and several of them] either martyrs or confessors upon the restitution of Popery; which as it declares their piety, so doth the judicious digesting of these prayers evidence their learning. For therein a scholar may discern close logic, pleasing rhetoric, pure divinity, and the very marrow of the ancient doctrine and discipline; and yet all made so familiar, that the unlearned may safely say Amen.[83]

"Lastly, all these excellencies have obtained that universal reputation which these prayers enjoy in all the world: so that they are most deservedly admired by the Eastern Churches, and had in great esteem by the most eminent Protestants beyond sea,[84] who are the most impartial judges that can be desired. In short, this Liturgy is honoured by all but the Romanist, whose interest it opposeth, and the Dissenters, whose prejudices will not let them see its lustre. Whence it is that they call that, which the Papists hate because it is Protestant, superstitious and popish. But when we consider that the best things in a bad world have the most enemies, as it doth not lessen its worth, so it must not abate our esteem, because it hath malicious and misguided adversaries.

"How endless it is to dispute with these, the little success of the best arguments, managed by the wisest men, do too sadly testify: wherefore we shall endeavour to convince the

[82] Grotius Ep. ad Boet. [83] 1 Cor. xiv. 16. [84] See Durel's Defence of the Liturgy.

enemies, by assisting the friends of our Church devotions: and by drawing the veil which the ignorance and indevotion of some, and the passion and prejudice of others, have cast over them, represent the Liturgy in its true and native lustre: which is so lovely and ravishing, that, like the purest beauties, it needs no supplement of art and dressing, but conquers by its own attractions, and wins the affections of all but those who do not see it clearly. This will be sufficient to shew, that whoever desires no more than to worship God with zeal and knowledge, spirit and truth, purity and sincerity, may do it by these devout forms. And to this end may the God of peace give us all meek hearts, quiet spirits, and devout affections; and free us from all sloth and prejudice, that we may have full churches, frequent prayers, and fervent charity; that uniting in our prayers here, we may all join in his praises hereafter, for the sake of Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen."

THE END OF THE INTRODUCTORY DISCOURSE.

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[1]CHAPTER I.

OF THE

TABLES, RULES, AND CALENDAR.

PART I.

OF THE TABLES AND RULES.

SECT. I.—*Of the Rule for finding Easter.*

THE *proper Lessons* and *Psalms* being spoken to at large in other parts of this treatise, there is no need to say any thing particularly concerning the *Tables* that appoint them. I shall therefore pass them by, and begin with the *Rule for finding Easter*; which stands thus in all Books of Common Prayer printed in or since the year 1752: *Easter-day is always the first Sunday after the full Moon, which happens upon or next after the twenty-*

Rule for finding Easter.

[1] In this edition, after the example of all others published since the year 1752, this chapter is printed with the alterations necessary to adapt it to the new *Calendar, Tables*, and *Rules*, which were ordered to be prefixed to all future editions of the Book of Common Prayer, by the Act 24 Geo. II., entitled, *An Act for regulating the commencement of the year; and for correcting the calendar.*

first day of March; and if the full Moon happens upon Sunday, Easter-day is the Sunday after.

Upon what occasion this rule was framed.

§. 2. To shew upon what occasion the rule was framed, it is to be observed, that in the first ages of Christianity there arose a great difference between the churches of Asia and other churches, about the *day* whereon Easter ought to be celebrated.

Easter differently observed by different churches.

The churches of Asia kept their Easter upon the same day on which the Jews celebrated their passover, viz. upon the fourteenth day of their first month Nisan (which month began at the new moon next to the vernal[2] equinox); and this they did upon what day of the week soever it fell; and were from thence called *Quartodecimans*, or such as kept Easter upon the fourteenth day after the Φάσις, or appearance of the moon: whereas the other churches, especially those of the West, did not follow this custom, but kept their Easter on the Sunday following the Jewish passover; partly the more to honour the day, and partly to distinguish between Jews and Christians. Both sides pleaded apostolical tradition: these latter pretending to derive their practice from St. Peter and St. Paul; whilst the others, viz. the Asiatics, said they imitated the example of St. John.[3]

Ordered to be every where observed on the same day by the Council of Nice.

This difference for a considerable time continued with a great deal of Christian charity and forbearance; but at length became the occasion of great bustles in the Church; which grew to such a height at last, that Constantine thought it time to use his interest and authority to allay the heat of the opposite parties, and to bring them to a uniformity of practice. To which end he got a canon to be passed in the great general Council of Nice, "That every where the great feast of Easter should be observed upon one and the same day; and that not on the day of the Jewish passover, but, as had been generally observed, upon the Sunday afterwards." And[4] that this dispute might never arise again, these paschal canons were then also established, viz.

The Paschal canons passed in the Council of Nice.

1. "That the twenty-first day of March shall be accounted the vernal equinox.

2. "That the full moon happening upon or next after the twenty-first day of March, shall be taken for the full moon of Nisan.

[2] Josephus, Antiq. Judaic. lib. 3. cap. 10. [3] Euseb. Hist. Eccl. 5, c. 23, 24, p. 193 &c. Vide et l. 4, c. 14. [4] Eusebius in Vita Constant. l. 3, c. 18.

3. "That the Lord's day next following that full moon be Easter-day.

4. "But if the full moon happen upon a Sunday, Easter-day shall be the Sunday after."

The moons to be found out by the Golden Number.

§. 3. Agreeable to these is the Rule for finding Easter, which we are now discoursing of. But here we must observe, that the Fathers of the next century ordered the new and full moons to be found out by the *cycle of the moon*, consisting of nineteen years, invented by Meton the Athenian,[5] and from its great usefulness in ascertaining the moon's age, as it was thought for ever, was called the *Golden Number*; and was for some time usually written in letters of gold. By this cycle, I say, the Fathers of the next century ordered the moon's age to be found out; which they thought a certain way, since at the end of nineteen years the moon returns to have her changes on the same day of the solar year and month, whereon they happened nineteen years before. For which reason the cycle was some time afterwards placed in the calendar, in the first column of every month, in such manner as that every number of the cycle should stand against those days in each month, on which the new moons should happen in that year of the cycle. But now it is to be noted, that though at the end of every nineteen years the moon changes on the very same days of the solar months, on which it changed nineteen years before; yet the change happens about an hour and half sooner every nineteen years than in the former; which, in the time that the Golden Number stood in the calendar, had made an alteration of about five days.

Easter was kept sometimes sooner and sometimes later than the rule seems to direct.

§. 4. By this means it happened that Easter was kept sometimes sooner and sometimes later than the rule seemed to direct, and the Fathers of the Nicene Council intended. For it is very manifest that they designed that the first full moon after the vernal equinox should be the paschal full moon: (for otherwise they knew that the resurrection of our blessed Lord could not be commemorated at the time it happened:) but then, for want of better skill in astronomy in those times, they confined the equinox to the twenty-first of March; whereas it hath since been discovered not only that the moon's cycle of nineteen years complete was too long, but also that the Julian solar year, which they reckoned by, ex-

[5] Blondel's Roman Calendar, part I. lib. 2, c. 5.

ceeds the true solar one by about eleven minutes every year; which had brought the equinoxes forward eleven or twelve days from the time of the Nicene Council. Hence it must often have happened, that the first full moon after the twenty-first of March hath been different from the first full moon after the vernal equinox; and that they who have observed Easter according to the letter of the Nicene canons, and the rule for finding the paschal full moon by the Golden Number as placed soon after in the calendar, have not always observed it according to the intent of those Fathers. But yet as soon as ever the canons were passed, the whole catholic Church was very strict in adhering to them; and so tender of the authority of them, that about two hundred years after the Nicene Council this following table was drawn up by Dionysius Exiguus, a Roman; wherein are expressed all those days on which the first full moons after the twenty-first of March happen in all the nineteen years of the lunar cycle: which was so well approved of, that, by the Council of Chalcedon holden a little after, it was agreed that the Sunday next following the Paschal Limits answering the Golden Numbers, as they are expressed in this table, should be Easter-day; and that whosoever celebrated Easter on any other day should be accounted an heretic.

The Paschal Limits answering the Golden Numbers, according to the Julian account.

Golden Numb.	The Paschal Limits.
1	April 5.
2	March 25.
3	April 13.
4	April 2.
5	March 22.
6	April 10.
7	March 30.
8	April 18.
9	April 7.
10	March 27.
11	April 15.
12	April 4.
13	March 24.
14	April 12.
15	April 1.
16	March 21.
17	April 9.
18	March 29.
19	April 17.

According to this table was Easter observed from the year of Christ 534, or thereabouts, till the year 1582: at which time pope Gregory XIII. reformed the calendar, and brought back the vernal equinox to the twenty-first of March. So that the Roman Church keeping their Easter from that time on the first Sunday after the first full moon next after the twenty-first of March, observed it exactly according to the use of the primitive Church. And in the year 1752, the like reformation was made in our calendar, by ordering the *third* day of September in that year to be called the *fourteenth*, thereby suppressing *eleven* intermediate days, and bringing back the vernal equinox to the twenty-first of March, as it was at the time of the Nicene Council.

SECT. II.—*Of the Tables for finding Easter.*

AFTER the Rule for finding Easter is inserted an account *when the rest of the movable feasts and holy-days begin*; and after that follow certain tables relating to the *feasts and vigils that are to be observed in the Church of England*, and other *days of fasting or abstinence*, with an account of *certain solemn days for which particular services are appointed*. But these, and every thing relating to them, I shall have a more convenient opportunity to treat of hereafter; and therefore shall pass on now to the *Tables for finding Easter*.

The bishop of Alexandria was at first appointed to give notice of Easter-day to other Churches.

When the Nicene Council had settled the true time for keeping Easter in the method set down in the first section of this chapter, the bishop of Alexandria (for the Egyptians at that time excelled in the knowledge of astronomy) was appointed to give notice of Easter-day to the pope and other patriarchs, to be notified by them to the metropolitans, and by them again to all other bishops.[6] But this injunction could be but temporary: for length of time must needs make such alteration in the state of affairs, as must render any such method of notifying the time of Easter impracticable. And therefore this was observed no longer than till a Cycle or course of all the variations which might happen in regard to Easter-day might be settled.

Cycles afterwards drawn up.

§. 2. Hereupon the computists applied themselves to frame such a *Cycle*: and the vernal equinox being fixed by the Council of Nice, and Easter-day by them also appointed to be always the first Sunday after the first full moon next after the vernal equinox; they had nothing to do, but to calculate all the revolutions of the moon and of the days of the week, and inquire, whether, after a certain number of years, the new moons, and consequently the full moons, did not fall out, not only on the same days of the solar year, (for that they do after every nineteen years,) but also on the same days of the week on which they happened before, and in the same ordinary course. Because, by calculating a table for such a number of years, they might find Easter for ever; viz. by beginning again at the end of the last year, and going round as it were in a circle.

[6] See Pope Leo's Epistle to the Emperor Marcianus, Epist. 64.

The Cycle of 84 years.

And first a Cycle was framed at Rome for *eighty-four* years, and generally received in the Western Church; it being thought that in that space of time the changes of the moon would return to the same days both of the week and year in such manner as they had done before.[7] During the time that Easter was kept according to this Cycle, Britain was separated from the Roman empire, and the British churches for some time after that separation continued to keep their Easter by this table of eighty-four years. But soon after that separation, the Church of Rome and several others discovered great deficiencies in this account, and therefore left it for another, which was more perfect: not but that also had its defects, though it has been continued ever since in the Greek Church, and some others; and till very lately in our own.[8]

The Cycle of 532 years, or Victorian period.

The Cycle I mean was drawn up about the year 457, by *Victorius* or *Victorinus*, a native of Aquitain, an eminent mathematician: who, observing that the Cycle of the Sunday letter consisted of twenty-eight years, and consequently that the days of the week have a complete revolution, and begin and go on again every twenty-eight years, just in the same order that they did twenty-eight years before, and that the Cycle of the Moon returned to have her changes on the same days of the solar year and month, whereon they happened nineteen years before, but not on the same days of the week: Victorius, I say, having observed this, and endeavouring to compose a Cycle, which should contain all the changes of the days of the week, and of the moon also, (which was necessary to find Easter for ever;) he multiplied these two Cycles of nineteen and twenty-eight together, and from thence composed his period of five hundred and thirty-two years, from him ever after called the Victorian period. And in this time he supposed the new moons would fall out on the same days both of the month and week, on which they happened before, and in the same orderly course. So that this day (be it what day it will) is

[7] See the bishop of Worcester's Historical Account of Church-government, p. 67, and Bede Hist. l. 5, c. 22, in fin. [8] This alteration of the Cycle to find Easter was the cause that the Britons, who kept to the old account, differed from the Romans in the time of celebrating this festival. For though both kept it on a Sunday, according to the rule of the Council of Nice; yet they differed as to the particular Sunday. This upon the coming in of Augustin the monk, first archbishop of Canterbury, caused some contests in this island, of which Bede gives a large account, [Hist. Eccl. l. 3, c. 25, l. 5, c. 22,] where it may be seen that the Britons never were *Quartodecimans*, as some have imagined them to be.

the same day of the year, month, moon, and week, that it was five hundred and thirty-two years ago, or will be five hundred and thirty-two years hence; i. e. if this calculation has no defect in it, as it was then thought to have none, or so little as would make no considerable variation. And when the first full moon after the vernal equinox, or March 21, happens on the same day both of the month and week, as it did any year before; Easter-day must also fall on the same day on which it happened that year: so that Easter, according to this computation, must go through all its variations in five hundred and thirty-two years; forasmuch as the moon and the days of the week have all their variations in that space.

This Cycle established by the Church.

§. 3. This calculation was thought to come much nearer to the truth (as indeed it did) than the former table of eighty-four years: for which reason it was generally followed in a little time. And the fourth Council of Orleans, A. D. 541, decreed, that [9] "the feast of Easter should be celebrated every year according to the table of Victorius; and that the day whereon it is to be celebrated every year should be declared by the bishop in the time of divine service on the feast of Epiphany." However in a little time it was thought more convenient to adapt these tables to the calendar, so that every one, who had a book of the divine offices wherein this calendar was placed, might know the day whereon Easter should be kept, without any further information.

And afterwards adapted to the calendar in the service book.

The occasion of the Golden Number and Dominical Letters being placed in the calendar.

But the whole table being of too great a length to be inserted into one book of divine offices, it was found more advisable to place the *Golden Number*, or Cycle of the moon, in the first column of the calendar, and the *Dominical Letters* in another column; in such manner that the Golden Number should point out the new moons in every month: by which means it would be easy to find out the fourteenth day of the Easter moon, or the first full moon after the twenty-first day of March, and then, by the Dominical Letter following that day, to be assured of the day whereon Easter must be kept.

The table to find Easter for ever

§. 4. And from these two columns was drawn up a *Table to find Easter for ever*; that so at any

[9] Can. I. Concil. tom. v. col. 381, E.

erroneous. New tables to find it by.

time, by only knowing the Golden Number and the Dominical Letter, it might be seen at one view (without any trouble or computation) what day Easter would happen on in any year required. But that table being founded on this erroneous supposition, viz. that the Golden Numbers, as fixed in the calendar, would *for ever* shew the day of the new moon in every month, which they have long since failed to do, it is laid aside, and others substituted in its place, whereby to find the paschal full moon and Easter-day till the year 1900; when the Golden Numbers must be *shifted* (according to the tables prepared for that purpose [10]) to make them continue to answer the ends for which they stand in the tables and calendar. But it does not fall within our present design to consider *tables* which are calculated for so distant a time.

SECT. III.—*Of the Golden Number.*

The Golden Number.

I PASS on now to the *Table of movable feasts for fifty-two years*, where it may be expected I should speak of three things therein mentioned, viz. the *Golden Number*, the *Epact*, and the *Dominical Letter;* and of these the first that offers itself is the *Golden Number:* of this, therefore, in the first place.

By whom invented, and why called Golden Number, &c.

§. 2. And this, as we have already hinted, was invented long before our Saviour's nativity by Meton the Athenian, from whence it was styled the *Metonic Cycle;* till afterwards it changed its name, being either from its great usefulness in ascertaining the moon's age, or else from its being written in letters of gold, called the *Golden Number;* though sometimes, for the first of these reasons, it is called the *Cycle of the Moon.*

The occasion of it, and how brought into the calendar.

§. 3. The occasion of this Cycle was this: It having been observed that at the end of nineteen years the moon returned to have her changes on the same days of the solar year and month whereon they happened nineteen years before; it was thought that by the use of a cycle, consisting of nineteen numbers, the time of the *new* moons every year might be found out, without the help of astronomical tables, after this manner: viz. they observed on what day of each calendar month the new moon fell in each year of the cycle, and to the said days

[10] See the four last tables in the Book of Common Prayer.

they set respectively the number of the said year. And after this method they went through all the nineteen years of the cycle, as may be seen in the calendar of most Common Prayer Books printed before the year 1752.

§. 4. And by this method the new moon could be found with accuracy enough at the time of the Nicene Council, forasmuch as the Golden Number did then shew the day (i. e. the Nuchthemeron) upon which the new moon fell out. And hereupon is founded the rule of the Nicene Council for finding Easter, as has been already shewed. But here it is to be observed, that the cycle of the moon is less than nineteen Julian years, by one hour, twenty-seven minutes, and almost thirty-two seconds: whence it comes to pass, that although the new moons fall again upon the same days as they did nineteen years before, yet they fall not on the same hour of the day, or Nuchthemeron, but one hour, twenty-seven minutes, and almost thirty-two seconds sooner. And this difference arising in about three hundred and twelve years to a whole day; it must follow that the new moon, after every three hundred and twelve years, would fall a whole day (or Nuchthemeron) sooner. So that for this reason the new moons were found to fall about four days and a half sooner now than the Golden Numbers indicated. And though this might have been rectified for the present, by shifting the Golden Numbers to the days on which the astronomical new moons now happen; yet it has been ordered by the late Act for correcting the Calendar, that the column of Golden Numbers, as they were prefixed to the respective days of *all* the months in the calendar, shall be left out in all future editions of the Book of Common Prayer. And accordingly the Golden Numbers have now no place in the calendar but against the twenty-first of March and the eighteenth of April,* and some of the intermediate days, where they stand

Why now ordered to be left out of the calendar.

The Paschal Limits answering the Golden Numbers, according to the new account.

Golden Numb.	The Paschal Limits.
1	April 13.
2	April 2.
3	March 22.
4	April 10.
5	March 30.
6	April 18.
7	April 7.
8	March 27.
9	April 15.
10	April 4.
11	March 24.
12	April 12.
13	April 1.
14	March 21.
15	April 9.
16	March 29.
17	April 17.
18	April 6.
19	March 26.

* The twenty-first of March and the eighteenth of April are properly the paschal limits, because the full moon by which Easter is governed must not fall before the former or

only as the paschal terms, (for a limited time,[11]) shewing the days of the *full* moons, by which Easter is to be governed through all the several years of the moon's cycle; as is expressed in the table annexed.

To find the Golden Number of any year.

§. 5. I shall add no more on this head, than to shew how we may find the Golden Number for any year. And this is done by adding one[12] to the given year of Christ, and then dividing the sum by nineteen. If after the division nothing remains over, then the Golden Number is nineteen; but if any number remains over, then the said remainder is the Golden Number for that year. For instance, I would know the Golden Number for the year 1758, which by this method I find to be 11; for 1758 and 1 (i. e. 1759) being divided by 19, there will remain 11. And thus much for the cycle of the moon.

SECT. IV.—*Of the Epacts.*

The lunar year how computed.

THE *Lunar Year* consists of twelve lunar months, i. e. of twelve months, consisting of about twenty-nine days and a half each. In which space of time the moon returns to her conjunction with the sun; that is, from one new moon to the next new moon are very near twenty-nine days and a half. But, to avoid fractions, the computists allow thirty days to one moon, and twenty-nine to another: so that in twelve moons six are computed to have thirty days each, and the other six but twenty-nine days each. Thus beginning the year with March, (for that was the ancient custom,) they allowed thirty days for the moon in March, and twenty-nine for that in April; and thirty again for May, and twenty-nine for June, &c. according to the old verses:

Impar luna pari, par fiet in impare mense;
In quo completur mensi lunatio detur.

For the first, third, fifth, seventh, ninth, and eleventh months, which are called *impares menses*, or unequal months, have their moons according to computation of thirty days each, which are therefore called *pares lunæ*, or equal moons; but

after the latter day: so that March the twenty-second is the earliest day, and April the twenty-fifth (which, if the eighteenth should be full moon and a Sunday, will be the Sunday following) the latest day upon which Easter can fall. And upon this is framed the *Table of the movable feasts according to the several days that Easter can possibly fall upon.*

[11] Till the year 1899 inclusive. [12] The reason of adding one is, because the æra of Christ began in the second year of the cycle.

the second, fourth, sixth, eighth, tenth, and twelfth months, which are called *pares menses*, or equal months, have their moons but twenty-nine days each, which are called *impares lunæ*, or unequal moons.

The occasion of the Epact.

§. 2. Now these twelve months of thirty and twenty-nine days alternate, making up but three hundred and fifty-four days in all; the whole lunar year must consequently be eleven days shorter than the solar year, which consists of three hundred and sixty-five days. So that supposing the new moon to be on the first day of March in any year; in the next year the new moon will happen eleven days before the first of March, viz. on February eighteen. Therefore, to know the age of the moon on the first of March that year, we add an Epact, i. e. an intercalar number of eleven days; the lunar month being that year eleven days before the solar. Then again, at the end of the next year, the new moon will fall eleven days sooner than it did at the end of the foregoing year, viz. on February the seventh; for which reason we add eleven days more for the Epact of the next year, which makes it twenty-two. The year after this the moon will again fall short of the time whereon it happened in the foregoing year eleven days more; which being added to twenty-two, the Epact of the year past, the whole will make thirty-three, that is, one whole moon and three days over; so that in that year we compute thirteen moons, viz. twelve common moons of thirty and twenty-nine days alternate, and an intercalar one of thirty days; and take the odd three days for the Epact of the next year, and then proceed in the same manner again, by adding eleven at the end of every year: always observing, when the number rises above thirty, to add an intercalar moon to that year, and to retain the remaining number for the Epact of the next.

How the Epacts answer to the Golden Number.

§. 3. Thus have we nineteen Epacts, answering to the Golden Numbers, and following one another in course, by the adding of eleven days every year in the following manner; 11. 22. 33. 14. 25. 36. 17. 28. 39. 20. 31. 12. 23. 34. 15. 26. 37. 18. 29. In which cycle of Epacts, as I have noted them in the numbers 33. 36. 39. 31. 34. 37. the figures that have a dot or tittle over them are not put as belonging to the Epact; but only denote that in those years there is an intercalar or thirteenth

A Table of Epacts.

Golden Numb.	Old Style.	New Style.
1	11	0
2	22	11
3	3	22
4	14	3
5	25	14
6	6	25
7	17	6
8	28	17
9	9	28
10	20	9
11	1	20
12	12	1
13	23	12
14	4	23
15	15	4
16	26	15
17	7	26
18	18	7
19	29	18

month of thirty days added to the year before; but the Epacts for those years are 3. 6. 9. 1. 4. 7. And after the Epact of 29, (which makes the last intercalar month,) the cycle begins again at 11. But this is so only in the Julian account; for according to the new reckoning, though the years of the Golden Number agree, the Epacts are different; as may be seen by the adjoining table, in which both are exhibited in one view.

How to find the Epact.

§. 4. The readiest way to find the Julian Epact is by the Golden Number; for if the Golden Number be 3, or a number to be divided by 3, the Epact is the same. If it be any other number, as 4, 5, 7, or 8, consider how many numbers it is more than the last number to be divided by 3, and add so many times 11 to it, casting away 30 as often as there is occasion, and it gives the Epact. And the Julian Epact being known, it is easy from thence to find the Epact according to the New Style: namely, if the Julian Epact be greater than 11, subtract 11 from it; if less than 11, add 30 to it, and from that sum subtract 11, and the remainder will be the Epact required. Or in still fewer words, the difference of the Epacts of the Old Style from the New is equal to the number of days taken away from the Old.

The use of the Epact to find the moon's age.

§. 5. By the Epact we discover the true *astronomical moons* very near, i. e. within a day over or under, which may be sufficient for common use, and no cycle can be found nearer. The method of doing which is this: if we would know how old the moon is on any day of a month, we must add unto that day the Epact, and as many days more as there are months from March to that month inclusive;[14] which if it be less than 30, shews the moon's age; if it be greater, subtract 30 from it, and the age of the moon remaineth; i. e. whatever number remains after the whole has been divided by 30, so many days old is

[14] The reason of which is, because the Epact increaseth every year eleven days, which being almost one day for every month, therefore we add the number of the month from March inclusive. But this is to be understood only of the months that follow March, and not those that go before it.

the moon: if nothing remains, the moon changes that day. Thus for instance, if we would know what the age of the moon will be the second of November in the year 1758, we must inquire after this manner: the Epact for that year is 20; to 20 therefore we must add 2, the day of the month, and nine more, the number of the month inclusive from March; which three numbers being added together, make up the number 31; from which if we subtract 30 (the moon having so many days in November, that being an unequal month) there will remain 1, which will appear to be the age of the moon on that day.

Why the Epacts shew the moon's age truer than the Golden Number.

§. 6. The reason why the Epacts shew the moon's age *truer* than the Golden Number did, is because the Golden Number being affixed to the calendar could not be removed to other days than those against which they stood, unless by public authority. But the Epacts not being so affixed, have been changed from time to time by the computists, as they saw occasion to make such alterations, in order to make their computations agreeable to the course of the moon in the heavens. For though in the space of nineteen years the moon returns to have her conjunction with the sun on the same days; yet those conjunctions fall out about an hour and a half earlier in the succeeding nineteen years than they did in the foregoing; which, as has been calculated, makes a whole day's difference in a little more than three hundred and twelve years. Therefore the computists have once in a little more than that time changed the old course of the Epacts, and substituted another in its room: to which cause it is owing that they still notify the new moons to us according to the real conjunction of the luminaries in the heavens, and have not failed us, as the Golden Numbers have done.

SECT. V.—*Of the Cycle of the Dominical Letters, commonly called the Cycle of the Sun.*

The Cycle of the Sun improperly so called.

THE *Cycle of the Sun* is very improperly so called, since it relates not to the course of the Sun, but to the course of the Dominical or Sunday letter, and ought therefore to be called the *Cycle of the Sunday Letter.*

The use of the Cycle.

§. 2. The use of the cycle arises from the custom of assigning in the calendar to each day of the week one of the first seven letters of the

alphabet: A being always affixed to January the first, whatever day of the week it be; B to January the second, C to January the third, and so in order, G to January the seventh. After which the same letters are repeated again: A being affixed to January the eighth, and so on. According to this method, there being fifty-two weeks in a year, the said letters are repeated fifty-two times in the calendar. And were there just fifty-two weeks, the letter G would belong to the last day of the year, as the letter A does to the first; and consequently that letter which was at first constituted the Sunday letter (and the same is to be understood of the other days of the week) would always have been so; and there would have been no change of the Sunday letter. But one year consisting of fifty-two weeks and an odd day over; hence it comes to pass that the letter A belongs to the last, as well as to the first day of every year. For although every leap-year consists of three hundred and sixty-six days, i. e. of two days over fifty-two weeks, yet it is not usual to add a letter more, viz. B, at the end of the year; but instead thereof to repeat the letter C, which stands against February the twenty-eighth, and affix it again to the intercalated day, February the twenty-ninth.[15] By which means the said seven letters of the alphabet remain affixed to the same days of a leap-year as of a common year, through all the whole calendar both before and after. The letter A then thus always belonging to the last day of the old year, and first of the new, it thence comes to pass, that there is a change made as to the Sunday letter in a [16]backward order; i. e. supposing G to be the Sunday letter one year, F will be so the next, and so on.

A single change of the Sunday letter in the common years, and a double one in leap-years.

§. 3. Now were there but this *single* change, Sunday would be denoted by each of the seven letters every seven years, and so the cycle of the Sunday letter would consist of no more than seven years. But now there being in every fourth or leap-year two days above fifty-two weeks; hence it comes to pass that there is every such year a *double* change made as to the Sunday letter. For as the odd single day above fifty-two weeks in a common year, makes the first

[15] In the common almanacks the letter F is set against the twenty-fourth and twenty-fifth, the twenty-fourth having been formerly accounted the intercalary day: but our Church at present seems to make the twenty-ninth of February the intercalated day, as shall be shewed hereafter, when I treat of the time of keeping St. Matthias's day.

[16] Bede expressed the retrograde order of the Dominical Letter in this verse:
G *randia* F *rendet* E *quus*, D *um* C *ernit* B *elliger* A *arma*.

Sunday in January to shift from that which was the Sunday letter in the foregoing year, to the next letter to it in a backward order; so a day being intercalated every leap-year at the end of February, and the letter C being affixed to the twenty-ninth, as well as to the twenty-eighth day of that month, does also make the first Sunday in March to shift from that which was the Sunday letter in February, to the next letter to it in a retrograde order. So that if in a leap-year F be the Sunday letter for January and February, E will be the Sunday letter for all the rest of the year, and D for the year following. By reason of which double change in every fourth or leap-year, it comes to pass that the cycle of the Sunday letter consists of four times seven years, i. e. it does not proceed in the same course it did before, till after twenty-eight years: but after that number of years, its course or order is the same as it was before.

Why the cycle consists of twenty-eight years.

§. 4. To find out the Sunday letter for any year of the Julian cycle, we must do thus: to the year of our Lord we must add 9, (for the æra of Christ began in the tenth year of the cycle,) and then divide the sum by 28. If any of the dividend remains, the said remainder shews the year of the cycle sought; if nothing remains of the dividend, then it is the last or twenty-eighth year of the cycle. And the Dominical Letter according to the New Style is at present, and will be for some years to come, the *third* in a backward order of the letters from the Julian:[17] as may be seen by the annexed table of the Julian cycle of the Sun, and of the corresponding Sunday letters in the new account.

How to find the Dominical Letter.

For it is to be observed with respect to these two *tables* or *cycles*, that the former or Julian table would serve for *ever*; but that the latter will serve

A TABLE of the Cycle of the Sun.

Year of the Cycle.	Julian Dominical Letters.	Year of our Lord.	Domin. Letters New Style.
1	G F	1756	D C
2	E	1757	B
3	D	1758	A
4	C	1759	G
5	B A	1760	F E
6	G	1761	D
7	F	1762	C
8	E	1763	B
9	D C	1764	A G
10	B	1765	F
11	A	1766	E
12	G	1767	D
13	F E	1768	C B
14	D	1769	A
15	C	1770	G
16	B	1771	F
17	A G	1772	E D
18	F	1773	C
19	E	1774	B
20	D	1775	A
21	C B	1776	G F
22	A	1777	E
23	G	1778	D
24	F	1779	C
25	E D	1780	B A
26	C	1781	G
27	B	1782	F
28	A	1783	E

[17] Till the year 1800, when it will be the second.

only for the *present century:*[18] to explain the reason of this we must take notice again, that as the Julian solar year has been found to be too long by about three quarters of an hour in four years, or a whole day in about one hundred and thirty-three years, or three days in four hundred years; it hath been contrived to suppress three days in every four hundred years; which is ordered to be done by making only those hundredth years of our Lord, which may be divided into even hundreds by 4, to be *bissextile* or *leap* years; and all other hundredth years which cannot be so divided, (which are also leap-years in the Julian account,) to be deemed *common* years. In consequence of which the year of our Lord 1800, not being divisible into even hundreds by 4, will be a common year with only one Sunday letter; and as the like will happen three times in every four hundred years, it will require a table of *four hundred years* to shew all the changes of the Dominical Letters that can happen according to the new account.[19]

A GENERAL TABLE,

	A G F.E.D.	C B A.G.F.	E D C.B.A.	G F E.D.C.	B A G.F.E.	D C B.A.G.	F E D.C.B.
	1584	88	92	96	- - -	- - -	- - -
0	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	1600	4	8
	1612	16	20	24	28	32	36
	40	44	48	52	56	60	64
	68	72	76	80	84	88	92
	96	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -
1	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	1704
	1708	12	16	20	24	28	32
	36	40	44	48	52	56	60
	64	68	72	76	80	84	88
	92	96	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -
2	1804	8	12	16	20	24	28
	32	36	40	44	48	52	56
	60	64	68	72	76	80	84
	88	92	96	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -
3	- - -	1904	8	12	16	20	24
	28	32	36	40	44	48	52
	56	60	64	68	72	76	80
	84	88	92	96	- - -	- - -	- - -
	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	2000	4	8

Shewing, by inspection, all the DOMINICAL LETTERS that have been since the correction of the Julian Calendar by pope Gregory XIII., which took place from the ides of Oct. 1582, or that can occur in any future times.

[18] See a rule to find the Sunday letter New Style, both for this century and the next, in the table for finding Easter-day till 1899. [19] The editors have been favoured with a copy of such a table, drawn up by W. Rivet, of the Inner Temple, Esq., which they have printed, believing it will be acceptable to the reader.

By the Julian calendar the Dominical Letters for the year 1580 were C B, for 1581 A, and for 1582 (the second year after bissextile) the letter G. Consequently as October in that year began on a Monday, the fourth of that month must be Thursday; and the next natural day, which was reckoned the fifteenth (*ten* days being then dropped) was Friday; the sixteenth nominal day of course was Saturday, and Sunday falling on the seventeenth, the Dominical Letter then changed to C: and from that day all subsequent Dominical Letters take their revolutions.

On this plan the foregoing table was formed; wherein observe, the years 1700, 1800, and 1900, are not particularly expressed, they being accounted as common years, that have but one Dominical Letter each; viz. C for 1700, E for 1800, and G for 1900. All the years expressed in the table are bissextile, or leap-years, and have two Dominical Letters placed at the head of their respective columns; as for the years 1600, 1628, 1656, and 1684, the Dominical Letters were B A, and so of the rest.

The letters for the first, second, and third years after every bissextile, are the three single letters placed under the double letters, in the same column with the bissextile they immediately follow. For example, as the Dominical Letters for 1600 were B A, so the Dominical Letter for 1601 was G, for 1602 F, and for 1603 E. So for 1796 the Dominical Letters will be C B; consequently 1797, 1798, and 1799, must have A, G, and F: and the letter for 1800 (which is to be accounted a common year) will be E; therefore 1801, 1802, and 1803, must have the subsequent letters D, C, and B; and then 1804, being bissextile, will come under the letters A G: and from thence every *fourth* year will be leap-year to 1896 inclusive.

The Dominical Letters of each century expressed in the table, will be the same again after a revolution of four hundred years; wherefore, if you divide any given *hundredth* year by 4, and nothing remains, it is a bissextile hundred; and the whole century from thence will have the same letters throughout as the seventeenth century, beginning from 1600. If one remains, it will be governed by the eighteenth century; if two, by the nineteenth; and if three, by the twentieth century, beginning from 1900.

EXAMPLES.

If the Dominical Letter for 2484 be required, divide 24 by

4, and nothing will remain; therefore look in the seventeenth century for 1684, and you will find it under B A, which must be the Dominical Letters for the year required.

So for the year 8562: let 85 be divided by 4, and the remainder will be 1; wherefore the Dominical Letter may be found in the eighteenth century, being the same as for 1762, viz. C.

If it be required to know the Dominical Letter for the year 5400; divide 54 by 4, and the remainder will be 2, denoting it to be the second after a bissextile hundred, and consequently the given year must have the same letter as the year 1800; from which the nineteenth century begins, viz. E, the fourth single letter after the bissextile year 1796.

Lastly, if the Dominical Letter for 3503 be required; as 35 divided by 4 leaves 3, it will be the same with 1903, which will be found to be D by counting from 1896, the bissextile next preceding it; as 1900 will be a common year.

And since, after dividing the hundreds in any given year of our Lord by 4, there will remain either 0, 1, 2, or 3, so any question of this kind will be resolved by finding in the table the Sunday Letter or Letters of the corresponding year in such of the four centuries, as is analogous to that of the question proposed.

PART II.

OF THE CALENDAR.

THE INTRODUCTION.

I. HAVING said what I thought requisite in order to explain the Tables and Rules before and after the Calendar, I shall now proceed to treat, in as little compass as I can, of the *Calendar* itself. It consists of *several columns*; concerning the *first* of which, as it only shews the days of the month in their numerical order, I need say nothing; and of the *second*, which contains the letters of the alphabet affixed to the several days of every week, I have already said as much in the former part of this chapter as was necessary to shew the use and design of their being placed here.

The columns of days of the month and week.

II. The *third* column (as printed in the larger Common Prayer Books) has the *Calends*, *Nones*, and *Ides*, which was the method of computation used by the old Romans and primitive Christians, instead of the days of the month, and is still useful to those who read either ecclesiastical or profane history. But this way of computation being now grown into disuse; and this column being also omitted in most small editions of the Common Prayer Book, (though without authority,) there is no need that I should enter into the particulars of it.

The columns of calends, &c.

III. Neither is there occasion that I should say any thing here concerning the *four last* columns of the calendar, which contain the *Course of Lessons* for morning and evening prayer for ordinary days throughout the year; since the course of lessons both for ordinary days and Sundays, &c. will come under consideration in a more proper place hereafter.

The columns of lessons.

IV. So that nothing remains to be treated of here, but the *Column of Holy-days;* and as many of these too as are observed by the Church of England, I shall speak to in the fifth chapter. But then as to the *Popish Holy-days* retained in our calendar, I shall have no fairer opportunity of treating of them than in this place. And therefore, since some small account of these has been desired by some persons, I shall here insert it, to gratify their curiosity.

The column of holy-days.

Of the Romish Saints-days and Holy-days in general.

The reasons why the popish holy-days are retained in our calendar.

THE reasons why the names of these Saints-days and Holy-days were resumed into the calendar are various. Some of them being retained upon account of our *Courts of Justice*, which usually make their returns on these days, or else upon the days before or after them, which are called in the writs, *Vigil. Fest.* or *Crast.*, as in *Vigil. Martin; Fest. Martin; Crast. Martin;* and the like. Others are probably kept in the calendar for the sake of such tradesmen, handicraftsmen, and others, as are wont to celebrate the memory of their tutelar Saints; as the *Welshmen* do of St. *David*, the Shoemakers of St. *Crispin*, &c. And again, churches being in several places dedicated to some or other of these Saints, it has been the usual custom in such places to have *Wakes* or *Fairs* kept upon

those days; so that the people would probably be displeased, if, either in this, or the former case, their favourite Saint's name should be left out of the calendar. Besides, the histories which were writ before the Reformation do frequently speak of transactions happening upon such a holy-day, or about such a time, without mentioning the month; relating one thing to be done at *Lammas-tide*, and another about *Martinmas*, &c., so that were these names quite left out of the calendar, we might be at a loss to know when several of these transactions happened. But for this and the foregoing reasons our second reformers under queen Elizabeth (though all those days had been omitted in both books of king Edward VI. excepting St. *George's Day*, *Lammas Day*, St. *Laurence*, and St. *Clement*, which were in his second book) thought convenient to restore the names of them to the calendar, though not with any regard of being kept holy by the Church. For this they thought prudent to forbid, as well upon the account of the great inconveniency brought into the Church in the times of Popery, by the observation of such a number of holy-days, to the great prejudice of labouring and trading men; as by reason that many of those Saints they then commemorated were oftentimes men of none of the best characters. Besides, the history of these Saints, and the accounts they gave of the other holy-days, were frequently found to be feigned and fabulous. For which reason, I suppose, the generality of my readers would excuse my giving them or myself any further trouble upon this head: but being sensible that there are some people who are particularly desirous of this sort of information, I shall for their sakes subjoin a short account of every one of these holy-days as they lie in their order; but must first bespeak my reader not to think that I endeavour to impose all these stories upon him as truths; but to remember that I have already given him warning that a great part of the account will be feigned and fabulous. And therefore I presume he will excuse my burdening him with testimonies; since though I could bring testimonies for every thing I shall say, yet I cannot promise that they will be convincing. But, however, I promise to invent nothing of my own, nor to set down any thing but what some or other of the blind Romanists superstitiously believe.

But not kept holy.

SECT. I.—*Of the Romish Saints-days and Holy-days in January.*

Lucian (to whose memory the eighth day of this month was dedicated) is said by some to have been a disciple of St. Peter, and to have been sent by him with St. Dennys into France, where, for preaching the Gospel, he suffered martyrdom. Though others relate that he was a learned presbyter of Antioch, well versed in the Hebrew tongue, taking a great deal of pains in comparing and amending the copies of the Bible. Being long exercised in the sacred discipline, he was brought to the city of the Nicomedians, when the emperor Galerius Maximianus was there; and having recited an apology for the Christian religion which he had composed, before the governor of the city, he was cast into prison; and having endured incredible tortures, was put to death.[20] January 8. Lucian, confessor and martyr.

§. 2. *Hilary*, bishop of Poictiers in France, (commemorated on the thirteenth of this month,) was a great champion of the catholic doctrine against the Arians; for which he was persecuted by their party, and banished into Phrygia about the year 356, where, after much pains taken in the controversy, and many troubles underwent, he died about the year 367. 13. Hilary, bishop and confessor.

§. 3. *Prisca*, a Roman lady, commemorated on the eighteenth, was early converted to Christianity; but refusing to abjure her religion, and to offer sacrifices when she was commanded, was horribly tortured, and afterwards beheaded under the emperor Claudius, A. D. 47. 18. Prisca, Roman virgin and martyr.

§. 4. *Fabian* was bishop of Rome about fourteen years, viz. from A. D. 239 to 253, and suffered martyrdom under the emperor Decius. 20. Fabian, bishop and martyr.

§. 5. *Agnes*, a young Roman lady of a noble family, suffered martyrdom in the tenth general persecution under the emperor Diocletian, A. D. 306. She was by the wicked cruelty of the judge condemned to be debauched in a public stew before her execution; but was miraculously preserved by lightning and thunder from heaven. She underwent her persecution with wonderful readiness, and though the executioner hacked and hewed her body most unmercifully with the sword, yet she bore it with 21. Agnes, Roman virgin and martyr.

[20] Euseb. Histor. Eccl. l. ix. c. 6, p. 351, C.

incredible constancy, singing hymns all the time, though she was then no more than thirteen or fourteen years old.

About eight days after her execution, her parents going to lament and pray at her tomb, where they continued watching all night, it is reported that there appeared unto them a vision of angels, arrayed with glittering and glorious garments; among whom they saw their own daughter appareled after the same manner, and a lamb standing by her as white as snow; (which is the reason why the painters picture her with a lamb by her side.) Ever after which time the Roman ladies went every year (as they still do) to offer and present her on this day the two best and purest white lambs they could procure. These they offered at St. Agnes's altar, (as they call it,) and from thence the pope gives orders to have them put into the choicest pasture about the city, till the time of sheep-shearing come; at which season they are clipt, and the wool is hallowed, whereof a fine white cloth is spun and woven, and consecrated every year by the pope himself, for the palls which he useth to send to every archbishop; and which till they have purchased at a most extravagant price, they cannot exercise any metropolitical jurisdiction.

Why painted with a lamb by her side.

The original of archbishops' palls.

22. Vincent, a deacon of Spain and martyr.

§. 6. *Vincent*, a deacon of the church in Spain, was born at Oscard, now Huezza, a town in Arragon. He was instructed in divinity by Valerius, bishop of Saragossa; but, by reason of an impediment in his speech, never took upon him the office of preaching. He suffered martyrdom in the Diocletian persecution about the year 303, being laid all along upon burning coals, and, after his body was broiled there, thrown upon heaps of broken tiles.

SECT. II.—*Of the Romish Saints-days and Holy-days in February.*

February 3. Blassius, bishop and martyr.

Blassius was bishop of Sebaste in Armenia, reported to have been a man of great miracles and power, put to death in the same city by Agricolaus the president, under Diocletian the emperor, in the year 289. His name is not put down in some editions of the Common Prayer Book, but it occurs in the most authentic.

5. Agatha, a Sicilian virgin and martyr.

§. 2. *Agatha*, a virgin honourably born in Sicily, suffered martyrdom under Decius the emperor at Catanea. Being very beautiful,

Quintianus, the prætor or governor of the province, was enamoured with her: but not being able to work his ill design upon her, ordered her to be scourged, and then imprisoned, for not worshipping the heathen gods. After which, she, still persisting constant in the faith, was put upon the rack, burnt with hot irons, and had her breast cut off. And then being remanded back to prison, she had several divine comforts afforded her: but the prætor sending for her again, being half-dead, she prayed to God to receive her soul; with which petition she immediately expired; it being the fifth of February, A. D. 253.

14. Valentine, bishop and martyr.

§. 3. *Valentine* was an ancient presbyter of the Church; he suffered martyrdom under Claudius at Rome. Being delivered into the custody of one Asterius, he wrought a miracle upon his daughter; whom, being blind, he restored to sight; by which means he converted the whole family to Christianity, who all of them afterwards suffered for their religion. Valentine, after a year's imprisonment at Rome, was beheaded in the Flaminian-way about the year 271, and was enrolled among the martyrs of the Church; his day being established before the times of Gregory the Great. He was a man of most admirable parts, and so famous for his love and charity, that the custom of *choosing Valentines* upon his festival (which is still practised) took its rise from thence.

The original of choosing Valentines.

SECT. III.—*Of the Romish Saints-days and Holy-days in March.*

March 1. David, archbishop of Menevia.

David, to whose memory the first of this month was formerly dedicated, was descended from the royal family of the Britons, being uncle to the great king Arthur, and son of Xantus prince of Wales, by one Melearia, a nun. He was a man very learned and eloquent, and of incredible austerity in his life and conversation. By his diligence Pelagianism was quite rooted out, and many earnest professors of the same converted unto the truth. He was made bishop of Caerleon in Wales, which see he afterwards removed to Menevia; from him ever since called St. David's. He sat long, viz. sixty-five years, and (having built twelve monasteries in the country thereabouts) died in the year 642: being, as Bale writes out of the British histories, a hundred and forty-six years old. He was buried in his own cathedral church, and canonized by Pope Calixtus

II. about five hundred years afterwards. Many things are reported of him incredible; as that his death was foretold thirty years beforehand; and that he was always attended by angels, who kept him company; that he bestowed upon the waters of Bath that extraordinary heat they have; and that whilst he was once preaching to a great multitude of people at Brony, the ground swelled under his feet into a little hill; with several other such stories not worth rehearsing.

2. Cedde, or Chad, bishop of Lichfield.

§. 2. *Cedde* was, in the absence of Wilfride, archbishop of York, who was gone to Paris for consecration, and gave no hopes of a speedy return, enforced by Egfrid king of Northumberland to accept of that see. But Wilfride being returned, Cedde was persuaded by Theodorus, archbishop of Canterbury, to resign the see to him: after which for some time he lived a monastical life at Leastingeag; till, by the means of the same Theodorus, he was made bishop of Lichfield, under Wolfhere, king of Mercia, whom he is said to have converted. He died March 2, A. D. 672.

7. Perpetua, a Mauritanian martyr.

§. 3. *Perpetua* was a lady of quality, who suffered martyrdom in Mauritania, under the emperor Severus, about the year 205. She is often very honourably mentioned by Tertullian and St. Austin; the last of whom lets us know that the day of her martyrdom was settled into a holy-day in his time; and remarks of her, that she gave suck to a young child at the time of her sufferings.

12. Gregory the Great, bishop of Rome and confessor.

§. 4. *Gregory* the Great, who stands next in the calendar, was descended from noble parents. He very early addicted himself to study and piety, giving all his estate to the building and maintaining of religious houses. He was consecrated pope about the year 590, but vigorously opposed the title of *universal bishop* (which the bishops of Constantinople did then, and the bishops of Rome do now assume) as blasphemous, antichristian, and diabolical. Among other his glorious and Christian deeds, his memory was annually celebrated here in England, for his devout charity to our nation, in sending Austin the monk, with forty other missionaries, to convert the Saxons, (who had testified their desire to embrace Christianity,) which in a short time they happily achieved. Having held the popedom fourteen years, he died about the year

604, leaving many learned books behind him, which are still extant.

§. 5. *Edward* was descended from the West Saxon kings, and the son of king Edgar, who first reduced the heptarchy into one kingdom: after whose death, in the year 975, this Edward succeeded to the crown at twelve years of age, but did not enjoy it above two or three years. For paying a visit to Elfride his mother-in-law at Corfe-castle, in Dorsetshire, he was by her order stabbed in the back, (whilst he was drinking a cup of wine,) to make way for her son Etheldred, his half-brother. His favour to the monks made his barbarous murder to be esteemed a martyrdom; the day of which was appointed to be kept festival by pope Innocent IV. A. D. 1245. 18. Edward, king of the West Saxons.

§. 6. *Benedict* was born in Norcia, a town in Italy, of an honourable family. Being much given to devotion, he set up an order of monks, which bears his name, about the year 529. He was very remarkable for his mortification; and the monks of his own order relate, that he would often roll himself in a heap of briers to check any carnal desires that he found to arise in himself. St. Gregory[21] tells us of a very famous miracle wrought upon his account, viz. That the Goths, when they invaded Italy, came to burn his cell; and being set on fire, it burnt round him in a circle, not doing him the least hurt: at which the Goths being enraged, threw him into a hot oven, stopping it up close; but coming the next day, they found him safe, neither his flesh scorched, nor his clothes singed. He died on the twenty-first of March, A. D. 542. 21. Benedict, abbot.

SECT. IV.—*Of the Romish Saints-days and Holy-days in April.*

Richard, surnamed *de Wiche*, from a place so called in Worcestershire, where he was born, was brought up at the universities of Oxford and Paris. Being come to man's estate, he travelled to Bononia; where having studied the canon law seven years, he became public reader of the same. Being returned home, he was, in the vacancy of the see of Chichester, chosen bishop by that chapter; which the king opposing, (he having nominated another,) Richard appealed to Rome, and had his election confirmed by the pope, who consecrated him also at Lyons, April 3. Richard, bishop of Chichester.

[21] Greg. Dial. lib. iii.

in the year 1245. He was very much reverenced for his great learning and diligent preaching, but especially for his integrity of life and conversation. Strange miracles are told of him: as that, by his blessing, he increased a single loaf of bread to satisfy the hunger of three thousand poor people; and that in his extreme old age, whilst he was celebrating the eucharist, he fell down with the chalice in his hand, but the wine was miraculously preserved from falling to the ground. About seven or eight years after his death, he was canonized for a saint by pope Urban IV. A. D. 1261.

4. Ambrose, bishop of Milan.

§. 2. St. *Ambrose* was born about the year 340. His father was prætorian præfect of Gaul, in whose palace St. Ambrose was educated. It is reported, that in his infancy a swarm of bees settled upon his cradle; which was a prognostication, as was supposed, of his future eloquence. After his father's death, he went with his mother to Rome, where he studied the laws, practised as an advocate, and was made governor of Milan and the neighbouring cities. Upon the death of Auxentius, bishop of Milan, there being a great contest in the election of a new bishop, this good father, in an excellent speech, exhorted them to peace and unanimity; which so moved the affections of the people, that they immediately forgot the competitors whom they were so zealous for before, and unanimously declared that they would have their governor for their bishop. Who, after several endeavours by flight and other artifices to avoid that burden, was at last compelled to yield to the importunities of the people, and to be consecrated bishop. From which time he gave all his money to pious uses, and settled the reversion of his estate upon the Church. He governed that see with great piety and vigilance for more than twenty years, and died in the year 396, being about fifty-seven years old: having first converted St. Augustin to the faith; at whose baptism he is said miraculously to have composed that divine hymn, so well known in the Church by the name of *Te Deum*.

19. Alphege, archbishop of Canterbury.

§. 3. *Alphege* was an Englishman of a most holy and austere life, which was the more admirable in him, because he was born of great parentage, and began that course of life in his younger years. He was first abbot of Bath, then bishop of Winchester, in the year 984, and twelve years afterwards archbishop of Canterbury. But in the year 1012, the Danes being disappointed

of a certain tribute which they claimed as due to them, they fell upon Canterbury, and spoiled and burnt both the city and church: nine parts in ten of the people they put to the sword; and after seven months miserable imprisonment, stoned the good archbishop to death at Greenwich; who was thereupon canonized for a saint and martyr, and had the nineteenth of April allowed him as his festival.

23. Saint George, martyr.

§. 4. St. *George*, the famous patron of the English nation, was born in Cappadocia, and suffered for the sake of his religion, A. D. 290, under the emperor Diocletian, (in whose army he had before been a colonel,) being supposed to have been the person that pulled down the edict against the Christians, which Diocletian had caused to be affixed upon the church doors.[22] The legends relate several strange stories of him, which are so common, they need not here be related: I shall only give a short account how he came to be so much esteemed of in England.

How he came to be patron of the English.

When Robert duke of Normandy, son to William the Conqueror, was prosecuting his victories against the Turks, and laying siege to the famous city of Antioch, which was like to be relieved by a mighty army of the Saracens; St. George appeared with an innumerable army coming down from the hills all in white, with a red cross in his banner, to reinforce the Christians; which occasioned the infidel army to fly, and the Christians to possess themselves of the town. This story made St. George extraordinary famous in those times, and to be esteemed a patron, not only of the English, but of Christianity itself. Not but that St. George was a considerable saint before this, having had a church dedicated to him by Justinian the emperor.

SECT. V.—*Of the Romish Saints-days and Holy-days in May.*

May 3. Invention of the cross.

THE third of this month is celebrated as a festival by the Church of Rome, in memory of the *Invention of the Cross*, which is said to be owing to this occasion. Helena, the mother of Constantine the Great, being admonished in a dream to search for the cross of Christ at Jerusalem, took a journey thither with that intent: and having employed labourers to dig at Golgotha, after opening the ground very deep, (for vast heaps of rubbish had

[22] See Lactantius de Mortibus Persecutorum.

purposely been thrown there by the spiteful Jews or heathens,) she found three crosses, which she presently concluded were the crosses of our Saviour and the two thieves who were crucified with him. But being at a loss to know which was the cross of Christ, she ordered them all three to be applied to a dead person. Two of them, the story says, had no effect; but the third raised the carcass to life, which was an evident sign to Helena, that that was the cross she looked for. As soon as this was known, every one was for getting a piece of the cross; insomuch that in Paulinus's time (who being a scholar of St. Ambrose, and bishop of Nola, flourished about the year 420) there was much more of the relics of the cross, than there was of the original wood. Whereupon that father says, "it was miraculously increased; it very kindly afforded wood to men's importunate desires, without any loss of its substance."

6. St. John Evang. ante Port. Lat.

§. 2. The sixth of this month was anciently dedicated to the memory of St. *John* the evangelist's miraculous deliverance from the persecution of Domitian: to whom being accused as an eminent asserter of atheism and impiety, and a public subverter of the religion of the empire, he was sent for to Rome, where he was treated with all the cruelty that could be expected from so bloody and barbarous a prince; for he was immediately put into a caldron of boiling oil, or rather oil set on fire, before the gate called *Porta Latina*, in the presence of the senate. But his Master and Lord, who favoured him when on earth above all the Apostles, so succoured him here, that he felt no harm from the most violent rage; but, as if he had been only anointed, like the athletæ of old, he came out more vigorous and active than before: the same divine Providence that secured the three children in the fiery furnace, bringing the holy man safe out of this, one would think, inevitable destruction; and so vouchsafing him the honour of martyrdom, without his enduring the torments of it.

19. Dunstan, archbishop of Canterbury.

§. 3. *Dunstan*, of whom we are next to speak, was well extracted, being related to king Athelstan. He was very well skilled in most of the liberal arts, and among the rest in refining metals and forging them; which being qualifications much above the genius of the age he lived in, first gained him the name of a conjurer, and then of a saint. He was certainly a very honest man,

and never feared to reprove vice in any of the kings of the West Saxons, of whom he was confessor to four successively. But the monks (to whom he was a very great friend, applying all his endeavours to enrich them and their monasteries) have filled his life with several nonsensical stories: such as are, his making himself a cell at Glastenburg all of iron at his own forge; his harp playing of itself, without a hand; his taking a she-devil, who tempted him to lewdness under the shape of a fine lady, by the nose with a pair of red-hot tongs; and several other such ridiculous relations not worth repeating. He was promoted by king Edgar, first to the bishopric of Worcester, soon after to London, and two years after that to Canterbury; where, having sat twenty-seven years, he died May 19, A. D. 988.

§. 4. *Augustin* was the person we have already mentioned, as sent by pope Gregory the Great to convert the Saxons, from whence he got the name of *the apostle of the English*. Whilst he was over here, he was made archbishop of Canterbury, A. D. 596. He had a contest with the monks of Bangor, about submission to the see of Rome, who refused any subjection but to God, and the bishop of Caerleon. Soon after this difference, Ethelfride, a pagan king of Northumberland, invaded Wales, and slaughtered a hundred and fifty of these monks, who came in a quiet manner to mediate a peace: which massacre is by some writers (but without just grounds) imputed to the instigation of Austin, in revenge for their opposition to him. After he had sat some time in the see of Canterbury, he deceased the twenty-sixth of May, about the year 610.

26. Augustin, first archbishop of Canterbury.

§. 5. *Bede* was born at Yarrow, in Northumberland, A. D. 673, and afterwards well educated in Greek and Latin studies, in which he made a proficiency beyond most of his age. He is author of several learned philosophical and mathematical tracts, as also of comments upon the Scripture: but his most valuable piece is his Ecclesiastical History of the Saxons. Being a monk, he studied in his cell; where spending more hours, and to better purpose, than the monks were wont to do, a report was raised that he never went out of it. However, he would not leave it for preferment at Rome, which the pope had often invited him to.

27. Venerable Bede.

How he got the name of Venerable.

His learning and piety gained him the surname of *Venerable*. Though the common story which goes about that title's being given him, is this: his scholars having a mind to fix a rhyming title upon his tombstone, as was the custom in those times, the poet wrote,

HAC SUNT IN FOSSA,
BEDÆ OSSA.

Placing the word OSSA at the latter end of the verse for the rhyme, but not being able to think of any proper epithet that would stand before it. The monk being tired in this perplexity to no purpose, fell asleep; but when he awaked, he found his verse filled up by an angelic hand, standing thus in fair letters upon the tomb:

HAC SUNT IN FOSSA,
BEDÆ VENERABILIS OSSA.

SECT. VI.—*Of the Romish Saints-days and Holy-days in June.*

June 1. Nicomede, a Roman priest and martyr.

Nicomede was scholar to St. Peter, and was discovered to be a Christian by his honourably burying one Felicula, a martyr. He was beat to death with leaden plummets for the sake of his religion, in the reign of Domitian.

5. Boniface, bishop of Ments, and martyr.

§. 2. *Boniface* was a Saxon presbyter, born in England, and at first called Winfrid. He was sent a missionary by Pope Gregory II. into Germany, where he converted several countries, and from thence got the name of *the apostle of Germany*. He was made bishop of Ments in the year 745. He was one of the most considerable men of his time, (most ecclesiastical matters going through his hands, as appears by his letters,) and was also a great friend and admirer of Bede. Carrying on his conversions in Frisia, he was killed by the barbarous people near Utrecht, A. D. 755.

17. St. Alban, martyr.

§. 3. St. *Alban* was the first Christian martyr in this island, about the middle of the third century. He was converted to Christianity by one Amphialus, a priest of Caerleon in Wales, who, flying from persecution into England, was hospitably entertained by St. Alban at Verulam, in Hertfordshire, now called from

him St. Albans. When, by reason of a strict search made for Amphialus, St. Alban could entertain him safe no longer, he dressed him in his own clothes, and by that means gained him an opportunity of escaping. But this being soon found out, exposed St. Alban to the fury of the pagans; who summoning him to do sacrifice to their gods, and he refusing, they first miserably tormented him, and then put him to death. The monks have fathered several miracles upon him, which it is not worth while here to relate.

20. Translation of Edward, king of the West Saxons.

§. 4. *Edward* king of the West Saxons being barbarously murdered by his mother-in-law, was first buried at Warham without any solemnity; but after three years was carried by duke Alferus to the minister of Shaftesbury, and there interred with great pomp. To the memory of which the twentieth of June has been since dedicated.

SECT. VII.—*Of the Romish Saints-days and Holy-days in July.*

July 2. Visitation of the blessed Virgin Mary.

ABOUT the year 1338 there was a terrible schism in the Church of Rome between two anti-popes, Urban VI. and Clement VII., the first chosen by the Italian, the other by the French faction among the cardinals. Upon this several great disorders happened. To avert which for the future, pope Urban instituted a feast to the memory of that famous journey, which the mother of our Lord took into the mountains of Judæa, to visit the mother of St. John the Baptist; that by this means the intercession of the blessed Virgin might be obtained for the removal of those evils. The same festival was confirmed by the decree of Boniface IX., though it was not universally observed until the Council of Basil: by decree of which Council in their forty-third session, upon July 1, 1441, it was ordered that this holy-day, called the *Visitation of the blessed Virgin Mary*, should be celebrated in all Christian churches, that "she being honoured with this solemnity, might reconcile her Son by her intercession, who is now angry for the sins of men; and that she might grant peace and unity among the faithful."

4. Translation of St. Martin, bishop and confessor.

§. 2. St. *Martin* was born in Pannonia, and for some time lived the life of a soldier, but at last took orders, and was made bishop of Tours in France. He was very diligent in breaking

down the heathen images and altars, which were standing in his time. He died in the year 400, after he had sat bishop twenty-six years. The French had formerly such an esteem for his memory, that they carried his helmet with them into their wars, either as an ensign to encourage them to bravery, or else as a sort of charm to procure them victory. His feast-day is celebrated on the eleventh of November. The fourth of this month is dedicated only to the memory of the translating or removing of his body from the place where it was buried, to a more noble and magnificent tomb; which was performed by Perpetuus, one of his successors in the see of Tours.

15. Swithun, bishop of Winchester, translated.

§. 3. *Swithun* was first a monk, and afterwards a prior, of the convent of Winchester. Upon the death of Helinstan bishop of that see, by the favour of king Ethelwolph, he was promoted to succeed him in that bishopric, A. D. 852, and continued in it eleven years, to his death. He would not be buried within the church, as the bishops then generally were, but in the cemetery, or churchyard. Many miracles being reported to be done at his grave, there was a chapel built over it; and a solemn translation made in honour of him, which in the popish times was celebrated on the fifteenth of July.

20. Margaret, virgin and martyr at Antioch.

§. 4. *Margaret* was born at Antioch, being the daughter of an heathen priest. Olybius, president of the East under the Romans, had an inclination to marry her; but finding she was a Christian, deferred it till he could persuade her to renounce her religion. But not being able to accomplish his design, he first put her to unmerciful torments, and then beheaded her. She has the same office among the papists, as Lucina has among the heathens; viz. to assist women in labour. Her holy-day is very ancient, not only in the Roman, but also in the Greek Church, who celebrate her memory under the name of Marina. She suffered in the year 278.

22. Saint Mary Magdalene.

§. 5. By the first Common Prayer Book of king Edward VI., the twenty-second of July was dedicated to the memory of St. *Mary Magdalene.*

The Epistle and Gospel.

In the service for the day, Prov. xxxi. 10, to the end, was appointed for the Epistle; and the Gospel was taken out of St. Luke vii. 36, to the end. But

upon a stricter inquiry, it appearing dubious to our reformers, as it doth still to many learned men, whether the woman mentioned in the scripture that was appointed for the Gospel, were Mary Magdalene or not; they thought it more proper to discontinue the festival. However, as I have mentioned the other parts of the service, I will also give the reader the Collect that was appointed, which he will observe was very apt and suitable to the Gospel.

The Collect.

Merciful Father, give us grace that we never presume to sin through the example of any creature: but if it shall chance us at any time to offend thy divine Majesty, that then we may truly repent and lament the same, after the example of Mary Magdalene, *and by a lively faith obtain remission of all our sins, through the only merits of thy Son our Saviour Christ.* Amen.

26. Saint Ann, mother to the blessed Virgin Mary.

§. 6. St. *Ann* was the mother of the blessed Virgin Mary and the wife of Joachim her father. An ancient piece of the sacred genealogy, set down formerly by Hippolitus the martyr, is preserved in Nicephorus.[23] "There were three sisters of Bethlehem, daughters of Matthan the priest and Mary his wife, under the reign of Cleopatra and Casopares king of Persia, before the reign of Herod, the son of Antipater: the eldest was Mary, the second was Sobe, the youngest's name was Ann. The eldest being married in Bethlehem, had for daughter Salome the midwife: Sobe the second likewise married in Bethlehem, and was the mother of Elizabeth; last of all the third married in Galilee, and brought forth Mary the mother of Christ."

SECT. VIII.—*Of the Romish Saints-days and Holy-days in August.*

August 1. Lammas-day.

THE first day of this month is commonly called *Lammas-day*, though in the Roman Church it is generally known by the name of the feast of St. *Peter in the fetters*, being the day of the commemoration of St. Peter's imprisonment. For Eudoxia, the wife of Theodosius the emperor, having made a journey to Jerusalem, was there presented with the fetters which St. Peter was loaded with in prison: which she presented to the pope, who afterwards laid them up in a church built by Theodosius in honour of St. Peter. Eudoxia, in the mean time, having ob-

[23] Niceph. lib. ii. cap. 3, vol. i. p. 136, A.

served that the first of August was celebrated in memory of Augustus Cæsar, (who had on that day been saluted Augustus, and had upon that account given occasion to the changing of the name of the month from Sextilis to August,) she thought it not reasonable that a holy-day should be kept in memory of a heathen prince, which would better become that of a godly martyr; and therefore obtained a decree of the emperor, that this day for the future should be kept holy in remembrance of St. Peter's bonds.

Why so called.

The reason of its being called Lammas-day, some think was a fond conceit the popish people had, that St. Peter was patron of the Lambs, from our Saviour's words to him, *Feed my lambs*. Upon which account they thought the mass of this day very beneficial to make their lambs thrive. Though Somner's account of it is more rational and easy, viz. that it is derived from the old Saxon þlaſmæſſe, i. e. Loaf-mass, it having been the custom of the Saxons to offer on that day an oblation of loaves made of new wheat, as the first-fruits of their new corn.

6. Transfiguration of our Lord.

§. 2. The festival of our Lord's *transfiguration* in the mount is very ancient. In the Church of Rome indeed it is but of late standing, being instituted by pope Calixtus in the year 1455; but in the Greek Church it was observed long before.

7. Name of Jesus.

§. 3. The seventh of August was formerly dedicated to the memory of Afra, a courtezan of Crete; who being converted to Christianity by Narcissus, bishop of Jerusalem, suffered martyrdom, and was commemorated on this day: how it came afterwards to be dedicated to the *name of Jesus*, I do not find.

10. Saint Laurence, archdeacon of Rome, and martyr.

§. 4. St. *Laurence* was by birth a Spaniard, and treasurer of the Church at Rome, being deacon to Sixtus the pope about the year 259. When his bishop was haled to death by the soldiers of Valerian the emperor, St. Laurence would not leave him, but followed him to the place of execution, expostulating with him all the way, "O father, where do you go without your son? You never were wont to offer sacrifice without me." Soon after which, occasion being taken against him by the greedy pagans, for not delivering up the church-treasury, which they thought was in his custody, he was laid upon a gridiron, and broiled over a fire: at which time he behaved

himself with so much courage and resolution, as to cry out to his tormentors, that "he was rather comforted than tormented;" bidding them withal "turn him on the other side, for that was broiled enough." His martyrdom was so much esteemed in after-times, that Pulcheria the empress built a temple to his honour, which was either rebuilt or enlarged by Justinian. Here was the gridiron on which he suffered laid up, where (if we may believe St. Gregory the Great, who was too credulous in such kind of matters) it became famous for many miracles.

28. St. Augustin, bishop of Hippo.

§. 5. St. *Augustin* was born at Togaste, a town in Numidia in Africa, in the year 354. He applied himself at first only to human learning, such as poetry and plays, rhetoric and philosophy; being professor at Rome first, and afterwards at Milan. At the last of these places St. Ambrose became acquainted with him, who instructed him in divinity, and set him right as to some wrong notions which he had imbibed. He returned into Africa about the year 388, and three years afterwards was chosen bishop of Hippo. He was a great and judicious divine, and the most voluminous writer of all the Fathers. He died in the year 430, at seventy-seven years of age.

29. Beheading of Saint John Baptist.

§. 6. The twenty-ninth of this month, as Durandus says, was formerly called *Festum collectionis S. Johan. Baptistæ*, or the feast of gathering up St. *John the Baptist's Relics;* and afterwards by corruption, *Festum decollationis*, the feast of his beheading. For the occasion of the honours done to this saint are said to be some miraculous cures performed by his relics in the fourth century: for which reason Julian the Apostate ordered them to be burnt, but some of them were privately reserved. His head was found after this, in the emperor Valens's time, and reposited as a precious relic in a church at Constantinople.

SECT. IX.—*Of the Romish Saints-days and Holy-days in September.*

Sept. 1. Giles, abbot and confessor.

Giles, or *Ægidius*, was one who was born at Athens, and came into France, A.D. 715, having first disposed of his patrimony to charitable uses. He lived two years with Cæsarius bishop of Arles, and afterwards took to an hermitical life, till he was made abbot of an abbey at Nismes, which the king, who had found him in his

cell by chance as he was hunting, and was pleased with his sanctity, built for his sake. He died in the year 795.

7. Eunurchus, bishop of Orleans.

§. 2. *Eunurchus*, otherwise called *Evortius*, was bishop of Orleans in France, being present at the Council of Valentia, A. D. 375. The circumstances of his election to this see were very strange. Being sent by the Church of Rome into France, about redeeming some captives, at the time when the people of Orleans were in the heat of an election of a bishop; a dove lighted upon his head, which he could not, without great difficulty, drive away. The people observing this, took it for a sign of his great sanctity, and immediately thought of choosing him bishop: but not being willing to proceed to election, till they were assured that the lighting of the dove was by the immediate direction of Providence, they prayed to God that, if he in his goodness designed him for their bishop, the same dove might light upon him again, which immediately happening after their prayers, he was chosen bishop by the unanimous suffrages of the whole city. Besides this, several other miracles are attributed to him; as the quenching a fire in the city by his prayers; his directing the digging of the foundation of a church, in such a place, where the workmen found a pot of gold, almost sufficient to defray the charges of the building: his converting seven thousand infidels to Christianity within the space of three days: and lastly, for foretelling his own death, and in a sort of prophetical manner naming Arianus for his successor.

8. Nativity of the blessed Virgin Mary.

§. 3. The eighth of this month is dedicated to the memory of the *blessed Virgin's nativity*, a consort of angels having been heard in the air to solemnize that day as her birthday. Upon which account the day itself was not only kept holy in after-ages; but it was also honoured by pope Innocent IV. with an octave, A. D. 1244, and by Gregory XI. with a vigil in the year 1370.

14. Holy-cross-day.

§. 4. The fourteenth of this month is called *Holy-cross-day*, a festival deriving its beginning about the year 615, on this occasion: Cosroes king of Persia having plundered Jerusalem, (after having made great ravages in other parts of the Christian world,) took away from thence a great piece of the cross, which Helena had left there: and, at the times of his mirth, made sport with that and the Holy Trinity. Heraclius the emperor giving him battle, defeated the enemy, and recovered the

cross: but bringing it back with triumph to Jerusalem, he found the gates shut against him, and heard a voice from heaven, which told him, that the King of kings did not enter into that city in so stately a manner, but *meek and lowly, and riding upon an ass.* With that the emperor dismounted from his horse, and went into the city not only afoot, but barefooted, and carrying the wood of the cross himself. Which honour done to the cross gave rise to this festival.

17. Lambert, bishop and martyr.

§. 5. *Lambert* was bishop of Utrecht in the time of king Pepin I. But reproving the king's grandson for his lewd amours, he was, by the contrivance of one of his concubines, barbarously murdered. Being canonized, he at first only obtained a commemoration in the calendar; till Robert bishop of Leeds in a general chapter of the Cistercian order procured a solemn feast to his honour, A. D. 1240.

26. Saint Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, and martyr.

§. 6. St. *Cyprian* was by birth an African, of a good family and education. Before his conversion he taught rhetoric; but by the persuasion of one Cæcilius, a priest, (from whom he had his surname,) he became a Christian. And giving all his substance to the poor, he was elected bishop of Carthage in the year 248. He behaved himself with great prudence in the Decian persecution, persuading the people to constancy and perseverance: which so enraged the heathen, that they made proclamation for his discovery in the open theatre. He suffered martyrdom September 14, A. D. 258, under Valerianus and Gallienus, having foretold that storm long before, and disposed his flock to bear it accordingly.

The Cyprian in the Roman calendar a different person.

But the Cyprian in the Roman calendar celebrated on this day, as appears by the Roman Breviary, is not the same with St. Cyprian of Carthage, but another Cyprian of Antioch, who of a conjurer was made a Christian, and afterwards a deacon and a martyr. He happened to be in love with one Justina, a beautiful young Christian; whom trying, without success, to debauch, he consulted the Devil upon the matter, who frankly declared he had no power over good Christians. Cyprian, not pleased with this answer of the Devil, quitted his service, and turned Christian. But as soon as it was known, both he and Justina were accused before the heathen governor, who condemned them to be fried in a frying-pan

with pitch and fat, in order to force them to renounce their religion, which they notwithstanding with constancy persisted in. After their tortures they were beheaded, and their bodies thrown away unburied, till a kind mariner took them up, and conveyed them to Rome, where they were deposited in the church of Constantine. They were martyred in the year 272.

30. Saint Jerome, priest, confessor, and doctor.

§. 7. St. *Jerome* was the son of one Eusebius, born in a town called Stridon, in the confines of Pannonia and Dalmatia. Being a lad of pregnant parts, he was sent to Rome to learn rhetoric under Donatus and Victorinus, two famous Latin critics. There he got to be secretary to Pope Damasus, and was afterwards baptized. He studied divinity with the principal divines of that age, viz. Gregory Nazianzen, Epiphanius, and Didymus. And to perfect his qualifications this way, he learned the Hebrew tongue from one Barraban a Jew. He spent most of his time in a monastery at Bethlehem, in great retirement and hard study; where he translated the Bible. He died in the year 422, being fourscore years old.

SECT. X.—*Of the Romish Saints-days and Holy-days in October.*

October 1. Remigius, bishop of Rhemes.

Remigius was born at Landen, where he kept himself so close to his studies, that he was supposed to have led a monastic life. After the death of Bennadius, he was chosen bishop of Rhemes, for his extraordinary learning and piety. He converted to Christianity king Clodoveus, and good part of his kingdom; for which reason he is by some esteemed the apostle of France. After he had held his bishopric seventy-four years, he died at ninety-six years of age, A. D. 535. The cruse which he made use of is preserved in France to this day, their kings being usually anointed out of it at their coronation.

5. Faith, virgin and martyr.

§. 2. *Faith*, a young woman so called, was born at Pais de Gavre in France. She suffered martyrdom and very cruel torments under the presidentship of Dacianus, about the year 290.

9. Saint Denys Areop. bishop and martyr.

§. 3. St. *Denys*, or *Dionysius the Areopagite*, was converted to Christianity by St. Paul, as is recorded in the seventeenth of the Acts. He was at first one of the judges of the famous court of the Areopagus, but was afterwards made bishop of Athens, where he

suffered martyrdom for the sake of the Gospel. There are several books which bear his name; but they seem all of them to have been the product of the sixth century. He is claimed by the French as their tutelar saint, by reason that, as they say, he was the first that preached the Gospel to them. But it is plain that Christianity was not preached in that nation till long after St. Dionysius's death. Among several foolish and incoherent stories, which they relate of him, this is one: that, after several grievous torments undergone, he was beheaded by Fescennius, the Roman governor at Paris; at which time he took up his head, after it was severed from his body, and walked two miles with it in his hands, to a place called the Martyr's-hill, and there laid down to rest.

§. 4. The thirteenth of this month is dedicated to the memory of king Edward the Confessor's translation. He was the youngest son of king Ethelred; but, all his elder brothers being dead, or fled away, he came to the crown of England in the year 1042. His principal excellency was his gathering together a body of all the most useful laws, which had been made by the Saxon and Danish kings. The name of Confessor is supposed to have been given him by the pope, for settling what was then called Rome-scot; but is now better known by the name of Peter-pence. The monks have attributed so many miracles to him, that even his vestments are by them reputed holy. His crown, chair, staff, spurs, &c., are still made use of in the coronation of our English kings.

13. Translation of king Edward the Confessor.

§. 5. *Etheldred* was daughter of Anna, a king of the East-Angles, who was first married to one Tonbert, a great lord in Lincolnshire, &c., and after him to king Egfrid about the year 671, with both which husbands she still continued a virgin, upon pretence of great sanctity. And staying at court twelve years, and continuing this moroseness, she got leave to depart to Coldingham abbey, where she was a nun under Ebba, the daughter of king Ethelfrida, who was abbess. Afterward she built an abbey at Ely, which she was abbess of herself, and there died and was buried, being recorded to posterity by the name of St. Audry.

17. Etheldred, virgin.

§. 6. *Crispinus* and *Crispianus* were brethren, and born at Rome: from whence they travelled to Soissons in France, about the year 303, in order to propagate the Christian religion. But because they would not be chargeable to others for their maintenance,

25. Crispin, martyr.

they exercised the trade of shoemakers. But the governor of the town discovering them to be Christians, ordered them to be beheaded about the year 303. From which time the shoemakers made choice of them for their tutelar saints.

SECT. XI.—*Of the Romish Saints-days and Holy-days in November.*

Nov. 2. All-Souls day.

THE second of this month is called *All-Souls day*, being observed in the Church of Rome upon this occasion. A monk having visited Jerusalem, and passing through Sicily as he returned home, had a mind to see mount Ætna, which is continually belching out fire and smoke, and upon that account by some thought to be the mouth of hell. Being there, he heard the devils within complain, that many departed souls were taken out of their hands by the prayers of the Cluniac monks. This, when he came home, he related to his abbot Odilo, as a true story; who thereupon appointed the second of November to be annually kept in his monastery, and prayers to be made there for all departed souls: and in a little time afterwards the monks got it to be made a general holy-day by the appointment of the pope; till in ours and other reformed churches it was deservedly abrogated.

6. Leonard, confessor.

§. 2. *Leonard* was born at Le Nans, a town in France, bred up in divinity under Remigius bishop of Rhemes, and afterwards made bishop of Limosin. He obtained of king Clodoveus a favour, that all prisoners whom he went to see should be set free. And therefore whenever he heard of any persons being prisoners for the sake of religion, or any other good cause, he presently procured their liberty this way. But the monks have improved this story, telling us, that if any one in prison had called upon his name, his fetters would immediately drop off, and the prison doors fly open: insomuch that many came from far countries, brought their fetters and chains, which had fallen off by his intercession, and presented them before him in token of gratitude. He died in the year 500, and has always been implored by prisoners as their saint.

11. Saint Martin, bishop and confessor.

§. 3. St. *Martin's* account has already been given on July 4.

13. Britius, bishop.

§. 4. *Britius*, or St. *Brice*, was successor to St. *Martin* in the bishopric of Tours. About the year 432, a great trouble befell him: for his

laundress proving with child, the uncharitable people of the town fathered it upon Brice. After the child was born, the censures of the people increased, who were then ready to stone their bishop. But the bishop having ordered the infant to be brought to him, adjured him by Jesus the son of the living God, to tell him whose child he was. The child being then but thirty days old, replied, "You are not my father." But this was so far from mending matters with Brice, that it made them much worse; the people now accusing him of sorcery likewise. At last, being driven out of the city, he appealed to Rome, and, after a seven years' suit, got his bishopric again. The story is told of him by Gregory Turonensis, his successor in his see at Tours.

§. 5. *Machutus*, otherwise called *Maclovius*, was a bishop in Bretagne in France, of that place which is from him called St. Maloes. He lived about the year 500, and was famous for many miracles, if the acts concerning him may be credited. 15. Machutus, bishop.

§. 6. *Hugh* was born in a city of Burgundy, called Gratianopolis. He was first a regular canon, and afterwards a Carthusian monk. Being very famous for his extraordinary abstinence and austerity of life, king Henry II. having built a house for Carthusian monks at Witteham in Somersetshire, sent over Reginald bishop of Bath to invite this holy man to accept the place of the prior of this new foundation. Hugh, after a great many entreaties, assented, and came over with the bishop, and was by the same king made bishop of Lincoln: where he gained an immortal name for his well governing that see, and new building the cathedral from the foundation. In the year 1200, upon his return from Carthusia, the chief and original house of their order, (whither he had made a voyage,) he fell sick of a quartan ague at London, and there died on November the seventeenth. His body was presently conveyed to Lincoln, and happening to be brought thither when John king of England and William king of Scots had an interview there, the two kings, out of respect to his sanctity, assisted by some of their lords, took him upon their shoulders, and carried him to the cathedral. In the year 1220, he was canonized at Rome: and his body being taken up October 7, 1282, was placed in a silver shrine. The monks have ascribed several miracles to him, which I shall omit for brevity, and only set 17. Hugh, bishop of Lincoln.

down one story which is credibly related of him, viz. that coming to Godstow, a house of nuns near Oxford, and seeing a hearse in the middle of the choir covered with silk, and tapers burning about it, (it being then, as it is still in some parts of England, a custom to have such monuments in the church for some time after the burial of persons of distinction,) he asked who was buried there; and being informed that it was Fair Rosamond, the concubine of king Henry II., who had that honour done her for having obtained a great many favours of the king for that house, he immediately commanded her body to be digged up, and to be buried in the churchyard, saying it was a place a great deal too good for a harlot, and therefore he would have her removed, as an example to terrify other women from such a wicked and filthy kind of life.

20. Edmund, king and martyr.

§. 7. *Edmund* was a king of the East-Angles, who, being assaulted by the Danes (after their irruption into England) for their possession of his country, and not being able to hold out against them, offered his own person, if they would spare his subjects. But the Danes having got him under their power, endeavoured to make him renounce his religion: which he refusing to do, they first beat him with bats, then scourged him with whips, and afterwards binding him to a stake, shot him to death with their arrows. His body was buried in a town where Sigebert, one of his predecessors, had built a church; and where afterwards (in honour of this name) another was built more spacious, and the name of the town, upon that occasion, called St. Edmund's Bury.

22. Cæcilia, virgin and martyr.

§. 8. *Cæcilia* was a Roman lady who, refusing to renounce her religion when required, was thrown into a furnace of boiling water, and scalded to death: though others say she was stifled by shutting out the air of a bath, which was a death sometimes inflicted upon women of quality who were criminals. She lived in the year 225.

23. St. Clement I., bishop of Rome, and martyr.

§. 9. St. *Clement* I. was a Roman by birth, and one of the first bishops of that place: which see he held, according to the best accounts, from the year 64 or 65 to the year 81, or thereabouts; and during which time he was most undoubtedly author of one, and is supposed to have been of two, very excellent epistles, the first of which was so much esteemed of by the primitive

Christians, as that for some time it was read in the churches for canonical scripture.[24] He was for the sake of his religion first condemned to hew stones in the mines; and afterwards, having an anchor tied about his neck, was drowned in the sea.

§. 10. St. *Catherine* was born at Alexandria, and bred up to letters. About the year 305 she was converted to Christianity, which she afterwards professed with great courage and constancy; openly rebuking the heathen for offering sacrifice to their idols, and upbraiding the cruelty of Maxentius the emperor to his face. She was condemned to suffer death in a very unusual manner, viz. by rolling a wheel stuck round with iron spikes, or the points of swords, over her body. 25. Catherine, virgin and martyr.

SECT. XII.—*Of the Romish Saints-days and Holy-days in December.*

Nicolas was born at Patara, a city of Lycia, and was afterwards, in the time of Constantine the Great, made bishop of Myra. He was remarkable for his great charity; as a proof of which this instance may serve. Understanding that three young women, daughters of a person who had fell to decay, were tempted to take lewd courses for a maintenance, he secretly conveyed a sum of money to their father's house, sufficient to enable him to provide for them in a virtuous way. Dec. 6. Nicolas, bishop of Myra in Lycia.

§. 2. The feast of the *Conception* of the Virgin Mary was instituted by Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, upon occasion of William the Conqueror's fleet being in a storm, and afterwards coming safe to shore. But the Council of Oxford, held in the year 1222, left people at liberty whether they would observe it or not. But it had before this given rise to the question ventilated so warmly in the Roman Church, concerning the Virgin Mary's immaculate conception; which was first started by Peter Lombard about the year 1160. 8. Conception of the blessed Virgin Mary.

§. 3. *Lucy* was a young lady of Syracuse, who, being courted by a gentleman, but preferring a religious single life before marriage, gave all her fortune away to the poor, in order to stop his further applications. But the young man, enraged at this, accused her to Paschasius, the heathen judge, for professing Christianity; 12. Lucy, virgin and martyr.

[24] Cave's Historia Literaria.

who thereupon ordered her to be sent to the stews: but she struggling with the officers who were to carry her, was, after a great deal of barbarous usage, killed by them. She lived in the year 305.

16. O Sapientia.

§. 4. The sixteenth of December is called *O Sapientia*, from the beginning of an anthem in the Latin service, which used to be sung in the church (for the honour of Christ's advent) from this day till Christmas Eve.

31. Silvester bishop of Rome.

§. 5. *Silvester* succeeded Miltiades in the papacy of Rome, A. D. 314. He is said to have been the author of several rites and ceremonies of the Romish Church, as of asylums, unctions, palls, corporals, mitres, &c. He died in the year 334.

CHAPTER II.

OF THE FIRST RUBRIC.

THE INTRODUCTION.

HAVING done with the Tables, Rules, and Calendar, I should now proceed in order to the *daily Morning and Evening Service:* but the *First Rubric*, relating to that service, making mention of several things which deserve a particular consideration, and which must necessarily be treated of some where or other; I think this the properest place to do it in, and shall therefore take the opportunity of this rubric to treat of them in a distinct chapter by themselves.

The Rubric runs thus:

¶ The ORDER for MORNING and EVENING PRAYER, daily to be said and used throughout the year.

The Morning and Evening Prayer shall be used in the accustomed place of the church, chapel, or chancel; except it shall be otherwise determined by the ordinary of the place; and the chancels shall remain as they have done in times past.

And here it is to be noted, that such ornaments of the church, and the ministers thereof, at all times of their ministration, shall be retained and be in use, as were in this Church of England, by the authority of parliament, in the second year of the reign of king Edward the Sixth.

These are the words of the rubric, and from thence I shall take occasion to treat of these four things, viz.

I. The prescribed *times* of public prayer; *Morning* and *Evening*.

II. The *place* where it is to be used; *in the accustomed place of the church, chapel, or chancel.*

III. The *Minister*, or person officiating.

IV. The *Ornaments* used in the church by the minister.

Of all which in their order.

SECT. I.—*Of the prescribed Times of Public Prayer.*

The necessity of prescribing set times for the performance of Divine worship.

MAN, consisting of soul and body, cannot always be actually engaged in the immediate service of God, that being the privilege of angels and souls freed from the fetters of mortality. So long as we are here, we must worship God with respect to our present state; and therefore must of necessity have some definite and particular time to do it in. Now that men might not be left in an uncertainty in a matter of so great importance, people of all ages and nations have been guided by the very dictates of nature, not only to appoint some certain seasons to celebrate their more solemn parts of religion, (of which more hereafter,) but also to set apart *daily* some portion of time for the performance of divine worship. To his peculiar people the Jews God himself appointed their set times of public devotion; commanding them to *offer up two lambs daily, one in the morning, and the other at even*,[1] which we find, from other places of Scripture,[2] were at their *third* and *ninth* hours, which answer to our *nine* and *three*: that so those burnt offerings, being types of the great sacrifice which Christ the Lamb of God was to offer up for the sins of the world, might be sacrificed at the same hours wherein his death was begun and finished. For about the third hour, or nine in the morning, he was delivered to Pilate, accused, examined, and condemned to die;[3] about the sixth hour, or noon, this Lamb of God was laid upon the altar of the cross;[4] and at the ninth hour, or three in the afternoon, yielded up the ghost.[5] And though the Levitical law expired together with

Why the Jewish sacrifices were offered at the third and ninth hours.

[1] Exod. xxix. 39. Numb. xxviii. 4. [2] Acts ii. 15, and chap. iii. 1. [3] Matt. xxvii. 1—26. [4] John xix. 14. [5] Matt. xxvii. 46, 50.

The primitive Christians observed the same hours of prayer for the same reason.

our Saviour; yet the public worship of God must still have some certain times set apart for the performance of it: and accordingly all Christian churches have been used to have their public devotions performed daily *morning* or *evening*. The Apostles and primitive Christians continued to observe the same hours of prayer with the Jews, as might easily be shewn from the records of the ancient Church.[6] But the

Why not enjoined by the Church of England.

Church of England cannot be so happy as to appoint any set hours when either morning or evening prayer shall be said: because now people are grown so cold and indifferent in their devotions, they would be too apt to excuse their absenting from the public worship, from the inconveniency of the time: and therefore she hath only taken care to enjoin that public prayers be read every *morning and evening daily throughout the year*; that so all her members may have opportunity of joining in public worship twice at least every day. But to make the duty as practicable and easy both to the minister and people as possible, she hath left the determination of the particular hours to the ministers that officiate; who, considering every one his own and his people's circumstances, may appoint such hours for morning and evening prayer, as they shall judge to be most proper and convenient.

All priests and deacons to say the morning and evening service, daily; either openly at church, or privately in their families.

§. 2. But if it be in places where congregations can be had, *and the curate of the parish be at home, and not otherwise reasonably hindered*, she expects or enjoins that *he say the same in the parish church or chapel where he ministereth, and cause a bell to be tolled thereunto, a convenient time before he begin, that the people may come to hear God's word, and to pray with him.* But if, for want of a congregation, or on some other account, he cannot conveniently read them in the church; he is then bound to say them in the family where he lives: for by the same rubric, all *priests and deacons are to say daily the morning and evening prayer, either privately or openly, not being let by sickness, or some other urgent cause.*[7] *Of which cause, if it be frequently pretended*, the Scotch Common Prayer requires that

[6] Constit. Apost. l. 8, c. 34. Tertull. de Jejun. c. 10. Cypr. de Orat. Domin. Basil. in Reg. fus. Disp. Int. 37. Hieron. in Dan. 6. Rup. de Divin. Offic. l. 1, c. 5. [7] The Rubric at the end of the preface concerning the Service of the Church.

they make the bishop of the diocese, or the bishop of the province, the judge and allower. The occasion of *our* rubric was probably a rule in the Roman Church, by which, even before the Reformation and the Council of Trent, the clergy were obliged to recite what they call the *canonical hours*, (i. e. the offices in the Breviary for the several hours of day and night,) either publicly in a church or chapel, or privately by themselves. But our reformers not approving the priests performing by themselves what ought to be the united devotions of many; and yet not being willing wholly to discharge the clergy from a constant repetition of their prayers, thought fit to discontinue these solitary devotions; but at the same time ordered, that if a congregation at church could not be had, the public service, both for morning and evening, should be recited in the family where the minister resided. Though, according to the first book of king Edward, *this is not meant that any man shall be bound to the saying of it, but such as from time to time in cathedral and collegiate churches, parish churches, and chapels to the same annexed, shall serve the congregation.* Though these words in that book immediately follow the first part of the rubric which relates to the language in which the service is to be said; the two other paragraphs discoursed of in this section, being the first inserted in the book that was published in 1552.

SECT. II.—*Of Churches; or places set apart for the performance of Divine Worship.*

The necessity of having appropriate places for the public worship of God.

THE public worship of God, being to be performed by the joint concurrence of several people, does not only require a place conveniently capacious for all that assemble together to perform that worship; but there must be also some determinate and fixed place appointed, that so all who belong to the same congregation may know whither they may repair and meet one another. This reason put even the heathens, who were guided by the light of nature, upon erecting public places for the honour of their gods, and for their own conveniency, in meeting together to pay their religious services and devotions. And the patriarchs, by the same light of nature, and the guidance of God's holy Spirit, had altars,[8] mountains,[9] and groves,[10] for

The universal practice of the heathens.

[8] Gen. xii. 7, 8. [9] Gen. xxii. 2. [10] Gen. xxi. 33.

Jews. that purpose. In the wilderness, where the Israelites themselves had no settled habitation, they had, by God's command, a moving tabernacle.[11] And as soon as they should be fixed in the land of promise, God appointed a temple to be built at Jerusalem,[12] which David intended,[13] and Solomon performed.[14] And after that was demolished, another was built in the room of it;[15] which Christ himself owned for *his house of prayer*,[16] and which both he and his Apostles frequented as well as the synagogues. And that the Apostles after him had churches fixed, and appropriate places for the joint performance of divine worship, will be beyond all dispute, if we take but a short survey of the first ages of Christianity. In the sacred writings we find more than probable footsteps of some determinate places for their solemn conventions, and peculiar only to that use. Of this nature was that ὑπερῷον, or *upper room*, into which the Apostles and disciples (after their return from our Saviour's ascension) went up, as into a place commonly known, and separate to divine use.[17] Such a one, if not the same, was that *one place* wherein they were all assembled with one accord upon the day of Pentecost, when the Holy Ghost visibly came down upon them.[18] And this the rather, because the multitude (and they too strangers of every nation under heaven) came so readily to the place upon the first rumour of so strange an accident; which could hardly have been, had it not been commonly known to be the place where the Christians used to meet together. And this very learned men take to be the meaning of the forty-sixth verse of the second chapter of the Acts: *They continued daily with one accord in the temple, and breaking bread*, κατ' οἶκον, (not, as we render it, *from house to house*, but) *at home*, as it is in the margin, or *in the house, they eat their meat with gladness of heart;* i. e. when they had performed their daily devotions at the temple, at the accustomed hours of prayer, they used to return home to this upper room, there to celebrate the holy eucharist, and then go to their ordinary meals. And Mr. Gregory proves that the *upper rooms*, so often mentioned in Scripture, were places in that part of the house which was highest from the ground, set apart by the Jews as well as Christians for the performance of

Apostles.

[11] Exod. xxv. &c. [12] Deut. xii. 10, 11. [13] 1 Chron. xvii. 1, 2, chap. xxii. 7. chap. xxviii. 2. [14] 1 Kings vi. [15] Ezra iii. 8, &c. [16] Matt. xxi. 13. [17] Acts i. 13. [18] Acts ii. 1.

public worship and devotions.[19] However, this interpretation of the text seems to be clear and unforced, and the more probable, because it follows the mention of their assembling together in that one place on the day of Pentecost, which room is also called by the same name of house, at the second verse of that chapter. And it is not at all unlikely, but that, when the first believers *sold their houses and lands, and laid the money at the Apostles' feet*, to supply the necessities of the Church; some of them might give their houses (at least some eminent room in them) for the Church to meet in, and to perform their sacred duties. Which also may be the reason why the Apostle so often salutes such and such a person, and *the Church in his house*;[20] which seems clearly to intimate, that in such or such a house (probably in the ὑπερῷον, or *upper room* of it) was the constant and solemn convention of the Christians of that place for their joint celebration of divine worship. For that this salutation is not used merely because their families were Christians, appears from other salutations of the same Apostle, where Aristobulus and Narcissus, &c. are saluted with their *household*.[21] And this will be further cleared by that famous passage of St. Paul,[22] where taxing the Corinthians for their irreverence and abuse of the Lord's supper, one greedily eating before another, and some of them even to excess; *What!* says he, *have you not houses to eat and drink in? or despise ye the church of God?* Where, that by *church* is not meant the *assembly* meeting, but the *place* in which they used to assemble, is evident partly from what went before, (for *their coming together in the church*,[23] is explained by *their coming together into one place*,[24] plainly arguing that the Apostle meant not the *persons*, but the *place*,) partly from the opposition which he makes between the church and their own private houses: if they must have such irregular banquets, they had houses of their own, where it was much fitter to have their ordinary repasts, than in that place which was set apart for the common exercises of religion, and therefore not to be dishonoured by such extravagant and intemperate feastings, which was no less than despising it. For which reason he enjoins them in the close of the chapter, that *if any man hunger, he should eat at home*. And in this sense was this text always understood by the ancient Fathers.[25]

[19] Observations upon Scripture, chap. 23. [20] Rom. xvi. 3, 5. 1 Cor. xvi. 19. Col. iv. 15. Philem. ver. 1, 2. [21] Rom. xvi. 10, 11, 14. 2 Tim. iv. 19. [22] 1 Cor. xi. 22. [23] 1 Cor. xi. 18. [24] 1 Cor. xi. 20. [25] August. Quæst. 57, in Leviticum, tom. iii.

And primitive Christians.

Thus stood the case during the times of the Apostles: as for the ages after them, we find that the primitive Christians had their fixed and definite places of worship, especially in the second century; as, had we no other evidence, might be made good from the testimony of the author of that dialogue in Lucian, (if not Lucian himself,) who expressly mentions that house or room wherein the Christians were wont to assemble together.[26] And Justin Martyr expressly affirms, that "upon Sunday all Christians (whether in town or country) used to assemble together in one place;"[27] which could hardly have been done, had not that place been fixed and settled. The same we find afterwards in several places of Tertullian, who speaks "of their coming into the *church* and *house of God*;"[28] which he elsewhere[29] calls the *house of our Dove*, i. e. of the Holy Spirit; and there describes the very form and fashion of it. And in another place,[30] speaking of their going into the water to be baptized, he tells us, "They were wont first to go into the church, to make their solemn renunciation before the bishop." About this time, in the reign of Alexander Severus, the emperor, (who began his reign about the year 222,) the heathen historian tells us,[31] that when there was a contest between the Christians and vintners about a certain public place, which the Christians had challenged for theirs; the emperor gave the cause for the Christians against the vintners, saying, "It was much better that God should be worshipped there any ways, than that the vintners should possess it." If it be said, that "the heathens of those times generally accused the Christians for having no temples, and charged it upon them as a piece of atheism and impiety; and that the Christian apologists did not deny it;" the answer depends upon the notion they had of a temple; by which the Gentiles understood the places devoted to their gods, and wherein the deities were enclosed and shut up; places adorned with statues and images, with fine altars and ornaments.[32] And for such temples as these, they freely confessed they neither had nor ought to have any, for the TRUE GOD did not (as the heathens supposed theirs did) dwell

col. 516, F. Basil. Moral. Reg. 30, c. 1, tom. ii. p. 437, A. Chrysost. in 1 Cor. xi. 22. Hom. 27, tom. iii. p. 419, lin. 40. Theodoret. in eundem locum, tom. iii. p. 175, A.

[26] Philopatr. vol. ii. p. 776. Amstelod. 1687. [27] Apol. I. §. 87, p. 131. [28] De Idol. c. 7, p. 88, D. [29] Adv. Valentin. c. 3, p. 251, B. [30] De Corona Milit. c. 3, p. 102, A. [31] Æl. Lamprid. in Vita Alex. Sever. c. 49, apud Hist. August. Scriptor. p. 575. Lugd. Batav. 1661. [32] Minutius Felix, c. 10, p. 61. Arnob. adv. Gentes, ad initium l. 6, p. 189, &c. Lactant. Institut. l. 2, c. 2. v. 118

in temples made with hands; he neither needed, nor could possibly be honoured by them: and therefore they purposely abstained from the word *temple*, which is not used by any Christian writer for the place of the Christian assemblies, for the best part of the first three hundred years. But then those very writers, who deny that Christians had any temples, do at the same time acknowledge that they had their meeting places for divine worship; their *conventicula*, as Arnobius calls them,[33] when he complains of their being furiously demolished by their enemies.

Their churches sumptuous and magnificent.

§. 2. It cannot be thought that in the first ages, while the flames of persecution raged, the Christian churches should be very stately and magnificent: it were sufficient if they were such as the condition of those times would bear; their splendour increasing according to the entertainment Christianity met withal in the world; till, the empire becoming Christian, their temples rose up into grandeur and stateliness: as, amongst others, may appear by the particular description which Eusebius gives of the church of Tyre,[34] and of that which Constantine built at Constantinople in honour of the Apostles:[35] both which, the historian tells us, were incomparably sumptuous and magnificent.

The form of them.

§. 3. I shall not undertake to describe at large the several parts and dimensions of their churches, (which varied according to the different times and ages,) but only briefly reflect upon such as were most common and remarkable, and are still retained amongst us. For the *form* and *fashion* of their churches, it was for the most part *oblong*, to keep the better correspondence with the fashion of a *ship*; the common notion and metaphor by which the Church was wont to be represented, to remind us that we are tossed up and down in the world, as upon a stormy and tempestuous sea, and that out of the Church there is no safe passage to heaven, the country we all hope to arrive at. It was always divided into two principal parts, viz. the nave or body of the church, and the sacrarium, since called chancel, from its being divided from the body of the church by neat rails, called in Latin *cancelli*. The nave was common to all the people, and represented the visible world; the chancel was peculiar to the priests and sacred

The chancels, why so called.

[33] Arnobius adv. Gentes, ad finem l. 4, p. 152. [34] Eccles. Histor. l. 10, c. 4, p. 377.
[35] De Vita Const. lib. 4, c. 58, 59, p. 555.

persons, and typified heaven: for which reason they always stood at the east end of the church, towards which part of the world they paid a more than ordinary reverence in their worship; wherein, Clemens Alexandrinus[36] tells us, they had respect to Christ; for as the east is the birth and womb of the natural day, from whence the sun (the fountain of all sensible light) does arise and spring; so Christ, the true Sun of Righteousness, who arose upon the world with the light of truth, when it sat in the darkness of error and ignorance, is in Scripture[37] styled the EAST: and therefore since we must in our prayers turn our faces toward some quarter, it is fittest it should be towards the east; especially since it is probable, even from Scripture itself, that the majesty and glory of God is in a peculiar manner in that part of the heavens, and that the throne of Christ and the splendour of his humanity has its residence there.[38] In this chancel always stood the altar or communion table: which none were allowed to approach, but such as were in holy orders, unless it were the Greek emperors at Constantinople, who were allowed to go up to the table to make their offerings, but were immediately to return back again.[39]

Always stood at the east end of the church, and why.

§. 4. But though the Christians of those times spared no convenient cost in founding and adorning public places for the worship of God; yet they were careful not to run into a too curious and over-nice superstition. No images were worshipped, or so much as used, in churches for at least four hundred years after Christ: and therefore certainly, might things be carried by a fair and impartial trial of antiquity, the dispute about this point would soon be at an end. Nothing can be more clear than that the Christians were frequently challenged by the heathens for having no images nor statues in their churches, and that the Christian apologists never denied it, but industriously defended themselves against the charge, and rejected the very thoughts of any such thing with contempt and scorn; as might be abundantly shewn from Tertullian, Clemens Alexandrinus, Origen, Minutius Felix, Arnobius, and Lactantius. But I shall only cite one of them, and that is Origen, who,

The use of images forbidden in the primitive Church.

[36] Strom. l. 7, p. 724, C. [37] In Zechariah iii. 8, and chap. vi. 12, the Messiah is called the BRANCH; and in Luke i. 78, the DAY-SPRING; in all which places the original words signify the EAST, and are so rendered in all other versions of the Bible.
[38] See Mr. Gregory's Notes and Observations upon Scripture, chap. 18, p. 71, &c., and p. 4, 5, of his preface, with some other parts of his works printed at London, 1665.
[39] Concil. Trull. can. 69, tom. vi. col. 1174, B.

amongst other things, plainly tells his adversary (who had objected this to the Christians) that the images, that were to be dedicated to God, were not to be carved by the hands of artists, but to be formed and fashioned in us by the word of God; viz. the virtues of justice and temperance, of wisdom and piety, &c., that conform us to the image of his only Son. "These," says he, "are the only statues formed in our minds; and by which alone we are persuaded it is fit to do honour to him, who is the *image of the invisible God*, the prototype and archetypal pattern of all such images."[40] Had Christians then given adoration to them, or but set them up in their places of worship, with what face can we suppose they could have told the world, that they so much abhorred them? But more than this, the Council of Illiberis, that was held in Spain some time before Constantine, expressly provides against them; decreeing,[41] that "no pictures ought to be in the church, nor that any thing that is worshipped and adored should be painted upon the walls:" words too clear to be evaded by the little shifts and glosses which the expositors of that canon would put upon it. The first use of statues and pictures in the churches was merely historical, or to add some beauty and ornament to the place, which after-ages improved into superstition and idolatry. The first we meet with upon good authority is no older than the times of Epiphanius, and then too met with no very welcome entertainment; as may appear from Epiphanius's own Epistle to John, then Bishop of Jerusalem:[42] where he says, that coming to Anablatha, a village in Palestine, and going into a church to pray, he espied a curtain hanging over the door, whereupon was painted the image of Christ, or of some saint; which when he had looked upon, and saw the image of a man hanging up in the church, contrary to the authority of the holy Scriptures, he presently rent it, and ordered the churchwardens to make use of it as a winding-sheet for some poor man's burying. This instance is so home, that the patrons of image-worship are at a loss what to say to it, and after all are forced to cry out against it as suppositious: though the famous Du Pin, who is himself of the Romish communion, and doctor of the Sorbon, allows it to be genuine, and owns that one reason of its being called in question, is because it makes so much against that doctrine.[43]

[40] Contr. Cels. l. 8, part 2, p. 521, E. [41] Can. 36, tom. i. col. 974. [42] Epiphan. tom. ii. p. 317. [43] Hist. of Ecclesiast. Writers, vol. ii. p. 236.

More might be produced to this purpose: but by this, I hope, it is clear enough, that the primitive Christians, as they thought it sufficient to pray to God without making their addresses to saints and angels, so they accounted their churches fine enough without pictures and images to adorn them.

Decency in churches requisite and necessary.

§. 5. And though these afterwards crept in again, and became the occasion of idolatry in the times of popery; yet our Church at the Reformation not only forbad the worshipping them, but also quite removed them; as thinking them too false a beauty for the house of God. But though she would not let religion be dressed in the habit of a wanton, yet she did not deny her that of a matron: she would have her modest in her garb, but withal comely and clean; and therefore still allowed her enough, not only to protect her from shame and contempt, but to draw her some respect and reverence too. And no man surely can complain, that the ornaments now made use of in our churches are too many or too expensive. Good men would rather wish that more care was taken of them, than there generally seems to be. For sure a decency in this regard is conformable to every man's sense, who professes to retain any reverence for God and religion. The magnificence of the first Jewish temple was very acceptable to God;[44] and the too sparing contributions of the people towards the second was what he severely reproved:[45] from whence we may at least infer, that it is by no means agreeable to the Divine Majesty, that we turn pious clowns and slovens, by running into the contrary extreme, and worshipping the Lord, not *in the beauty*, but in the dirt and deformity *of holiness*. Far from us be all ornaments misbecoming the worship of a Spirit, or the gravity of a church; but surely it hath a very ill aspect for men to be so sordidly frugal, as to think that well enough in God's house, which they could not endure even in the meanest offices of their own. But to return to my first design.

Churches to be consecrated by a formal dedication of them to God.

§. 6. When churches are built, they ought to have a greater value and esteem derived upon them by some peculiar consecration: for it is not enough barely to devote them to the public services of religion, unless they are also set apart with the solemn rites of a formal dedication. For by these solemnities the founders surrender all the right they have in them to God,

[44] 1 Kings ix. 3. [45] Haggai i. and ii.

and make God himself the sole owner of them. And formerly, whoever gave any lands or endowments to the service of God, gave it in a formal writing, sealed and witnessed, (as is now usual between man and man,) the tender of the gift being made upon the altar, by the donor on his knees. The antiquity of such dedications is evident, from its being an universal custom amongst Jews and Gentiles: and it is observable that amongst the former, at the consecration of both the tabernacle and temple, it pleased the Almighty to give a manifest sign that he then took possession of them.[46] When it was first taken up by Christians is not easy to determine; though there are no footsteps of any such thing to be met with, in any approved writer, till the reign of Constantine; in whose time, Christianity being become more prosperous and flourishing, churches were every where erected and repaired; and no sooner were so, but, as Eusebius tells us,[47] they were solemnly consecrated, and the dedications celebrated with great festivity and rejoicing. The rites and ceremonies used upon these occasions (as we find in the same author[48]) were a great confluence of bishops and strangers from all parts, the performance of divine offices, singing of hymns and psalms, reading and expounding the Scriptures, sermons and orations, receiving the holy sacrament, prayers and thanksgivings, liberal alms bestowed on the poor, and great gifts given to the church; and, in short, mighty expressions of mutual love and kindness and universal rejoicing with one another. And these dedications were always constantly commemorated from that time forward once a year, and solemnized with great pomp, and much confluence of people; the solemnity usually lasting eight days together:[49] a custom observed with us till the twenty-eighth year of Henry VIII., when, by a decree of convocation confirmed by that king, the feast of dedication was ordered to be celebrated in all places throughout England on one and the same day, viz. *on the first Sunday of October*.[50] Whether that feast be continued now in any parts of the kingdom, I cannot tell; for as to the wakes which are still observed in many country villages, and generally upon the next Sunday that follows the saint's day whose name the church bears, I take them to be the remains of the old church holidays, which

The original of country wakes.

[46] Exod. xl. 34. 1 Kings viii. 10, 11. [47] Hist. Eccl. l. 10, c. 3, p. 370. [48] Ibid. et de Vita Const. l. 4, c. 42, 43, p. 546, &c. [49] Niceph. Cal. Hist. Eccl. l. 8, c. 50, tom. i. p. 653, B. [50] See Bp. Gibson's Codex, p. 276.

were feasts kept in memory of the saints to whose honour the churches were dedicated, and who were therefore called the patrons of the churches.[51] For though all churches were dedicated to none but God, as appears by the grammatical construction of the word *church*, which signifies nothing else but the Lord's house;[52] yet at their consecration they were generally distinguished by the name of some angel or saint; chiefly that the people, by frequently mentioning them, might be excited to imitate the virtues for which they had been eminent; and also that those holy saints themselves might by that means be kept in remembrance.

The name of angels or saints given to churches.

§. 7. Though I have already been so long upon this head, yet I cannot conclude it, till I have observed what respect and reverence those primitive Christians used to shew in the church, as the solemn place of worship, and where God did more peculiarly manifest his presence. And this we find to have been very great. "They came into the church (saith St. Chrysostom[53]) as into the palace of the great King, with fear and trembling;" upon which account he there presses the highest modesty and gravity upon them. Before their going into the church they used to wash, at least their hands, as Tertullian probably intimates,[54] and Chrysostom expressly tells us,[55] carrying themselves while they were there with the profoundest silence and devotion. Nay, so great was the reverence they bore to the church, that the emperors themselves, (who otherwise never went without their guard about them,) when they went into the church, used to lay down their arms, to leave their guard behind them, and to put off their crowns; reckoning that the less ostentation they made of power and greatness there, the more firmly the imperial majesty would be entailed upon them.[56] Examples, one would think, sufficient to excite us to use all such outward testimonies of respect as are enjoined by the Church, and established by the custom of the age we live in, as marks of honour and reverence: a duty recommended by Solomon, who charges us *to look to our feet, when we go into the house of God*;[57] be-

Great respect and reverence shewn in the churches by the primitive Christians.

[51] See the constitution of Simon Islip, 1362, in Bishop Gibson, p. 280, or in Mr. Johnson's Collection of Ecclesiastical Laws. [52] From Κυριακὴ (which signifies the Lord's house) comes Kyre, and by adding letters of aspiration, Chyrch or Church. [53] In Ep. ad Hebr. c. ix. Hom. 15, tom. iv. p. 515, lin. ult. [54] De Oratione, c. 11, p. 133, C. [55] In Johan. 13, Hom. 72, tom. ii. p. 861, lin. 23. [56] Codex Theodos. lib. 9, tit. 45, leg. 4, tom. iii. p. 363. [57] Eccles. v. 1.

ing an allusion in particular to the rite of pulling off the shoes used by the Jews, and other nations of the East, when they came into sacred places;[58] and is as binding upon us to look to ourselves by uncovering our heads, and giving all other external testimonies of reverence and devotion.

SECT. III.—*Of the Ministers, or persons officiating in Divine Service.*

ANOTHER thing mentioned in this rubric are the *Ministers;* by whom we are to understand those who, *being taken from among men, are ordained for men, in things pertaining to God; an honour which no man taketh to himself, but he that is called of God, as was Aaron;*[59] for the ministerial office is of so high a nature, that nothing but a divine commission can qualify any person for the execution of it. The ministers of religion are the representatives of God Almighty: they are to publish his laws, and to pass his pardons, and to preside in his worship. God has committed to them the *keys of the kingdom of heaven;* and *whosesoever sins they remit, they shall be remitted; whosesoever sins they retain, they shall be retained.* They are the *stewards of the mysteries of God*, and the *dispensers* of his holy word and sacraments: in a word, they are the *ambassadors* of heaven: and on their ministrations the assistances of the Holy Spirit and all the graces of a good life depend. All these characters and powers are ascribed to them in Scripture; and consequently do sufficiently demonstrate the dignity of their office, and are a plain argument that none but God himself can give them their commission. For who dares, without the express orders of Heaven, undertake an office which includes so many and such great particulars? Should any one take upon him the character of an ambassador; should he offer terms of peace to enemies, pretend to naturalize foreigners, and grant pardons, without a commission from the supreme magistrate; as all his acts would be null and void, so he would be highly criminal, and liable to the severest punishment. The application is so easy, that the very heathens would never venture to officiate in religious matters, without a supposed inspiration from heaven, or a previous initiation by those, whom they thought intrusted by the Deity for that purpose.

The necessity of a divine commission to qualify a person for any sacred office, proved.

First, from the dignity of the office itself.

[58] Exod. iii. 5. Josh. v. 15. [59] Heb. v. 1, 4.

Secondly, from the constant practice of the Jews.

Among the Jews none could approach the presence of God but such as were particularly appointed by him. When God instituted offerings and sacrifices, and the other positive parts of his worship, he at the same time set apart a peculiar order of men to be the administrators of them. So that the persons who were to minister were equally of divine institution with the ministrations themselves. Thus Aaron and his sons, and the Levites, were consecrated by the express command of God to Moses,[60] and had all of them their distinct commissions from heaven: and no less than death was the penalty of invading their office.[61] Nay, God was more than ordinary jealous of this honour, and vindicated it even at the expense of several miracles. Thus, when Korah and his company (though Levites, and consequently nearer to the Lord in holy matters than the rest of the congregation) usurped the priest's office; God Almighty miraculously destroyed both them and their associates: and their censers were ordered to be beaten into broad plates, and fixed on the altar, to be everlasting monuments of their sacrilege, and a caution to all the children of Israel, that none should presume to offer incense before the Lord but the seed of Aaron, who alone were commissioned to this office.[62] So also Uzzah was by the immediate hand of God struck dead on the spot for touching the ark, though he did it out of zeal to hinder it from falling; to shew that no pretence of doing God service can justify meddling in holy things.[63] Saul, for offering sacrifice, (though he thought himself under a necessity of doing so,) lost his kingdom;[64] and king Uzziah, attempting to burn incense before the Lord, was judicially smitten with leprosy, and so excluded for ever after, not only from all sacred, but even civil society.[65] A plain argument, that the sacerdotal is not included in the regal office, nor derived from thence, but that, on the contrary, it is of a distinct nature and institution.

And, as St. Jerome rightly observes,[66] "What Aaron and his sons and the Levites were in the temple; such are the bishops, presbyters, and deacons in the Christian church." These are appointed by God, as those were; and therefore it can be no less sacrilege to usurp their office. Nay, it must be far greater; because the honour of the ministry rises in proportion to the dignity of their ministration; and therefore

[60] Lev. viii. Numb. iii. 5, &c. [61] Numb. iii. 10, and xviii. 7. [62] Numb. xvi. [63] 2 Sam. vi. 6, 7. [64] 1 Sam. xiii. [65] 2 Chron. xxvi. 16, &c. [66] Sub fine Epistolæ ad Evagrium.

as it cannot be denied, but that realities are more valuable than types, and that heaven is better than the land of Canaan; so the sacraments of the Gospel are certainly to be preferred before all the offerings and expiations of the law.

Thirdly, from the example of our Saviour.

And if we would but consider our Saviour's example, we should find that, though he wanted no gift to qualify him for this office, as having the divine nature inseparably united to his human, and giving sufficient evidence of his abilities, when but twelve years old; and though the necessities of mankind called loudly for such an instructor, yet he would not enter upon his office till he was externally commissioned thereto by the visible descent of the Holy Ghost upon him, and by an audible voice from heaven, proclaiming him to be the Messiah, when he was about thirty years old. All the former part of his life he spent in a private capacity; doubtless to teach us, that no internal qualifications, no good end nor intention, can warrant a man's exercising any holy function, without a divine commission.

Fourthly, from the practice of the Apostles.

And we may observe that, though our Saviour had many followers, yet none of them presumed to preach, or baptize, or perform any other sacred office, till they were particularly commissioned by him. He first ordained *twelve, that they might be with him; and that he might send them forth to preach, and to have power to heal sicknesses, and to cast out devils;*[67] and afterwards the other *seventy*, which went out upon a like errand, were especially appointed by him.[68] So likewise, after his resurrection, when he advanced the eleven to be Apostles, he did it in a most solemn manner: first breathing on them, and communicating to them the Holy Ghost; and then, after he had assured them of his own authority, he gave them the power of the keys, and authority to exercise all the holy offices in the Christian Church, and to convey the same authority to others; promising them that he *would be always with them* and their successors, *even to the end of the world;* and ratify and confirm what was done in his name, and agreeable to this commission. From whence it is plain, that it was our Saviour's express will and intention, that all those, who are ministers in his Church, should either mediately or immediately derive their authority from him. And accordingly we may observe, that, in the beginning of Christianity, all those who officiated

[67] Mark iii. 14, 15. [68] Luke x. 1.

in divine matters received their commission either from Christ himself, or from apostolical hands, and very commonly from both. The seven deacons were constituted by the Apostles;[69] and St. Paul and St. Barnabas ordained elders in every church which they planted.[70] The other Apostles used the same method, as did also their successors after them, as is sufficiently evident from Scripture and antiquity; which abundantly proves the necessity of a divine commission, in order to the being a minister in the Christian Church.

The necessity of episcopal ordination.

§. 2. If it be asked, who may be truly said to have this divine commission? we need not doubt to affirm, that none but those who are ordained by such as we now commonly call *bishops*, can have any authority to minister in the Christian Church. For that the power of ordination is solely lodged in that order, shall be proved from the institution of our Saviour, and the constant practice of the Apostles. That the power of ordination lodged in the Apostles was of divine institution, I suppose no one will question, who reads these words of our Saviour to them, after his resurrection; *As my Father sent me, so send I you;*[71] and *Lo, I am with you always, even unto the end of the world:*[72] from whence it is evident, first, That it was by a divine commission, that our Saviour ordained or sent his Apostles. Secondly, That, by virtue of the same commission, the Apostles were at that time empowered to ordain or send others. And, thirdly, That this commission to ordain was always to continue in the Christian Church, and to remain in such hands as the Apostles should convey it to. From whence it naturally follows, that whoever has a power to ordain, must derive it from the commission which our Saviour received from God, and gave to his Apostles, and was by them conveyed to their successors. The only way then to know in whose hands this commission is now lodged, is to inquire what persons were appointed by the Apostles to succeed them in this office. Now it is plain to any one who will read the Scripture without prejudice, that there were three distinct orders of ministers in the Christian Church, in the Apostles' days, which were designed to continue to the end of the world. For besides those two which our adversaries allow, viz. deacons, and presbyters or elders, (which latter are also sometimes called bishops,) we read of

Three distinct orders set apart to the ministry by the Apostles.

[69] Acts vi. 6. [70] Acts xiv. 23. [71] John xx. 21. [72] Matt. xxviii. 20.

another order, which were superior to, and had authority over, both these: such as were the Apostles, and Timothy and Titus, and others. For it is plain from the epistles St. Paul wrote to the two last mentioned, that they presided over the presbyters. They had power to enforce them to their duty, to receive accusations against them, and judicially to pass sentence upon them: which abundantly proves their superiority. And several others were constituted by the Apostles to the same office: such were St. James surnamed the Just, and Epaphroditus, who were termed Apostles or bishops by all antiquity: such doubtless were those whom St. Paul calls *Apostles of the Churches*, and joins with Titus:[73] and such also were those *Angels of the Churches*, mentioned in the book of the Revelation.

Some indeed have been pleased to tell us, that "these were *extraordinary officers*, and so of *temporary* institution only." But this is said without any ground or plausible pretence. That they were sometimes sent upon extraordinary messages, and had a power, upon an occasion, to do extraordinary things, such as miracles, &c., is very true: but then the same is to be said of the other orders as well as this. Philip was only a deacon, and yet God employed him in several extraordinary matters. And working of miracles was so common in the beginning of Christianity, that ordinary Christians were frequently endued with this power.[74] So that, if this were an argument for the temporary institution of one order, it must be so too for all the rest; which they, who make the objection, dare not say, and therefore acknowledge there is no force in it.

But they further urge, that "Timothy was an evangelist; because St. Paul bids him *do the work of an evangelist*."[75] But to this we answer, that an evangelist was no distinct officer at any time in the Christian Church. For the proper notion of an evangelist in the Acts and St. Paul's Epistles is, one who was eminently qualified to preach the Gospel, and had taken great pains therein. Thus Philip was called an evangelist,[76] who was no more than a deacon; and could only preach and baptize, and had not the power of laying on of hands, which Timothy had: and therefore the office of Philip was far inferior to that of Timothy. Whence it is

[73] 2 Cor. viii. 23. [74] Mark xvi. 17, 18. Acts x. 46, and xix. 6. 1 Cor. xii. 10, 28.
[75] 2 Tim. iv. 5. [76] Acts xxi. 8.

evident, that allowing Timothy to be an evangelist, yet his power over presbyters did not accrue to him upon that account. Nor does Timothy's being an evangelist prove the office of ruling and ordaining presbyters to be peculiar to an evangelist, any more than Philip's being called an evangelist proves the office of preaching and baptizing to be so.

From what has been said therefore it plainly appears, that there were three distinct orders set apart to the ministry by the Apostles. Our next inquiry then is, to how many, or to which of these, *the power of ordination* was committed. Now that the lowest order (viz. that of deacons) had not this power, is by all confessed: and that the highest order (of which Timothy and Titus were) had it, we are assured by the express testimony of St. Paul. The only question then is, whether the second order (viz. that of presbyters) was ever invested with this power. The affirmative of which question can never be proved from Scripture or antiquity. For,

Presbyters were never invested with the power of ordination.

First, It is frivolous to argue from the community of names, to the sameness of office. For any reasonable man will grant, that the words bishop and presbyter being promiscuously used, and mere presbyters being frequently called bishops in Scripture, does not prove, that therefore all the powers, which belong to those we now call bishops, were ever lodged in those presbyters. The only method, then, to prove that the power of ordination belongs to presbyters, is to shew, that whoever were in Scripture called by the name of presbyters or bishops were invested with that power: which can never be done. For if presbyters or elders had the power of ordination lodged in them, for what reasons can we suppose that St. Paul should leave Titus in Crete on purpose *to ordain elders in every city*, (as he tells him he did,[77]) when we know that that island had been converted to Christianity long before Titus came thither; and therefore doubtless had many presbyters among them, to preach and administer the sacraments to the inhabitants? Nor,

Secondly, Can this be proved from that often quoted passage,[78] where St. Paul exhorts Timothy *not to neglect the gift that was in him, which was given him by prophecy, with the laying on of the hands of the presbytery.* For, allowing that Timothy's ordination is here spoken of, (which yet many learned men have questioned,) it is manifest that the Apostles

[77] Titus i. 5. [78] 1 Tim. iv. 14.

themselves were often called by the name of presbyters. And so the presbyters here mentioned may very probably be the Apostles. We are sure that St. Paul was one of them, and that he ascribes the whole of Timothy's ordination to his own laying on of hands:[79] and therefore the utmost that can be deduced from this text is this, viz. That one or more of such as were mere presbyters might lay on their hands in concurrence with him, to testify their consent and approbation; as is the custom at this day in the ordination of a presbyter, and has been sometimes done at the consecration of a bishop.[80] Nor,

Thirdly, Can it be inferred from any of the charges or directions given by St. Paul in his epistles to either bishops or presbyters, that they had ever any thing like the power of ordination: which makes it more than probable, that wherever the word bishop is found in Scripture, as applied to an ecclesiastical officer after our Saviour, the middle order is always meant.[81] For though the Apostles are sometimes called presbyters and deacons, yet they are never called bishops. Their office is once indeed called ἐπισκοπὴ, i. e. a bishopric:[82] but wherever we meet with ἐπίσκοποι, i. e. bishops, either in the Acts of the Apostles, or the Epistles, we may very well understand the middle order, which we now call presbyters. And as for those whom we now call bishops, they were, in the first age of the Church, styled Apostles. For so St. Paul, speaking to the Philippians concerning Epaphroditus,[83] calls him *his brother and companion in labour*, ὑμῶν δὲ ἀπόστολον, *but your apostle*; (for so the word ought to be rendered, and not *messenger*, as in our translation;) an office which it is probable St. Paul ordained him to, when he sent him with this Epistle; for which reason, he charges them *to receive him in the Lord with all gladness, and to hold such in reputation*.[84] And Epaphroditus is accordingly, by all antiquity, reckoned the first bishop of Philippi. So that the apostolical office was not temporary, but designed to continue in the Church of Christ. And therefore the Apostles took care to ordain some to succeed them, who were at first called by the same name, though they afterwards in modesty declined so high a title; as is expressly affirmed by Theodoret, who tells

[79] 2 Tim. i. 6. [80] Vid. Bevereg. in Can. Apost. 1, p. 11, ad fin. col. 2. [81] And therefore in the Syriac version of the New Testament, the word ἐπίσκοπος is usually rendered by presbyter, and ἐπισκοπὴ by presbyteratus. Vide Bevereg. in Can. Apost. 2, p. 13, col. 1. [82] Acts i. 20. [83] Chap. ii. 25. See also 2 Cor. viii. 23. Gal. i. 19. in both which places, by the original word ἀπόστολοι, are to be understood those we now call bishops. [84] Phil. ii. 29.

us,[85] "That formerly the same persons were called both presbyters and bishops; and those now called bishops were then called Apostles: but in process of time the name of Apostle was left to those Apostles strictly so called, and the name of bishops ascribed to all the rest." And Pacianus, a writer in the fourth century, affirms the same thing.[86] So that granting mere presbyters to be Scripture bishops, which some have so earnestly contended for; yet nothing can from thence be inferred, to prove them to have equal power with those we now call bishops, who are successors of a higher order.

And to what has been said, we might, for further proof, add the joint testimony of all Christians for near fifteen hundred years together; and challenge our adversaries to produce one instance of a valid ordination by presbyters in all that time. It seems therefore very strange, that, if presbyters ever had the power of ordination, they should so tamely give up their right, without any complaint, or so much as leaving any thing upon record, to witness their original authority to after ages. In short, we have as much reason to believe that the power of ordination is appropriated to those we now call bishops, as we have to believe the necessary continuance of any one positive ordinance in the Gospel.

And now, (to sum up all that has been said in a few words,) a commission to ordain was given to none but the Apostles, and their successors. And to extend it to any inferior order, is without warrant in Scripture or antiquity. For every commission is naturally exclusive of all persons, except those to whom it is given. So that, since it does not appear, that the commission to ordain, which the Apostles received from our Saviour, was ever granted to any but such as must be acknowledged to be of a superior order to that of presbyters, which superior order is the same with that of those we now call bishops; therefore it follows, that no others have any pretence thereunto; and consequently none but such as are ordained by bishops can have any title to minister in the Christian Church.

SECT. IV.—*Of the Ministerial Ornaments.*

What ornaments are meant in the rubric.

THE second part of this rubric is concerning the *ornaments of the church, and the ministers thereof, at all times of their ministrations:*

[85] In 1 Tim. iii. 1. tom. iii. p. 473, D. [86] Pacian. Episc. Barcelonens. ad Sempronianum de Catholico Nomine. Ep. 1. apud Bibliothec. S. S. Patrum tom. iii. col. 431, Paris. 1589.

and to know what they are, we must have recourse to the Act of Parliament here mentioned, viz. *in the second year of the reign of king Edward the Sixth;* which enacts, That *all and singular ministers, in any cathedral or parish church, &c., shall, after the feast of Pentecost next coming, be bounden to say the mattens, evening song, &c., and the administration of the sacraments, and all the common and open prayer, in such order and form as is mentioned in the said book,* (viz. first book of Edward VI.) *and not other or otherwise.* So that by this Act we are again referred to the first Common Prayer Book of king Edward VI. for the habits in which ministers are to officiate; where there are two rubrics relating to them, one prescribing what habits shall be worn *in all public ministrations* whatsoever, the other relating only to the habits that are to be used *at the Communion.* The first is in the last leaf of the book, and runs thus:

In the saying or singing of mattens, or even-song, baptizing and burying, the minister in parish churches and chapels annexed to the same shall use a surplice. And in all cathedral churches and colleges, archdeacons, deans, provosts, masters, prebendaries, and fellows, being graduates, may use in the choir, besides their surplices, such hoods as pertain to their several degrees which they have holden in any university within this realm, but in all other places every minister shall be at liberty to use any surplice or no. It is also seemly that graduates, when they do preach, should use such hoods as pertaineth to their several degrees.

And whenever the bishop shall celebrate the holy Communion in the church, or execute any other public ministration; he shall have upon him, beside his rochette, a surplice, or alb, and a cope, or vestment, and also his pastoral staff in his hand, or else borne or holden by his chaplain.

The other rubric that relates to the habits that are to be worn by the minister *at the Communion*, is at the beginning of that office, and runs thus:

Upon the day, and at the time appointed for the ministration of the holy Communion, the priest that shall execute the holy ministry, shall put upon him the vesture appointed for that ministration, that is to say, a white alb plain, with a vestment or cope. And where there be many priests or deacons, there so many shall be ready to help the priest in the

ministration, as shall be requisite. And shall have upon them likewise the vestures appointed for the ministry, that is to say, albes with tunicles.

These are the ministerial ornaments enjoined by our present rubric. But because the surplice is of the most general use, and what is most frequently objected against; I shall therefore speak more largely of that, and only give a short account of the rest.

The surplice, why so called.

I. As to the name of surplice, which comes from the Latin *superpelliceum*, I can give no better account of it, than what I can put together from Durand, who tells us it was so called, because anciently this garment was put *super tunicas pellicas de pellibus mortuorum animalium factas*, upon leathern coats, made of the hides of dead beasts; symbolically to represent that the offence of our first parents, which brought us under a necessity of wearing garments of skin, was now hid and covered by the grace of Christ, and that therefore we are clothed with the emblem of innocence.[87] But whencesoever came the name, the thing certainly is good.

The antiquity, lawfulness, and decency of it.

For if it be thought necessary for princes and magistrates to wear distinct habits, in the execution of their public offices, to preserve an awful respect to their royalty and justice; there is the same reason for a different habit when God's ambassadors publicly officiate. And accordingly we find that, under the Law, the Jewish priests were, by God's own appointment, to wear decent sacred vestments at all times;[88] but at the time of public service, they were to have, besides those ordinary garments, *a white linen ephod*.[89] From the Jews it is probable the Egyptians learned this custom to wear no other garments but only of white linen, looking on that to be the fittest, as being the purest covering for those that attended on divine service.[90] And Philostratus tells us, that the Brachmans, or Indian priests, wore the same sort of garments for the same reasons.[91] From so divine an original and spreading a practice, the ancient Christians brought them into use for the greater decency and solemnity of divine service. St. Jerome at one and the same time proves its ancient use, and reproves the needless scruples

[87] Durand Rational. l. 3, c. 1, numb. 10, 11, 12. [88] Exod. xxviii. and xxix. [89] Exod. xxviii. 4. 1 Sam. ii. 18. [90] Apul. in Apol. part 1, p. 64. Paris. 1635. Vid. Hieron. in Ezek. xliv. 17, tom. iv. p. 476, D. [91] Philostr. Vit. Apol. Tyan. l. 3, c. 15, p. 106. Lipsiæ 1709.

of such as oppose it. "What offence," saith he, "can it be to God, for a bishop or priest, &c. to proceed to the communion in a white garment?"[92] The antiquity of it in the Eastern Church appears from Gregory Nazianzen, who adviseth the priests to purity, because "a little spot is soon seen in a white garment."[93] And it is very probable that it was used in the Western Church in the time of S. Cyprian; for Pontius, in his account of that Father's martyrdom, says, that "there was a bench by chance covered with a *white linen cloth*, so that at his passion he seemed to have some of the ensigns of the episcopal honour."[94] From whence we may gather, that a white garment was used by the clergy in those times.

The colour of it, why white.

§. 2. The colour of it is very suitable; for it aptly represents the innocence and righteousness wherewith God's ministers ought to be clothed.[95] And it is observable, that the Ancient of Days[96] is represented as having garments *white as snow;* and that when our Saviour was transfigured, his raiment was *white as the light;*[97] and that whenever angels have appeared to men, they have always been clothed in white apparel.[98]

Why made of linen.

§. 3. The substance of it is linen, for woollen would be thought ridiculous, and silk would scarce be afforded: and we may observe, that under the Jewish dispensation God himself ordered that the priests *should not gird themselves with anything that caused sweat;*[99] to signify the purity of heart that ought to be in those that were set apart to the performance of divine service; for which reason the Jewish ephods were linen,[100] as were also most of the other garments which the priests wore during their ministrations.[1] The Levites also that were singers were arrayed in *white linen*,[2] and the armies that followed the Lamb were clothed in *fine linen;*[3] and to the Lamb's wife was granted, that she should be arrayed *in fine linen white and clean; for the fine linen is*, i. e. represents, *the righteousness of saints.*[4]

The shape of it.

§. 4. As for the shape of it, it is a thing so perfectly indifferent, that it admits of no dispute. The present mode is certainly grave and convenient, and, in

[92] Adv. Pelag. l. 1, c. 9, tom. ii. p. 565, F. G. [93] Orat. 31, tom. i. p. 504, A. [94] Pont. Diac. in Vita S. Cyprian. p. 9, præfix. operibus Cyprian. [95] Psalm cxxxii. 9. [96] Daniel vii. 9. [97] Matt. xvii. 2. [98] Matt. xxviii. 3. Mark xvi. 5. Acts i. 10. Rev. vi. 11. vii. 9. xv. 6. xix. 8, 14. [99] Ezek. xliv. 18. [100] 1 Sam. ii. 18. [1] Lev. xvi. 4. Ezek. xliv. 17, 18. [2] 2 Chron. v. 12. [3] Rev. xix. 14. [4] Rev. xix. 8.

the opinion of Durand, significant; who observes, that as the garments used by the Jewish priesthood were girt *tight* about them, to signify the *bondage* of the law; so the *looseness* of the surplices, used by the Christian priests, signifies the *freedom* of the gospel.[5]

Objections answered.

§. 5. But neither its significancy nor decency will protect it from objections: for first, some tell us, "it is a rag of popery:" an objection that proves nothing but the ignorance of those that make it: for white garments (let them be called what they will) were of use amongst the most primitive Christians. Nor need our adversaries do the Church of Rome a greater kindness, or wound the protestant religion more deeply, than by granting that white garments and popery are of the same antiquity.

They tell us, secondly, that "it has been abused by the papists to *superstitious* and *idolatrous* uses." But to this we answer, That it is not the priest's using a surplice, that either makes their worship idolatrous or superstitious, or increases the idolatry or superstition of it. For the worship of the Roman Church is idolatrous and superstitious, whether the priest be clothed in white, or black, or any other colour. All therefore that our adversaries can mean is this, viz. that the surplice has been worn by the papists, when they have practised idolatry and superstition: and this we grant: but then it does not follow, that a surplice of itself is either unlawful or inexpedient. For white garments had, in this sense, been abused to superstitious and idolatrous uses, before Daniel represented God himself as wearing such garments; and before our Saviour wore them; and before the angels and saints were represented as clothed with them; and before they became the ministerial ornaments of the primitive times. But surely, if such an abuse made them unlawful or inexpedient, it cannot be conceived, that the primitive Church, and the inspired writers, nay, God himself, would so plainly countenance them.

Of the hood.

II. Next to the surplice, that which is of most frequent use in the celebration of divine service is the hood, or the habit denoting the degree which the person officiating has taken in the university. This in Latin is called *caputium* or *cucullus*; though of the two names the latter seems to be the more proper and ancient. For the *cucullus*

[5] Rational Divin. Offic. l. 3, c. 3, numb. 3, fol. 67.

was a habit among the ancient Romans, being a coarse covering for the head, broad at one end for the head to go in, and then lessening gradually till it ended in a point.[6] By whom first used.

§. 2. From the Romans the use of it was taken up by the old monks and ascetics; who, as soon as they began in the church, made choice of this habit as suitable to that strict reservedness which they professed. For when this was drawn over their faces, it at once prevented them from gazing at others, or being stared at themselves. And as the several orders of monks grew up, there was hardly any one of them but had the hood or cowl, only a little varied in the cut or fashion of it. But generally it was contrived so, that in cold or wet weather it might be a covering to the head; or at other times, when they pleased, they might let it fall back behind them, hanging upon their neck by the lower end, after the same manner as it now is generally used with us. Why used by the monks, &c.

§. 3. After this it came to be used by the several members of cathedral churches and colleges, though they were not allowed to have the same sort of hoods as the monks. And from these the universities took the use of it, to denote the difference of degrees among their members; varying the materials, colour, and fashion of it, according to the degree of the person that wears it. And that these academical honours (which always entitle those they are conferred upon to the greater respect and esteem of the people) might be known abroad as well as in the universities; the Church enjoins (both by this rubric and her canons[7]) that every minister, who is a graduate, shall wear his proper hood during the time of divine service, but forbidding all that are not graduates to wear it, under pain of suspension; allowing them, in the room of it, to wear upon their surplices some decent tippet of black, so it be not silk.[8] Why used in cathedrals and universities.

III. The next ministerial ornament the rubric above cited enjoins is the rochette, a linen habit peculiar to the bishop, and worn under what we call the chimere. The author of the acts of St. Cyprian's martyrdom says, that the Father went to his execution in his pontifical habit;[9] but whether this seems probable, I shall leave the reader to Of the rochette.

[6] Martial. lib. 5, Epigr. 14, lin. 6. Juvenal. Sat. 8, v. 145.
[7] Can. 17, 25, 58.
[8] Can. 58.
[9] Vid. Baronius's Annals, ann. 261, §. 40, 41.

judge: however, it is certain the use of it is ancient, it being described by Bede in the seventh century.[10] In the following ages the bishops were obliged, by the canon law, to wear their rochettes whenever they appeared in public:[11] which practice was constantly kept up in England till the Reformation; but since that time the bishops have not used to wear them at any place out of the Church, except in the parliament house, and there always with the chimere, or upper robe, to which the lawn sleeves are generally sewed; which before and after the Reformation, till queen Elizabeth's time, was always of *scarlet silk;* but bishop Hooper scrupling first at the robe itself, and then at the colour of it, as too light and gay for the episcopal gravity, it was changed for a chimere of *black satin*.[12]

Of the chimere.

IV. The other things prescribed and enjoined by the forementioned rubrics (though now grown obsolete and out of use) are the alb, the cope, the tunicle, and the pastoral staff. The alb was a very ancient habit worn by ministers in the administration of the communion, and appears by the description given of it by Durand,[13] to have been a kind of linen garment, made fit and close to the body like a cassock, tied round the middle with a girdle, or sash, with the sleeves either plain like the sleeves of a cassock, or else gathered close at the hands like a shirt sleeve; being made in that fashion, I suppose, for the conveniency of the minister, and to prevent his being hindered in the consecration and delivery of the elements, by its being too large and open. They were formerly embroidered with various colours, and adorned with fringes;[14] but these our Church does not admit of, though it still enjoins a *white alb plain.*

Of the alb.

V. Over this alb, the priest that shall *execute the holy ministry,* (i. e. consecrate the elements,) is to wear a *vestment* or *cope;*[15] which the bishop also is to have upon him when he executes any public ministration. This answers to the *colobium* used by the Latin, and the σάκκος used by the Greek Church. It was at first a common habit, being a coat without sleeves, but afterwards used as a church vestment, only made very rich by embroidery and the like. The Greeks say it was taken up in memory of that

Of the vestment or cope.

[10] Bede de Tabernac. citat. ab Almario, in Biblioth. Patr. l. 10, p. 389. [11] Decretal. l. 3, tit. 1, cap. 15. [12] See Hody's History of Convocat. p. 141. [13] Durand Rational. lib. 3, cap. 3, fol. 67. See also Dr. Watts, in his Glossary at the end of his edition of Matthew Paris. [14] Durand, ut supra. [15] See also Can. 24.

mock robe which was put upon our Saviour. How true this may be I shall not inquire, but only observe, that it seems prescribed to none but the bishop, and the priest that consecrates the elements at the sacrament. Thus the twenty-fourth canon of our Church only orders, that the *principal minister* (when the holy communion is administered in all cathedral and collegiate churches) *use a decent cope, and be assisted with an epistler and gospeler agreeably, according to the advertisements published*, anno 7 Elizabethæ: which advertisements order, that *at all other prayers no copes be used, but surplices*.[16]

Copes, when and by whom to be worn.

VI. The priests and deacons that assist the minister in the distribution of the elements, instead of copes, are to wear tunicles, which Durand[17] describes to have been a silk sky-coloured coat made in the shape of a cope.

Of the tunicle.

VII. The pastoral staff (though now grown out of use) is yet another thing expressly enjoined by the above-cited rubric. It is peculiar indeed to the bishop alone, but expressly ordered to be used by him, as an ensign of his office, at all public administrations. It was made in the shape of a shepherd's crook, and was for many ages, even till after the Reformation,[18] constantly given to the bishop at his consecration, to denote that he was then constituted a shepherd over the flock of Christ.[19]

Of the pastoral staff.

These are the ministerial ornaments and habits enjoined by our present rubric, in conformity to the first practice of our Church immediately after the Reformation; though at that time they were so very offensive to Calvin and Bucer, that the one in his letters to the Protector, and the other in his censure of the English Liturgy, which he sent to archbishop Cranmer, urged very vehemently to have them abolished; not thinking it tolerable to have any thing in common with the papists, but esteeming every thing idolatrous that was derived from them.

These habits, &c. offensive to Calvin and Bucer.

However, they made shift to accomplish the end they aimed at, in procuring a further reform of our Liturgy: for in the review that was made of it in the fifth of Edward VI., amongst other ceremonies and usages, these rubrics were left out, and the following one put in their place, viz.

And discontinued in the second book of Edward VI.

[16] Bp. Sparrow's Collection, p. 125. [17] Rational. l. 3, c. 10, fol. 73. [18] See the first ordinal, compiled A. D. 1549. [19] Durand, l. 3, c. 15, fol. 77, &c.

And here it is to be noted, that the minister, at the time of the Communion, and at all other times in his ministration, shall use neither alb, vestment, or cope; but being archbishop or bishop, he shall have and wear a rochette; and being a priest or deacon, he shall have and wear a surplice only.[20]

But restored again by queen Elizabeth.

But in the next review under queen Elizabeth, the old rubrics were again brought into authority, and so have continued ever since; being established by the Act of Uniformity that passed soon after the Restoration.

Of the lights upon the altar.

VIII. I must observe still further, that among other ornaments of the church then in use, there were *two lights* enjoined by the injunctions of king Edward VI. (which injunctions were also ratified by the act of parliament here mentioned) to be set upon the altar, as a significant ceremony to represent the light which Christ's Gospel brought into the world. And this too was ordered by the very same injunction which prohibited all other lights and tapers, that used to be superstitiously set before images or shrines,[21] &c. And these lights, used time out of mind in the Church, are still continued in most, if not all, cathedral and collegiate churches and chapels, so often as divine service is performed by candle-light; and ought also, by this rubric, to be used in all parish churches and chapels at the same times.

Church ornaments enjoined.

IX. To this section we might also refer the pulpit-cloth, cushions, coverings for the altar, &c., and all other ornaments used in the church, and prescribed by the first book of king Edward VI.

SECT. V.—*Of the place appointed for the reading of Morning and Evening Prayer.*

Of the place where morning and evening prayer is to be said.

THE reader may observe, that, in the second section of this chapter, I have only treated of churches in general, and the necessity of having appropriate places for the performance of divine worship, and have not taken any notice of the particular *place* in the church *where morning and evening prayer is to be used.* The appointment of which was yet the chief design of the first part of our present rubric. For in the first book of king Edward VI. all the rubric relating to this matter was only one at the beginning of

All divine service performed at first in the choir.

[20] Rubric before the beginning of Morning Prayer, in the second Common Prayer Book of king Edward VI. [21] Sparrow's Collection, p. 2, 3.

morning prayer, which ordered the *priest, being in the choir, to begin, with a loud voice, the Lord's Prayer, called the Pater-noster*, with which the morning and evening service then began. So that then it was the custom for the minister to perform divine service (i. e. morning and evening prayer, as well as the communion-office) at the upper end of the choir near the altar; towards which, whether standing or kneeling, he always turned his face in the prayers; though whilst he was reading the lessons he turned to the people. Against this, Bucer, by the direction of Calvin, most grievously declaimed; urging, that "it was a most antichristian practice for the priest to say prayers only in the choir, as a place peculiar to the clergy, and not in the body of the church among the people, who had as much right to divine worship as the clergy themselves." He therefore strenuously insisted, "that the reading divine service in the chancel was an insufferable abuse, and ought immediately to be amended, if the whole nation would not be guilty of high treason against God."[22] This terrible outcry (however senseless and trifling) prevailed so far, that when the Common Prayer Book was altered in the fifth year of king Edward, this following rubric was placed in the room of the old one; viz. *The Morning and Evening Prayer shall be used in such places of the church, chapel, or chancel, and the minister shall turn him, as the people may best hear. And if there be any controversy therein, the matter shall be referred to the ordinary, and he or his deputy shall appoint the place.*[23]

This practice clamoured against by Bucer.

And altered upon his complaint.

This alteration caused great contentions, some kneeling one way, some another, though still keeping in the chancel: whilst others left the accustomed place, and performed all the services in the body of the church amongst the people. For the appeasing of this strife and diversity, it was thought fit, when the English service was again brought into the church, at the accession of queen Elizabeth to the throne, that the rubric should be corrected, and put into the same form in which we now have it; viz. That the *Morning and Evening Prayer shall be used in the accustomed place of the church, chapel, or chancel;* by which for

Which caused great contentions.

Till the custom was again restored in the reign of queen Elizabeth.

[22] Vide Bucer, Cens. c. 1, p. 457. [23] Rubric before the beginning of Morning Prayer, in the second book of king Edward.

the generality must be meant the *choir* or *chancel*, which was the *accustomed place* before the second Common Prayer Book of king Edward. For it cannot be supposed, that this second book, which lasted only one year and a half, could establish a custom. However, a dispensing power was left to the ordinary, who might determine it otherwise, if he saw just cause.

The original of reading pews or desks.

Pursuant to this rubric, the morning and evening service was again, as formerly, read in the chancel or choir. But because in some churches the too great distance of the chancel from the body of the church, occasioned sometimes by the interposition of a belfry, hindered the minister from being heard distinctly by the people; therefore the bishops, at the solicitations of their inferior clergy, allowed them in several places to supersede their former practice, and to have desks, or reading pews, in the body of the church, where they might, with more ease to themselves, and greater convenience to the people, perform the daily morning and evening service. Which dispensation, begun at first by some few ordinaries, and recommended by them to others, grew by degrees to be more general, till at last it came to be an universal practice: insomuch that the convocation, in the beginning of king James the First's reign, ordered, that in every church there should be *a convenient seat made for the minister to read service in.*[21] And this being almost threescore years before the restoration of king Charles II., (at which time the last review of the Common Prayer was made,) it is very probable, that when they continued this rubric, they intended the desk or reading pew should be understood by the *accustomed place* for reading prayers. And what makes this the more likely, is a rubric at the beginning of the communion, which expressly mentions a reading pew, and seems to suppose one in every church. It is true, indeed, another rubric at the beginning of the Communion-office (which orders *the table, at the communion-time, to stand in the body of the church or chancel, where morning and evening prayer are appointed to be said*) seems to have an eye to the old practice of reading prayers in the choir. But this rubric being the same that we have in king Edward's second Common Prayer Book, may perhaps have slipt into the present book through the inadvertency of

[21] See Canon 82.

the reviewers, who might not probably just then consider, that custom had shifted the place for the performance of the daily service into another part of the church. Though were it certain that this rubric was continued in the last review, to authorize the old way of reading the prayers in the choir, in such places as had still retained that custom; yet since the ordinaries have a dispensing power, and they have approved of the alteration that has been made in the introducing of desks; it seems as regular now to perform divine service in them, as it was formerly to do it in the chancel or choir.

Chancels to remain as they have done in times past.

§. 2. The occasion of the latter part of this rubric relating to chancels, was also another of Bucer's cavils; who in his censure of our Liturgy, in the same place that he complains of the reading prayers in the choir, inveighs as vehemently against the separation of the choir from the body of the church. This too he calls "an antichristian practice, tending only to gain too great reverence to the clergy, who would hereby seem nearer related to God than the laity. That in ancient times churches were built in a *round* form, and not in a *long* one like ours, and that the place for the clergy was always in the middle; and that therefore our division of the chancels from the churches was another article of treason against God." This objection, discovering an equal share of ignorance and ill-nature, seems to have obtained no greater regard than the raillery deserved. For in the review of the Liturgy of the fifth of king Edward, instead of an order to pull down the chancels, as undoubtedly this mighty reformer expected, a clause was added at the end of the first rubric to prevent any alteration, expressly enjoining, that *the chancels should remain as they had done in times past.* There was afterwards indeed a greater occasion for the continuance of this rubric; when a tumultuous rabble, encouraged by the complaints that they had found had been made by this same Bucer, and his director Calvin,[25] proceeded to demolish both chancels and altars, pulling down the rails and frames that divided them from the rest of the church, and divesting them of all the

[25] Mr. Calvin (who was before thought by some to have offered his assistance too officiously for carrying on the Reformation in England, and who with relation to our Church had used some very hard expressions, not so well becoming the mouth of a divine) warns Martin Bucer, in a letter he sent to him just before his coming into England, against being the author or approver of middle counsels: by which words he plainly strikes at the moderation observed in the English Reformation.—Dr. Nichols's Introduction to his Defence of the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church of England.

ornaments that but seemed to intimate them to be more than ordinary sacred. But this will fall more directly under my consideration hereafter, when I come to treat of the situation of the altar, to which the rubric in the beginning of the communion-office will lead me.

CHAPTER III.

OF THE ORDER FOR MORNING AND EVENING PRAYER DAILY THROUGHOUT THE YEAR.

THE INTRODUCTION.

Whether there was any daily service in the primitive Church.

THAT the primitive Christians, besides their solemn service on Sundays, had public prayers every *morning and evening daily*, has already been hinted upon a former occasion:[1] but a learned gentleman is of the opinion, that this must be restrained to times of peace; and that during the time of public persecution they were forced to confine their religious meetings to the Lord's day only.[2] And it is certain that Pliny[3] and Justin Martyr,[4] who both describe the manner of the Christian worship, do neither of them make mention of any assembly for public worship on any other day: so that their silence is a negative argument that in their time there was no such assembly, unless perhaps some distinction may be made between the general assembly of both city and country on the Lord's day, and the particular assemblies of the city Christians (who had better opportunities to meet) on other days: which distinction we often meet with in the following ages, when Christianity was come to its maturity and perfection. However, it was not long after Justin Martyr's time, before we are sure that the Church observed the custom of meeting solemnly on Wednesdays and Fridays, to celebrate the communion, and to perform the same service as on the Lord's day itself, unless perhaps the sermon was wanting.[5] The same also might be shewed from as early authorities in relation to the festivals of their martyrs and the

[1] Chap. 2, Sect. 1, p. 80, 81. [2] Mr. Bingham's Antiquities, book 13, ch. 9, sect. 1. vol. v. p. 281, &c. [3] L. 10, ep. 97. [4] Apol. 1, c. 87, p. 131, and c. 89, p. 132.
[5] Tertul. de Orat. c. 14.

whole fifty days between Easter and Whitsuntide.[6] Nor need we look down many years lower, before we meet with express testimony of their meeting *every day* for the public worship of God. For St. Cyprian tells us, that in his time it was customary to receive the holy eucharist *every day:* a plain demonstration that they had *every day* public assemblies, since we know the eucharist was never consecrated but in such open and public assemblies of the Church.[7]

The order of their morning and evening service.

§. 2. That these daily devotions consisted of an *evening* as well as a *morning* service, even from St. Cyprian's time, the learned author I just now referred to[8] endeavours to prove. However, in a century or two afterwards, the case is plain; for the author of the Constitutions not only speaks of it, but gives us the order of both the services.[9] The *morning service*, as there described, began with the sixty-third, which was therefore called the *morning psalm*. Immediately after which followed the prayers for the catechumens, for those that were possessed, for the candidates for baptism, and the penitents, which made the general service on the Lord's day, and which were partly performed by the deacon's προσφώνησις, or bidding of prayer, something like our present Litany, but only directed to the people, and instructing them for what and for whom they were to offer their petitions; and partly by the bishop's invocation over them, pronounced as they bowed down to receive his blessing before their dismission. After these were dismissed, followed prayers for the peace of the whole world, and for all orders of men in the Church, with which the communion-service was begun on the Lord's day; and at which none but those who had a right to communicate were allowed to be present. After this followed another short bidding prayer for peace and prosperity the ensuing day; which was immediately succeeded by the bishop's commendatory prayer, or morning thanksgiving;[10] which being ended, the deacon bid them bow their heads, and receive the bishop's solemn benediction; which after they had done, he dismissed the congregation with the usual form, *Depart in peace:* the word for dismissing every Church assembly.

This is the order of the morning service, as described by

[6] Tertul. de Idololat. c. 14, de Coron. Mil. c. 3. [7] Cypr. de Orat. Domin. p. 147.
[8] Bingham, ut supra, §. 7. p. 302. [9] Const. Apost. l. 8, c. 37. [10] Εὐχαριστια Ὀρθρινὴ, Const. l. 6, c. 38.

the Constitutions ; to which the evening service, as there also set down, is in most things conformable. The prayers for the catechumens, the possessed, the candidates for baptism, and the penitents, were all the same ; so also were those for the peace of the world, and the whole state of the Catholic Church. So that all the difference between them was this, viz. that they used the hundred and forty-first psalm at evening instead of the sixty-third, which they used in the morning ; and instead of the bidding prayer for peace and prosperity, and the bishop's commendatory prayer in the morning service, two others were used in the afternoon more proper to the evening, and which for that reason were called the *evening bidding prayer*, and the *evening thanksgiving*. The bishop's benediction, too, at the conclusion of the whole, was different from that which was used in the forenoon: but excepting in these two or three particulars, both services were one and the same ; and in the evening, as well as the morning, the congregation was dismissed with the constant form pronounced by the deacon, *Depart in peace.* The reader, that is curious to see more of these forms, may consult the learned Mr. Bingham, who transcribes most of them at large, and compares the several parts of them with the memorials and accounts that are left us by other ancient writers of the Church: in which place he also takes occasion to shew, that though in the form in the Constitutions there is but one psalm appointed either at morning or evening; yet from other rituals it is plain, that it was customary in most places to recite several of the psalms, and to mix lessons along with them, both out of the Old Testament and the New, for the edification of the people.[11] But this is what I have not room to do here ; and indeed there is the less occasion, as it will come in my way to speak of these points more largely hereafter, as the order of the service I am now entering upon will lead me.

SECT. I.—*Of the Sentences.*

Why placed at the beginning of the service.

PRAYER requires so much attention and serenity of mind, that it can never be well performed without some preceding preparation : for which reason, when the Jews enter into their synagogues to pray, they remain silent for some time, and meditate before whom they stand:[12] and the Christian priest, in the primitive ages,

[11] See Mr. Bingham's Antiquities, vol. v. book 13, chap. 11, 12. [12] Buxtorf. Synag. Judaic. cap. 10, p. 194. Basil. 1661.

prepared the people's hearts to prayer by a devout preface.[13] The first book of king Edward indeed begins with the Lord's prayer: but when they came to review it afterwards, and to make alterations, they thought that too abrupt a beginning, and therefore prefixed these sentences, with the following exhortation, confession, and absolution, as a proper introduction, to bring the souls of the congregation to a spiritual frame, and to prepare them for the great duty they are just entering upon. The sentences are gathered out of Scripture, that so we may not dare to disobey them; since they come from the mouth of that God whom we address ourselves to in our prayers, and who may justly reject our petitions, if we hearken not to his word.

The choice of them.

§. 2. As to the choice of them, the reverend compilers of our Liturgy have selected such as are the most plain and the most likely to bring all sorts of sinners to repentance. There are variety of dispositions, and the same man is not always in the same temper. For which reason they have collected several, and left it to the discretion of him that ministereth, to use such one or more of them every day, as he shall judge agreeable to his own, or his people's circumstances.

SECT. II.—*Of the Exhortation.*

The design of the exhortation.

THE design of the exhortation is to apply and set home the preceding sentences, and to direct us how to perform the following confession. It collects the necessity of it from the word of God; and when it hath convinced us of that, it instructeth us in the right manner, and then invites us to that necessary duty, for which it hath so well prepared us. And for our greater encouragement, the minister (who is God's ambassador) offers to *accompany us to the throne of grace*, knowing his Master will be glad to see him with so many penitents in his retinue. And he promises that he will put words in our mouths, and speak with us and for us; only we must express the humility of our minds by the lowliness of our bodies, and declare our assent to every sentence by repeating it reverently *after him.*

SECT. III.—*Of the Confession.*

The Confession, why placed at the

THE holy Scriptures assure us, that sin unrepented of hinders the success of our prayers;[14]

[13] Cypr. de Orat. Dom. p. 152. [14] Isa. i. 15. John ix. 31.

beginning of the prayers.

and therefore such as would pray effectually have always begun with confession;[15] to the end that, their guilt being removed by penitential acknowledgments, there might no bar be left to God's grace and mercy. For which reason the Church hath placed this confession at the *beginning* of the service, for the *whole congregation* to repeat after the minister, that so we may first be witnesses of each other's confession, before we unite in the following service. And this, as we learn from St. Basil, is consonant to the practice of the primitive Christians; "who (he tells us) in all churches, immediately upon their entering into the house of prayer, made confession of their sins to God, with much sorrow, concern, and tears, every man pronouncing his own confession with his own mouth."[16]

An objection answered.

§. 2. As to the form itself, it is blamed by our sectaries for being *too general:* and yet it is so particular, as to contain all that can be expressed. It begins with an acknowledgment of our original corruption in the wicked *devices and desires of our hearts*, and then descends to actual guilt, which it divides into sins of omission and commission, under which two heads all sins whatever must necessarily be reduced. So that every single person, who makes this general confession with his lips, may at the same time mentally unfold the plague of his own heart, his particular sins, whatever they be, as effectually to God, who searches the heart, as if he enumerated them in the most ample form. And indeed had this form been more particular or express, it would not so well have answered the end for which it was designed: for a common confession ought to be so contrived, that every person present may truly speak it as his own case; whereas a confession drawn up according to the mind of the objectors, would be but little less than an inquisition, forcing those that join in it to accuse and condemn themselves of those sins daily, which perhaps they never committed in their lives.

SECT. IV.—*Of the Absolution.*

How seasonably used here.

THE congregation being now humbled by the preceding confession, may justly be supposed to stand in need of consolation. And therefore

[15] Ezra ix. 5, 6. Dan. ix. 4, 5. [16] Basil. ad Clerum Neocæsariens. Ep. 63. tom. ii. p. 843, D.

since God has committed to his ambassadors the *ministry of reconciliation*,[17] they can never more seasonably exercise it than now. For this reason the priest immediately rises from his knees, and *standing up*, as with authority, declares and pronounces for their comfort and support, that *God, who desires not the death of a sinner, but rather that he may turn from his wickedness and live, pardoneth and absolveth all them that truly repent, and unfeignedly believe his holy Gospel.*

Of what benefit or effect.

§. 2. Now whether this be only a *declaration* of the condition, or terms, whereupon God is willing to pardon sinners; or whether it be an *actual conveyance* of pardon, at the very instant of pronouncing it, to all that come within the terms proposed, is a question that is often the subject of dispute. With the utmost deference therefore to the judgment of those who are of a different opinion, I beg leave to declare for the last of these senses: not that I ascribe any *judicial* power or authority to the priest to determine the case of a *private* man, so as to apply God's pardon or forgiveness directly to the conscience of any *particular* or *definite* sinner; (my notion as to this will be seen hereafter;[18]) nor do I suppose that the priest, when he pronounces this form, can apply the benefit of it to whom he pleases; or that he so much as knows upon whom, or upon how many, it shall take effect; but all that I contend for is only this, viz. that since the priest has the *ministry of reconciliation*[19] committed to him by God, and hath both *power and commandment* (as it is expressed in this form) *to declare and pronounce to his people, being penitent, the absolution and remission of their sins;* therefore, when he does, by virtue of this power and commandment, declare and pronounce such absolution and remission regularly in the congregation; those in the congregation that *truly repent and unfeignedly believe God's holy Gospel*, (though the priest does not know who or how many they are that do so,) have yet their pardon conveyed and sealed to them at that very instant through his ministration; it being the ordinary method of God with his Church, to communicate his blessings through the ministry of the priest.

[17] 2 Cor. v. 18, 19. [18] See chap. 2, concerning the Order for the Visitation of the Sick, sect. 5. For the consistency of my notions in both these places, I must beg the reader to turn at the same time to what I have said in the preface. [19] 2 Cor. v. 18, 19.

I am sensible that this is carrying the point higher than many that have delivered their judgments before me. Even the learned translator of St. Cyprian's works, who contends that this is an *authoritative* form, yet explains himself to mean nothing more by *authoritative*, than that it is "an act of office warranted by God, and pursuant to the commission which the priest hath received for publishing authoritatively the terms of pardon at large and in general, and then for pronouncing by the same authority, that when those terms are fulfilled, the pardon is granted." [20] But this explanation seems only to make it an *authoritative declaration*, and not to suppose (as, with submission to this gentleman, I take both the rubric and form to imply) that it is an *effective* form, *conveying* as well as *declaring* a pardon to those that are duly qualified to receive it. My reasons for this I shall have another occasion to give immediately: for though what this learned gentleman asserts does not come up to my notion of the form; yet it is a great deal more than another learned author is willing to allow; who does not seem to think the form to be authoritative in any sense at all, or that there is any need of a commission to pronounce it. For "it may be asked," saith the Rev. Dr. Bennet upon this place, "whether a mere deacon may pronounce this form of absolution: and to this," saith he, "I answer, that in my judgment he may." The reason that he gives for it is, that he cannot but think it manifest, that this form of absolution is only *declaratory*: that it is only saying, That all penitent sinners are pardoned by God upon their repentance: and consequently that a mere deacon has as much authority to speak every part of this form, as he has to say, *When the wicked man turneth away from his wickedness*, &c., which is the first of the sentences appointed to be read before morning prayer: nay, that a mere deacon has as much authority to pronounce this form, as he has to preach a sermon about repentance. And that therefore it seems to be a vulgar mistake, which makes the deacons deviate from their rule, and omit either the whole, or else a part of this form, or perhaps exchange it for a collect taken out of some other part of the Liturgy."[21]

Designed by the Church to be

But now, with submission to the learned doctor, I beg leave to observe, that this form is

[20] See Dr. Marshal's preface to his translation of St. Cyprian. [21] Dr. Bennet on the Common Prayer, p. 27.

expressly called by the rubric, *The Absolution or Remission of Sins*. It is not called a *Declaration of Absolution*, as one would think it should have been, if it had been designed for no more; but it is positively and emphatically called *THE Absolution*, to denote that it is really an absolution of sins to those that are entitled to it by repentance and faith. more than declarative.

Again, the terms used to express the priest's delivering or declaring it, is a very solemn one: it is to be *pronounced* (saith the rubric) *by the priest alone*. A word which signifies much more than merely to make known, or declare a thing; for the Latin *pronuncio*, from whence it is taken, signifies properly to pronounce or give sentence: and therefore the word *pronounced*, here used, must signify that this is a sentence of absolution or remission of sins, to be authoritatively uttered by one who has received commission from God.

But further, if the repeating this Absolution be no more than saying, *That all penitent sinners are pardoned by God upon their repentance*, as the learned doctor affirms; I cannot conceive to what end it should be placed just *after* the Confession; for as much as this, the doctor himself tells us, is said *before* it, viz. in the first of the sentences appointed to be read before morning or evening prayer, *When the wicked man turneth away from his wickedness*, &c., and there I think indeed more properly: for such a declaration may be a great encouragement to draw men to confession and repentance; but after they have confessed and repented, the use of it, I think, is not so great. It is indeed a comfort to us to know that God will pardon us upon our repentance: but then it must be supposed that the hope of this pardon is one chief ground of our repentance; and therefore it cannot be imagined that the Church should tell us that *after* the Confession, which it is necessary we should know *before* it, as being the principal motive we have to confess.

All that I know can be said against this (though the doctor indeed does not urge so much) is, that "after the minister has declared the absolution and remission of the people's sins, he goes on to exhort them *to pray and beseech God to grant them true repentance*, &c., which repentance is necessary, it may be said, *beforehand*, in order to their pardon; because God pardoneth and absolveth none but those who truly repent. And therefore since the minister here exhorts the peo-

ple to pray for repentance *after* he has pronounced the absolution and remission of their sins; it may be thought that the absolution does not convey a pardon, but only promises them one upon their repentance." But in answer to this, we may grant in the first place, that one part of repentance, viz. *the acknowledging and confessing of our sins*, must be performed *before* we are pardoned; since, unless we acknowledge that we have transgressed God's laws, we do not own that we stand in need of his pardon. And for this reason the Church orders the people to make their confession, before she directs the priest to pronounce the Absolution. But then there are two other parts of repentance, which are as necessary *after* our sins are forgiven us, as they are *before;* and they are *contrition* and *amendment of life:* for first, *contrition* (by which I mean the lamenting or looking back with sorrow upon our sins) is certainly necessary even *after* they are forgiven us: since to be pleased with the remembrance of them, would be (as far as lies in our power) to act those sins over again, and consequently, though God himself should at any time have declared them pardoned with his own mouth, yet such repetition of them would render even that absolution ineffectual. And, secondly, as to endeavours after *amendment of life*, if there be any difference, they are certainly more necessary *after* our former sins are forgiven than *before;* because God's mercy in pardoning us is a new obligation upon us to live well, and is what will enhance our guilt, if we offend afterwards. And therefore our being pardoned ought to make us pray the more vehemently for repentance, and God's holy Spirit; lest, if we should return to our sins again, a worse thing should happen unto us. From all which it appears, that though repentance be a necessary *disposition to* pardon, so as that neither God will, nor man can, absolve those that are impenitent; yet, in some parts of it, it is a necessary *consequent of* pardon, insomuch as that he who is pardoned ought still to repent, as well as he who seeks a pardon: and if so, then the praying for repentance *after* the minister has declared a pardon, is no argument that such declaration does not convey a pardon.

But, secondly, the design of the Church in this place is, not only to exhort the congregation to repentance, by *declaring* to them that God will forgive and pardon their sins when they shall repent, but also to *convey* an instant pardon from God, by

the mouth of the priest, to as many as do, at that time, *truly repent, and unfeignedly believe his holy Gospel;* seems evident from the former part of the Absolution, where the priest reads his commission before he executes his authority. For this part would be wholly needless, if no more was intended by the Absolution than what Dr. Bennet tells us, viz. "a bare declaration, that all penitent sinners are pardoned by God upon their repentance;" for since, as he himself confesses, there is no more contained in such a declaration than what is implied in the first of the sentences before morning prayer, it will be very difficult to account why the Church should usher it in with so solemn a proclamation of what *power* and *commandment* God has given to his ministers. But since the Church has directed the priest to make known to the people, that God *has given power and commandment to his ministers to declare and pronounce to his people, being penitent, the absolution and remission of their sins;* it is very reasonable to suppose that, when in the next words the priest declares that God *pardoneth and absolveth all those who truly repent, and unfeignedly believe his holy Gospel*, he does, in the intent of the Church, exercise that power, and obey that commandment, which God has given him.

But, lastly, the *persons* to whom this absolution must be pronounced, is another convincing proof that it is more than merely declarative. For if it implied no more than that all sinners are pardoned by God upon their repentance; it might as well be pronounced to such as continue in their sins, as to those that have repented of them: nay, it would be more proper and advantageous to be pronounced to the former than to the latter; because, as I have observed, such a declaration might be a great inducement to forward their conversion. But yet we see that this form is not to be pronounced to such as the Church desires *should* repent, but to those who *have* repented. The absolution and remission of sins, which the priest here declares and pronounces from God, is declared and pronounced to his people *being penitent*, i. e. to those who are penitent at the very time of pronouncing the absolution. For as to those who are *impenitent*, the priest is not here said to have any power or commandment relating to them: they are quite left out, as persons not fit or proper to have this commission executed in their behalf. From all which it is plain, that this absolution is more than declarative,

that it is truly effective; insuring and conveying to the proper subjects thereof the very absolution or remission itself. It is as much a bringing of God's pardon to the penitent member of Christ's Church, and as effectual to his present benefit, as an authorized messenger bringing a pardon from his sovereign to a condemned penitent criminal, is effectual to his present pardon and release from the before appointed punishment.

It is indeed drawn up in a *declarative form*; and considering it is to be pronounced to a mixed congregation, it could not well have been drawn up in any other. For the minister, not knowing who are sincere, and who are feigned penitents, is not allowed to prostitute so sacred an ordinance amongst the good and bad promiscuously; but is directed to assure those only of a pardon *who truly repent, and unfeignedly believe God's holy Gospel.* But then to these, as may be gathered from what has been said, I take it to be as full and effective an absolution as any that can be given.

Not to be pronounced by a deacon.

§. 3. And if so, then the question the learned doctor here introduces, must receive a different answer from what he has given it. For deacons were never commissioned by the Church to give absolution in any of its forms: and therefore when a deacon omits the whole or part of this form, he does not *deviate from his rule*, as the doctor asserts, but prudently declines to use an authority which he never received; and which he is expressly forbid to use in this place by the rubric prefixed, which orders the Absolution to be pronounced *by the priest alone.* I am very readily inclined to acknowledge with the doctor, that the word *alone* was designed to serve as a directory to the people, not to repeat the words after the minister, as they had been directed to do in the preceding Confession; but silently to attend till the priest has pronounced it, and then, by a hearty and fervent Amen, to testify their faith in the benefits conveyed by it. But then as to what the doctor goes on to assert, that "the word *priest* does in this place signify, not one that is in priest's orders, as we generally speak, but any minister that officiates, whether priest or deacon;" I think I have very good reason to dissent from him. For the signification of a word is certainly to be best learnt from the persons that impose it. Now though it be true that in king Edward's second Common Prayer Book, (which was the first that had the Absolution in it,) and in all the other books till the restoration of king

Charles, the word in the rubric was *minister*, and not *priest*; yet in the review that followed immediately after the Restoration, *priest* was inserted in the room of *minister*, and that with a full and direct design to exclude *deacons* from being meant by it. For at the Savoy Conference, the presbyterian divines (that were appointed by the king to treat with the bishops about the alterations that were to be made in the Common Prayer) had desired that, as the word *minister* was used in the Absolution, and in divers other places; it might also be used throughout the whole book, instead of the word *priest*.[22] But to this the bishop's answer was very peremptory and full, viz. *It is not reasonable that the word minister should be only used in the Liturgy: for since some parts of the Liturgy may be performed by a deacon, others by none under the order of a priest*, viz. *Absolution, Consecration; it is fit that some such word as priest should be used for those offices, and not minister, which signifies at large every one that ministers in the holy office, of what order soever he be*.[23] And agreeable to this answer, when they came to make the necessary alterations in the Liturgy, they not only refused to change *priest* for *minister*, but also threw out the word *minister*, and put *priest* in the room of it, even in this rubric before the Absolution. So that it is undeniably plain, that by this rubric *deacons* are expressly forbid to pronounce this form; since the word *priest* in this place (if interpreted according to the intent of those that inserted it) is expressly limited to one in *priest's* orders, and does not comprehend *any minister that officiates, whether priest or deacon*, as Dr. Bennet asserts. I therefore could wish that the doctor would take some decent opportunity to withdraw that countenance, which I know some deacons are apt to take from his opinion, which has much contributed to the spreading of a practice which was seldom or never known before. The doctor indeed, in the conclusion of the whole, declares that "he is far from desiring any person to be determined by him: and entreats the deacons to consult their ordinaries, and to follow their directions, which

The words *priest alone* to be understood exclusive of deacons.

[22] See the exceptions against the Book of Common Prayer, §. 11, p. 6, in a quarto treatise, entitled, An Account of all the Proceedings of the Commissioners of both Persuasions, appointed by his sacred Majesty, according to Letters Patent, for the Review of the Book of Common Prayer, &c. London, printed in the year 1661; and in Mr. Baxter's Narrative, p. 318. [23] See the papers that passed between the commissioners appointed by his Majesty for the alteration of the Common Prayer, (annexed to the aforesaid account,) p. 57, 58.

in such disputable matters (as these) are the best rule of conscience." But as to this it should be considered, that the rubric being established by act of parliament, the ordinaries themselves (whom the doctor advises the deacons to consult about it) have no power to authorize them to use this form, any otherwise than by giving them priest's orders: since their authority reaches no further than to doubtful cases,[24] and this, I think, appears now to be a clear one.

The priest to stand, and the people to kneel.

§. 4. The priest is required to pronounce the Absolution *standing*, because it is an act of his authority in declaring the will of God, whose ambassador he is. But the people are to continue *kneeling*, in token of that humility and reverence with which they ought to receive the joyful news of a pardon from God.

SECT. V.—*Of the Rubric after the Absolution.*

IMMEDIATELY after the Absolution in the morning service, follows this general rubric:

¶ *The people shall answer here, and at the end of all other prayers, Amen.*

Amen, what it signifies.

The word here enjoined to be used is originally Hebrew, and signifies the same in English as *So be it*. But the word itself has been retained in all languages, to express the assent of the person that pronounces it, to that to which he returns it as an answer. As it is used in the Common Prayer Book, it bears different significations, according to the different forms to which it is annexed. At the end of prayers and collects, it is addressed to God, and signifies, "So be it, O Lord, as in our prayers we have expressed." But at the end of Exhortations, Absolutions, and Creeds, it is addressed to the priest, and then the meaning of it is either, "So be it, this is our sense and meaning:" or, "So be it, we entirely assent to and approve of what has been said."

How regarded by the primitive Christians.

§. 2. When this assent was given by the primitive Christians at their public offices, they pronounced it so heartily that St. Jerome compares it to thunder: "They echo out the Amen," saith he, "like a thunder-clap:"[25] and Clemens Alexandrinus tells us, that "at the last acclamations of their prayers, they raised themselves

[24] See the preface concerning the Service of the Church. [25] Hieron. in 2 Procem. Com. in Galat.

upon their tip-toes, (for on Sundays and on all days between Easter and Whitsuntide they prayed standing,) as if they desired that that word should carry up their bodies as well as their souls to heaven."[26]

Why printed sometimes in Roman and sometimes in Italic.

§. 3. In our present Common Prayer Book it is observable, that the Amen is sometimes printed in one character and sometimes in another. The reason of which I take to be this: at the end of all the collects and prayers, which the priest is to repeat or say alone, it is printed in Italic, a different character from the prayers themselves, to denote, I suppose, that the minister is to stop at the end of the prayer, and to leave the Amen for the people to respond: but at the end of the Lord's Prayer, Confessions, Creeds, &c., and wheresoever the people are to join aloud with the minister, as if taught and instructed by him what to say, there it is printed in Roman, i. e. in the same character with the Confessions and Creeds themselves, as a hint to the minister that he is still to go on, and by pronouncing the Amen himself, to direct the people to do the same, and so to set their seal at last to what they had been before pronouncing.

The people not to repeat the prayers aloud.

§. 4. By the people being directed by this rubric to *answer Amen at the end of the prayers*, they might easily perceive that they are expected to be silent in the prayers themselves, and only to go along with the minister in their minds. For the minister is the appointed intercessor for the people, and consequently it is his office to offer up their prayers and praises in their behalf: insomuch that the people have nothing more to do than to attend to what he says, and to declare their assent by an Amen at last, without disturbing those that are near them by muttering over the collects in a confused manner, as is practised by too many in most congregations, contrary to common sense, as well as decency and good manners.

SECT. VI.—*Of the Lord's Prayer.*

Lord's Prayer, how proper at the beginning.

WHAT hath hitherto been done is, for the most part, rather a preparation to prayer, than prayer itself: but now we begin with the Lord's Prayer, with which the office itself began in the first book of king Edward VI. But our reformers at the review of it (as has already been observed) thought it proper to add what now

[26] Stromat. l. 7.

precedes it, as judging it perhaps not so decent to call God *Our Father*, before we repent of our disobedience against him. The necessity of using it I have already proved;[27] and shall now only observe, that its being drawn up by our glorious Advocate, who knew both his Father's sufficiency and our wants, may assure us, that it contains every thing fit for us to ask, or his Father to grant. For which cause it is, and ought to be, added to all our forms and offices to make up their defects, and to recommend them to our heavenly Father; who, if he cannot deny us when we ask in his Son's *name*, can much less do so when we speak in his *words* also.[28]

The Doxology, why sometimes used, and sometimes omitted.

§. 2. The Doxology was appointed by the last review to be used in this place, partly, I suppose, because many copies of St. Matthew have it, and the Greek Fathers expound it; and partly, because the office here is a matter of praise, it being used immediately after the Absolution. But since St. Luke leaves it out, and some copies of St. Matthew, and most of the Latin Fathers; therefore we also omit it in some places, where the offices are not direct acts of thanksgiving.

The people to repeat the Lord's Prayer aloud with the minister.

§. 3. Here, and wherever else this prayer is used, the whole congregation is to join with the minister in an *audible voice;* partly that people ignorantly educated may the sooner learn it; and partly to signify how boldly we may approach the Father, when we address him with the Son's words. Though till the last review there was no such direction; it having been the custom till then, for the minister to say the Lord's prayer alone, in most of the offices, and for the people only to answer at the end of it, by way of response, *Deliver us from evil.* And the better to prepare and give them notice of what they were to do, the minister was used to elevate and raise his voice, when he came to the petition, *Lead us not into temptation*, just as it is done still in the Roman Church, where the priest always pronounces the conclusion of every prayer with a voice louder than ordinary, that the people may know when to join their Amen.

SECT. VII.—*Of the Responses.*

The design of the responses.

IT was a very ancient practice of the Jews to recite their public hymns and prayers by course:

[27] Introduction, p. 3, 4, &c. [28] Cyprian. de Orat. p. 139, 140.

and many of the Fathers assure us, that the primitive Christians imitated them therein: so that there is no old Liturgy wherein there are not such short and devout sentences as these, which, from the people's answering the priests, are called *responses*. The design of them is, by a grateful variety, to quicken the people's devotions, and engage their attention: for since they have their share of duty, they must expect till their turn come, and prepare for the next response: whereas, when the minister does all, the people naturally grow sleepy and heedless, as if they were wholly unconcerned.

§. 2. The responses here enjoined consist of prayers and praises: the first, *O Lord, open thou our lips, and our mouth shall shew forth thy praise*, are very frequent in ancient Liturgies, particularly in those of St. James and St. Chrysostom, and are fitly placed here with respect to those sins we lately confessed: for they are part of David's penitential psalm,[29] who looked on his guilt so long, till the grief, shame, and fear, which followed thereupon, had almost sealed up his lips, and made him speechless; so that he could not praise God as he desired, unless it pleased him, by speaking peace to his soul, to remove those terrors, and then his lips would be opened, and his mouth ready to praise God. And if we were as sensible of our guilt as we ought to be, it will be needful for us to beg such evidences of our pardon, as may free us from the terrors which seal up our lips, and then we shall be fit to praise God heartily in the following psalms.

V. O Lord, open thou, &c.
R. And our mouth shall, &c.

§. 3. The words that follow, viz. *O God, make speed to save us; O Lord, make haste to help us*, are of ancient use in the Western Church. When with David we look back to the innumerable evils which have taken hold of us, we cry to God to *save us speedily* from them by his mercy; and when we look forward to the duties we are about to do, we pray as earnestly, in the words of the same Psalmist,[30] that he *will make haste to help us* by his grace; without which we can do no acceptable service.

V. O God, make speed, &c.
R. O Lord, make haste, &c.

§. 4. And now having good confidence that our pardon is granted; like David,[31] we turn our petitions into praises: *standing up* to denote the elevation of our hearts, and giving *glory* to the

V. Glory be to the Father, &c.
R. As it was in the beginning, &c.

[29] Psalm li. 15. [30] Psalm lxx. 1. [31] Psalm vi. 9. cxxx. 7.

whole Trinity, *Father, Son, and Holy Ghost*, for the hopes we entertain.

In the primitive times almost every Father had his own Doxologies, which they expressed as they had occasion in their own phrases and terms; ascribing *glory and honour*, &c. sometimes *to the Father* only, and sometimes only *to the Son;* sometimes *to the Father through the Son*, and sometimes *to the Father with the Son;* sometimes to the *Spirit* jointly with both, and sometimes *through or in the Spirit* to either; sometimes *through the Son to the Father with the Holy Ghost*, and sometimes *to the Father and Holy Ghost with the Son.* For they all knew that there were three distinct, but undivided Persons, in one eternal and infinite essence; and therefore whilst they rendered glory from this principle of faith, whatever the form of Doxology was, the meaning and design of it was always the same. But when the Arians began to wrest some of these general expressions in countenance and vindication of their impious opinions, and to fix chiefly upon that form, which was the most capable of being abused to an heretical sense, viz. *Glory to the Father, by the Son, in the Holy Ghost;* this and the other forms grew generally into disuse; and that which ascribes *glory to the Holy Ghost*, as well as *to the Father and the Son*, from that time became the standing form of the Church. So that the Doxology we meet with in the ancient Liturgies is generally thus: *Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost, now and ever, world without end:* and so it continues still in the offices of the Greek Church: but the Western Church soon afterwards added the words, *As it was in the beginning*, not only to oppose the poison of the Arians, who said, there was a beginning of time before Christ had any beginning, but also to declare that this was the primitive form, and the old orthodox way of praising God.[32]

V. Praise ye the Lord. *R.* The Lord's name be praised.

§. 5. Having now concluded our penitential office, we begin the office of praises; as an introduction to which the priest exhorts us to *Praise the Lord:* the people, to shew their readiness to join with him, immediately reply, let *the Lord's name be praised;* though this answer of the people was first added to the Scotch Liturgy, and then to our own, at the last review.

[32] Concil. Vasens. c. 3, tom. ii. col. 727, E.

Of the Hallelujah.

The first of these versicles, viz. *Praise ye the Lord*, is no other than the English of *Hallelujah*; a word so sacred, that St. John retains it,[33] and St. Austin saith the Church scrupled to translate it;[34] a word appointed to be used in all the Liturgies I ever met with: in some of them upon all days in the year except those of fasting and humiliation; but in others only upon Sundays and the fifty days between Easter and Whitsuntide, in token of the joy we express for Christ's resurrection.[35] In our own Church, notwithstanding we repeat the sense of it every day in English; yet the word itself was retained in the first book of king Edward VI., where it was appointed to be used immediately after the versicles here mentioned, *from Easter to Trinity Sunday*. How it came to be left out afterwards I cannot tell; except it was because those who had the care of altering our Liturgy, thought the repetition of the word itself was needless, since the sense of it was implied in the foregoing versicles: though the Church always took it for something more than a bare repetition of *Praise ye the Lord*. For in those words the minister calls only upon the congregation to praise God; whereas in this he was thought to invite the holy angels also to join with the congregation, and to second our praises below with their divine *Hallelujahs* above.

Objection answered.

§. 6. Some have objected against the dividing of our prayers into such small parts and versicles: but to this we answer, That though there be an alteration and division in the utterance, yet the prayer is but one continued form. For though the Church requires that the minister speak one portion, and the people the other; yet both the minister and the people ought mentally to offer up and speak to God, what is vocally offered up and spoken by each of them respectively.

SECT. VIII.—*Of the Ninety-fifth Psalm.*

The Venite Exultemus.

THE matter of this psalm shews it was designed at first for the public service; on the feast of tabernacles, as some,[36] or on the Sabbath-day, as others think;[37] but St. Paul judges it fit for every day, *while it is called to-day*,[38] and so it has been used in all the Chris-

[33] Rev. xix. 1, 3, 4, 6, &c. [34] De Doctrina Christiana, lib. ii. cap. 11, tom. iii. col. 25, B. [35] August. Ep. 119, ad Jan. cap. 15, et 17. Isidor. de Eccl. Offic. lib. i. c. 13. [36] Grotius in Psalm xcv. [37] Calvin in Psalm xcv. [38] Heb. iii. 7, 15.

tian world; as the Liturgies of St. Chrysostom and St. Basil witness for the Greek Church, the testimony of St. Augustin for the African,[39] and all its ancient offices and capitulars for the Western. St. Ambrose saith, that it was the use of the Church in his time to begin their service with it:[40] for which reason in the Latin services it is called the *Invitatory Psalm;* it being always sung with a strong and loud voice, to hasten those people into the church, who were in the cemetery or churchyard, or any other adjacent parts, waiting for the beginning of prayers:[41] agreeable to which practice, in the first book of king Edward it is ordered to be *said*, or *sung*, *without any* (i. e. I suppose without any other) *invitatory*.

Why used in this place.

§. 2. Our reformers very fitly placed it here as a proper preparatory to the following psalms, lessons, and collects. For it exhorts us, first, to *praise* God, shewing us in what manner and for what reasons we ought to do it;[42] secondly, it exhorts us to *pray* to him, shewing us also the manner and reasons.[43] Lastly, it exhorts us to *hear* God's word speedily and willingly,[44] giving us a caution to beware of *hardening our hearts*, by an instance of the sad event which happened to the Jews on that account,[45] whose sin and punishment are set before us, that we may not destroy our souls, by despising and distrusting God's word as they did.[46] For which warning we bless the holy Trinity, saying, *Glory be to the Father*, &c.

SECT. IX.—*Of the Psalms.*

The Psalms, why they follow next.

AND now, if we have performed the foregoing parts of the Liturgy as we ought, we shall be fitly disposed to sing the Psalms of David with his own spirit. For all that hath been done hitherto was to tune our hearts, that we may say, *O God, our hearts are ready, we will sing and give praise*.[47] For having confessed humbly, begged forgiveness earnestly, and received the news of our absolution thankfully; we shall be naturally filled with contrition and lowliness, and with desires of breathing up our souls to heaven. And this, St. Basil tells us,[48] was a rite that in his time had obtained among all the Churches of God: "After the Confession," saith he, "the people rise from prayer, and proceed to

[39] Serm. 176, de Verb. Apost. c. 1, tom. v. col. 839, E. [40] Serm. de Deip. [41] Durand. de Divin. Offic. Rational. l. 5, c. 3, numb. 11, fol. 227. [42] Ver. 1—5. [43] Ver. 6, 7. [44] Ver. 8. [45] Ver. 8—11. [46] Ver. 10, 11. [47] Psalm cviii. 1. [48] Basil, Ep. 63, tom. ii. p. 843.

psalmody, dividing themselves into two parts, and singing by turns." For the performance of which we can have no greater or properer assistance than the Book of Psalms, which is a collection of prayers and praises indited by the Holy Spirit, composed by devout men on various occasions, and so suited to public worship, that they are used by Jews as well as Christians. And though the several parties of Christians differ in many other things; yet in this they all agree. They contain variety of devotions, agreeable to all degrees and conditions of men; insomuch that, without much difficulty, every man may, either directly or by way of accommodation, apply most of them to his own case.

Used oftener than any other part of Scripture.

§. 2. For which cause the Church useth these *oftener* than any other part of Scripture. Nor can she herein be accused of novelty: since it is certain the temple-service consisted chiefly of forms taken out of the Psalms;[49] and the prayers of the modern Jews also are mostly gathered from thence.[50] The Christians undoubtedly used them in their public service in the times of the Apostles;[51] and in the following ages they were repeated so often at the church, that the meanest Christians could rehearse them by heart at their ordinary work.[52]

Whether all the members in a mixed congregation may properly use some expressions in the Psalms.

§. 3. But now it is objected, that "it cannot reasonably be supposed that all the members of mixed congregations can be fit to use some expressions in the Psalms, so as to make them their own words; because very few have attained to such a degree of *piety* and *goodness* as David and the other Psalmists make profession of: and that therefore the Book of Psalms is not now a proper part of divine service."

To which it is answered: That so long as men continue in a wicked course of life, they are not only unfit for the use of the Psalms, but of any other devotions: they are not only incapable of applying such passages in the Psalms to their own persons; but they cannot so much as repeat a penitential Psalm, or even the confession of sins in the Liturgy, in a proper and agreeable manner: since he that does this as he ought, must do it with resolutions of amendment. But then as to those who have sincerely repented, and in earnest begun

[49] 1 Chron. xvi. 1—37. xxv. 1, 2. [50] Buxtorf. Synag. Judaic. cap. 10. [51] 1 Cor. xiv. 26. Col. iii. 16. James v. 13. [52] Vid. Chrys. Hom. 6, de Pœniten. tom. v. col. 741, D. in a Latin edition printed at Paris, 1588.

a virtuous course of life; no reason can be given why they may not unite their hearts and voices with the Church, in rehearsing these Psalms. For we may very aptly take a great part of the Psalter as the address of the whole Church to Almighty God; and then no doubt but every sincere member of this body may perform his part in this pious consort. Every true Christian may, and must say, that the Church, whereof he professes himself a member, *is all glorious within*, (i. e. adorned with all manner of inward graces and excellences,) though no Christian that is humble will presume to say so of himself. Perhaps the very best men do not think such elevated expressions fit to be applied to their single lives, or personal performances: but yet any sincere Christian may very well join in the public use of these parts of the Psalter, when he considers that what he says, or sings, is the voice of the Church universal; and that, as he has but a small share of those virtues and perfections, which are the ornament of the Church, the body of Christ; so his tongue is but one, amongst those innumerable choirs of Christians throughout the world. And there is no reason to doubt but that David did in some Psalms speak as the representative of the Church, as in others he expresses himself in the person of Christ: and therefore a devout man may also as well use these Psalms in his closet as in the church; if so be he consider himself, notwithstanding his retirement, as one of that large and vast body, who serve and worship God, according to these forms, night and day. But to return:

Why sung by course.

§. 4. The custom of singing or repeating the Psalms *alternately*, or *verse by verse*, seems to be as old as Christianity itself. Nor is there any question to be made but that the Christians received it from the Jews; for it is plain that several of the Psalms, which were composed for the public use of the temple, were written in *amœbæick*, or *alternate verse*.[53] To which way of singing used in the temple, it is probable the vision of Isaiah alluded, which he saw of the *seraphim crying one to another*, *Holy, holy, holy*, &c.[54] That it was the constant practice of the Church in the time of St. Basil, we have his own testimony: for he writes,[55] that the people in his time, "rising before it was light, went to the house of prayer, and there,

[53] As the cxivth and cxviiith, &c. [54] Isaiah viii. 3. [55] Ep. ad Clerum Neocæs. Ep. 63, tom. ii. p. 843, D. Vide et Const. Ap. l. ii. c. 57.

in great agony of soul, and incessant showers of tears, made confession of their sins to God: and then rising from their prayers, proceeded to singing of psalms, dividing themselves into two parts, and singing by turns." Ever since which time it has been thought so reasonable and decent, as to be universally practised. What Theodoret writes,[56] that Flavianus and Diodorus were the first that ordered the Psalms of David to be sung alternately at Antioch, seems not to be meant of the first institution of this custom, but only of the restoring of it, or else of the appointing some more convenient way of doing it. Isidore says,[57] that St. Ambrose was the first that introduced this custom among the Latins; but this too must be understood only in relation to some alterations that were then made; for pope Cælestine, as we read in his life, applied the Psalms to be sung alternately at the celebration of the eucharist. This practice, so primitive and devout, our Church (though there is no particular rubric to enjoin it) still continues in her service either by *singing*, as in our cathedral worship; or by *saying*, as in the parochial. For in the former, when one side of the choir sing to the other, they both provoke and relieve each other's devotion: they provoke it (as Tertullian[58] remarks) by a holy contention, and relieve it by a mutual supply and change; for which reasons, in the parochial service, the reading of the Psalms is also divided between the minister and the people. And indeed did not the congregation bear their part, to what end does the minister exhort them to *praise the Lord?* or what becomes of their promise, that *their mouths shall shew forth his praise?* To what end again is the invitatory (*O come, let us sing unto the Lord*, &c.) placed before the Psalms, if the people are to have no share in praising him in the Psalms that follow?

§. 5. Nor does the use of musical instruments in the singing of psalms appear to be less ancient than the custom itself of singing them. The first Psalm we read of was sung to a timbrel, viz. that which Moses and Miriam sang after the deliverance of the children of Israel from Egypt.[59] And afterwards at Jerusalem, when the temple was built, musical instruments were constantly used at their public services.[60] Most of David's

Musical instruments used in singing of psalms.

[56] Hist. Eccl. l. ii. c. 24. [57] Isidor. de Offic. l. i. c. 7. [58] Sonant inter duos psalmi et hymni, et mutuo provocant quis melius Deo suo cantet: Talia Christus videns et audiens gaudet. Tert. ad Uxor. ad finem, l. 2, p. 172, B. [59] Exod. xv. 20.
[60] 2 Sam. vi. 5. 1 Chron. xv. 16. 2 Chron. v. 12. and xxix. 25.

Psalms, we see by the titles of them, were committed to masters of music to be set to various tunes: and in the hundred and fiftieth Psalm especially, the prophet calls upon the people to prepare their different kinds of instruments wherewith to praise the Lord. And this has been the constant practice of the Church, in most ages, as well since as before the coming of Christ.[61]

Organs used in churches.

When organs were first brought into use, is not clearly known: but we find it recorded that about the year 766, Constantius Copronymus, emperor of Constantinople, sent a present of an organ to king Pepin of France:[62] and it is certain that the use of them has been very common now for several hundred of years; Durand mentioning them several times in his book, but giving no intimation of their novelty in divine service.

The psalms to be repeated *standing*.

§. 6. When we repeat the psalms and hymns we *stand*; that, by the erection of our bodies, we may express the elevation or lifting up of our souls to God. Though another reason of our standing is, because some parts of them are directed to God, and others are not: as therefore it would be very improper to kneel at those parts which are not directed to him; so it would be very indecent to sit, when we repeat those that are. And therefore because both these parts, viz. those which are and those which are not directed to God, are so frequently altered, and mingled one with another, that the most suitable posture for each of them cannot always be used, *standing* is prescribed as a posture which best suits both together; which is also consonant to the practice of the Jewish Church recorded in the Scripture. For we read,[63] that while the priests and Levites were offering up praises to God, *all Israel stood*. And we learn from the ritualists of the Christian Church,[64] that when they came to the Psalms, they always shewed the affection of their souls by this posture of their bodies.

The Gloria Patri repeated at the end of all the psalms and hymns.

§. 7. At the end of every *Psalm, and of every part of the hundred and nineteenth Psalm*,[65] and all the *Hymns*, (except the *Te Deum*; which, because it is nothing else almost but the *Gloria Patri* enlarged, hath not this doxology

[61] Basil. in Psalm. i. tom. i. p. 126, B. Euseb. Histor. Eccles. lib. 2, c. 17, p. 57, C. Dionys. Areop. de Eccles. Hier. c. 3, p. 89, D. Isid. Peleus. l. 1, Ep. 90, p. 29, A.

[62] Aventin. Annal. Bojorum, l. 3, f. 300, as cited in Mr. Gregory's Posthumous Works, p. 49. [63] 2 Chron. vii. 6. [64] Vide Amal. Fort. lib. 3, cap. 3. Durand. Rational. lib. 5, cap. 1. [65] See the order how the Psalter is appointed to be read.

annexed,) we repeat *Glory be to the Father*, &c., a custom which Durandus would have us believe was instituted by Pope Damasus, at the request of St. Jerome;[66] but for this there appears to be but little foundation. In the Eastern Churches they never used this glorification, but only at the end of the last Psalm, which they called their *Antiphona*, or *Allelujah*, as being one of those Psalms which had the *Allelujah* prefixed to it;[67] but in France, and several other of the Western Churches, it was used at the end of every Psalm;[68] which is still continued with us, to signify that we believe that the same God is worshipped by Christians as by Jews; the same God that is glorified in the Psalms, having been from the beginning Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, as well as now. So that the *Gloria Patri* is not any real addition to the Psalms, but is only used as a necessary expedient to turn the Jewish Psalms into Christian Hymns, and fit them for the use of the Church now, as they were before for the use of the synagogue.

The course observed in reading the Psalms.

§. 8. The present division of the Book of Psalms into several portions (whereby two separate portions are affixed to each day, and the circle of the whole to the circuit of the month) seems to be more commodious and proper than any method that had been used before. For the division of them into seven portions, called nocturns, which took up the whole once a week, (as practised in the Latin Church,) seemed too long and tedious. And the division of them into twenty portions, to be read over in so many days, (as in the Greek Church,) though less tedious, is too uncertain, every portion perpetually shifting its day: whereas in our Church, each portion being constantly fixed to the same day of the month, (*except there be proper Psalms appointed for that day*, as all the former Common Prayer Books expressed it,) the whole course is rendered certain and immovable: and being divided into threescore different portions, (i. e. one for every morning, and one for every evening service,) none of them can be thought too tedious or burdensome. In all the old Common Prayer Books indeed, *because January and March have one day above the number of thirty*, (*which, as concerning this purpose, was appointed to every month,*) *and February, which is placed between them*

[66] Durand. Rational. l. 5, c. 2, n. 17, fol. 214. [67] Cassian. Institut. l. 2, c. 8. Strabo de Reb. Eccles. c. 25. [68] Cassian. ut supra.

both, hath only twenty-eight days: it was ordered, *that February should borrow of either of the months (of January and March) one day: and so the Psalter which was read in February began at the last day of January and ended the first day of March.* And to know what Psalms were to be read every day, there was (pursuant to another rubric) a *column* added in the *calendar*, to shew the *number that was appointed for the Psalms:* and another *table*, where the same *number* being found, shewed *what Psalms were to be read at morning and evening prayer.* But this being found to be troublesome and needless, it was ordered, first in the Scotch Liturgy and then in our own, that *in February the Psalter should be read only to the twenty-eighth or twenty-ninth day of the month.* And January and March were inserted into the rubric, which before ordered that in May, and the rest of the months *that had one and thirty days apiece, the same Psalms should be read the last day of the said months, which were read the day before: so that the Psalter may begin again the first day of the next month ensuing.*

The Psalms to be used according to the translation in the great Bible.

§. 9. The Psalms we use in our daily service are not taken out of either of the two last translations of the Bible, but out of the great English Bible, translated by William Tyndal and Miles Coverdale, and revised by archbishop Cranmer: for when the Common Prayer was compiled in 1548, neither of the two last translations were extant.

It is true indeed, that at the last review the *Epistles* and *Gospels* were taken out of the new translation: and the *Lessons* too, since that time, have been read out of king James the First's Bible. But in relation to the *Psalms* it was noted, *that the Psalter followeth the division of the Hebrews, and the translation of the great English Bible set forth and used in the time of king Henry the Eighth, and king Edward the Sixth.*[69] The reason of the continuance of which order is the plainness and smoothness of this translation: for the Hebraisms being not so much retained in this as in the late translations, the verses run much more musical and fitter for devotion. Though, as the old rubric informs us, this translation, *from the ninth Psalm unto the hundred and forty-eighth Psalm, doth vary in numbers from the common Latin translation.*

[69] See the order how the Psalter is appointed to be read.

SECT. X.—*Of the Lessons.*

The Lessons, why they follow the Psalms.

OUR hearts being now raised up to God in praising and admiring him in the Psalms; we are in a fit temper and disposition to hear what he shall speak to us by his word. And thus too a respite or intermission is given to the bent of our minds: for whereas they were required to be active in the Psalms, it is sufficient if in the Lessons they hold themselves attentive. And therefore now follow two chapters of the Bible, one out of the Old Testament, the other out of the New, to shew the harmony between the Law and the Gospel: for what is the Law, but the Gospel foreshewed? what the Gospel, but the Law fulfilled? That which lies in the Old Testament, as under a shadow, is in the New brought out into the open sun: things there prefigured are here performed. And for this reason the first Lesson is taken out of the Old Testament, the second out of the New, that so the minds of the hearers may be gradually led from darker revelations to clearer views, and prepared by the vails of the Law to bear the light breaking forth in the Gospel.

The antiquity of Lessons.

§. 2. And here it may not be amiss to observe the great antiquity of joining the reading of Scriptures to the public devotions of the Church. Justin Martyr says, "It was a custom in his time to read Lessons out of the Prophets and Apostles in the assembly of the faithful."[70] And the Council of Laodicea, held in the beginning of the fourth century, ordered "Lessons to be mingled with the Psalms."[71] And Cassian tells us, that "It was the constant custom of all the Christians throughout Egypt to have two Lessons, one out of the Old Testament, another out of the New, read immediately after the Psalms; a practice," he says, "so ancient, that it cannot be known whether it was founded upon any human institution."[72] Nor has this practice been peculiar to the Christians only, but constantly used also by the Jews: who divided the books of Moses into as many portions as there are weeks in the year; that so, one of those portions being read over every sabbath-day, the whole might be read through every year.[73] And to this answers that expression of St. James,[74] that *Moses was read in the syna-*

[70] Apol. 1, cap. 87, p. 131. [71] Can. 17, Concil. tom. i. col. 1500, B. [72] Cassian. de Inst. Mon. lib. 2, cap. 4. [73] See Ainsworth on Gen. vi. 9. [74] Acts xv. 21.

gogues every sabbath-day. And that to this portion of the Law they added a Lesson out of the Prophets, we may gather from the thirteenth of the Acts, where we find it mentioned that the Law and the Prophets were both read in a synagogue where St. Paul was present,[75] and that the *Prophets were read at Jerusalem every sabbath-day.*[76]

The order of the first Lessons for ordinary days.

§. 3. For the choice of these Lessons and their order, the Church observes a different course. For the first Lessons on ordinary days she observes only this; to begin at the beginning of the year with Genesis, and so to continue on till all the books of the Old Testament are read over; only omitting the Chronicles (which are for the most part the same with the books of Samuel and Kings, which have been read before) and other particular chapters in other books, which are left out, either for the same reason, or else because they contain genealogies, names of persons or places, or some other matter less profitable for ordinary hearers.

Song of Solomon, why omitted.

The Song of Solomon, or the book of Canticles, is wholly omitted; because, if not spiritually understood, (which very few people are capable of doing, especially so as to put a tolerably clear sense upon it,) it is not proper for a mixed congregation. The Jews ordered that none should read it till they were thirty years old, for an obvious reason, which too plainly holds amongst us.

Ezekiel, why omitted.

Very many chapters of Ezekiel are omitted, upon account of the mystical visions in which they are wrapt up. Why some others are omitted does not so plainly appear, though doubtless the compilers of our Liturgy thought there was sufficient reason for it.

Isaiah, why reserved to the last.

After all the canonical books of the Old Testament are read through, (except Isaiah, which being the most evangelical prophet, and containing the clearest prophecies of Christ, is not read in the order it stands in the Bible, but reserved to be read a little before, and in Advent, to prepare in us a true faith in the mystery of Christ's incarnation and birth, the commemoration of which at that time draws nigh;) after all the rest, I say, to supply the remaining part of the year, several books of

[75] Acts xiii. 15. [76] Ver. 27. See also Prideaux's Connexion, vol. ii. p. 172, 251. Oxf. edit. 1838.

Apocryphal books, upon what accounts read for Lessons.

the Apocrypha are appointed to be read, which, though not canonical, have yet been allowed, by the judgment of the Church for many ages past, to be ecclesiastical and good, nearest to divine of any writings in the world. For which reason the books of Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Tobit, Judith, and the Maccabees, were recommended by the Council of Carthage[77] to be publicly read in the church. And Ruffinus testifies,[78] that they were all in use in his time, though not with an authority equal to that of the canonical books. And that the same respect was paid to them in latter ages, Isidore Hispalensis[79] and Rabanus Maurus[80] both affirm.

In conformity to so general a practice, the Church of England still continues the use of these books in her public service; though not with any design to lessen the authority of canonical Scripture, which she expressly affirms to be the only rule of faith: declaring,[81] that *the Church doth read the other books for example of life and instruction of manners, but yet doth not apply them to establish any doctrine.* Nor is there any one Sunday in the whole year, that has any of its Lessons taken out of the Apocrypha. For as the greatest assemblies of Christians are upon those days, it is wisely ordered that they should then be instructed out of the undisputed word of God. And even on the week-days, the second Lessons are constantly taken out of canonical Scripture, which one would think should be enough to silence our adversaries; especially as there is more canonical Scripture read in our churches in any two months (even though we should except the Psalms, Epistles, and Gospels) than is in a whole year in the largest of their meetings. But to return:

The first Lessons for Sundays.

§. 4. The course of the first Lessons appointed for Sundays is different from that which is ordained for the week-days. For from Advent Sunday to Septuagesima Sunday, some particular chapters out of Isaiah are appointed, for the aforesaid reason. But upon Septuagesima Sunday Genesis is begun; because then begins the time of penance and mortification, to which Genesis suits best, as treating of the original of our misery by the fall of Adam, and of God's severe judgment upon the world for sin. For which reason the reading of this book was affixed to Lent,

[77] Cap. 27. [78] Ruffin. in Symb. [79] De Eccles. Offic. lib. 1, c. 11. [80] De Instit. Eccles. l. 2, c. 53. [81] In her sixth Article.

even in the primitive ages of the Church.[82] Then are read forward the books as they lie in order; not all the books, but (because more people can attend the public worship of God upon Sundays than upon other days) such particular chapters are selected, as are judged most edifying to all that are present. And if any Sunday be (as some call it) a privileged day, i. e. if it hath the history of it expressed in Scripture, such as Easter-day, Whitsunday, &c., then are peculiar and proper Lessons appointed.

The first Lessons for saints-days.

§. 5. Upon saints-days another order is observed: for upon them the Church appoints Lessons out of the moral books, such as Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Ecclesiasticus, and Wisdom, which, containing excellent instructions of life and conversation, are fit to be read upon the days of saints, whose exemplary lives and deaths are the causes of the Church's solemn commemoration of them, and commendation of them to us.

For other holy-days.

§. 6. Other holy-days, such as Christmas-day, Circumcision, Epiphany, &c., have proper and peculiar Lessons appointed suitable to the occasions, as shall be shewn hereafter, when I speak of those several days. I shall only observe here, that there have been proper Lessons appointed on all holy-days, as well saints-days as others, ever since St. Austin's time:[83] though perhaps they were not reduced into an exact order till the time of Musæus, a famous priest of Massilia, who lived about the year 480. Of whom Gennadius writes, that he particularly applied himself, at the request of St. Venerius, a bishop, to choose out proper Lessons for all the festivals in the year.[84]

The order of the second Lessons.

§. 7. As for the second Lessons, the Church observes the same course upon Sundays as she doth upon week-days; reading the Gospels and Acts of the Apostles in the morning, and the Epistles at evening, in the same order they stand in the New Testament; except upon saints-days and holy-days, when such Lessons are appointed, as either explain the mystery, relate the history, or apply the example to us.

The Revelation omitted, and why.

§. 8. The Revelation is wholly omitted, except the first and last chapters (which are read upon the day of St. John the Evangelist, who was

[82] Chrysost. tom. i. Hom. 7, p. 106, et tom. ii. Hom. 1, p. 10, edit. Paris, 1609.
[83] August. in Procem. Ep. Johan. [84] Gennadius de Viris illustribus, cap. 79.

the author) and part of the nineteenth chapter (which containing the praises and adoration paid to God by the angels and saints in heaven, is very properly appointed to be read on the festival of All-Saints). But, except upon these occasions, none of this book is read openly in the church for Lessons, by reason of its obscurity, which renders it unintelligible to meaner capacities.

§. 9. And thus we see, by the prudence of the Church, the Old Testament is read over once, and the New thrice (i. e. excepting some less useful parts of both) in the space of a year, conformable to the practice of the ancient Fathers: who (as our reformers tell us[86]) *so ordered the matter, that all the whole Bible, or the greatest part thereof, should be read over once every year: intending thereby that the clergy, and especially such as were ministers in the congregation, should (by often reading and meditating in God's word) be stirred up to godliness themselves, and be more able to exhort others by wholesome doctrine, and to confute them that were adversaries to the truth: and further, that the people (by daily hearing the holy Scriptures read in the church) might continually profit more and more in the knowledge of God, and be more inflamed with the love of his true religion. Whereas in the Church of Rome this godly and decent order was so altered, broken, and neglected, by planting in uncertain stories and legends,* with multitudes of responds,† verses,‡ vain repetitions, commemorations,§ and synodals ;‖*

The antiquity and usefulness of this method.

[86] In the preface concerning the service of the Church.

* *Uncertain stories and legends.*] By these are to be understood those legendary stories, which the Roman breviaries appoint to be read on their saints-days: which being almost as numerous as the days in the year, there is hardly a day free from having idle tales mixed in its service. Nor is this remarkable only in their Lessons upon their modern saints; but even the stories of the Apostles are so scandalously blended with monkish fictions, that all wise and conscientious Christians must nauseate and abominate their service. Legends, what they were.

† *Responds.*] A respond is a short anthem, interrupting the middle of a chapter, which is not to proceed till the anthem is done. The long responses are used at the close of the Lessons. Responds, what they were.

‡ *Verses.*] By the verses here mentioned are to be understood either the versicle that follows the respond in the breviary, or else those hymns which are proper to every Sunday and holy-day; which (except some few) are a parcel of despicable monkish Latin verses, composed in the most illiterate ages of Christianity. Verses, what.

§ *Commemorations.*] Commemorations are the mixing the service of some holy-day of lesser note, with the service of a Sunday or holy-day of greater eminency, on which the less holy-day happens to fall. In which case it is appointed by the ninth general rule in the breviary, that only the hymns, verses, &c., and some other part of the service of the lesser holy-day, be annexed to that of the greater. Commemorations, what.

‖ *Synodals.*] These were the publication or recital of the provincial constitutions in the parish-churches. For after the conclusion of every provincial Synodals, what they were.

that, commonly, when any book of the Bible was begun, after three or four chapters were read out, all the rest were unread. And in this sort the book of Isaiah was begun in Advent, and the book of Genesis in Septuagesima; but they were only begun, and never read through: after like sort were other books of holy Scripture used. Moreover, the number and hardness of the rules called the Pie, and the manifold changings of the service, was the cause, that to turn the book only was so hard and intricate a matter, that many times there was more business to find out what should be read, than to read it when it was found out.*

These inconveniences therefore considered, here is set forth such an order, whereby the same shall be redressed. And for a readiness in this matter, here is drawn out a calendar for that purpose, which is plain and easy to be understood; wherein (so much as may be) the reading of holy Scripture is so set forth, that all things should be done in order, without breaking one piece from another. For this cause be cut off anthems, responds, invitatories, and such like things, as did break the continual course of the reading of the Scripture.

Yet, because there is no remedy but that of necessity, there must be some rules; therefore certain rules are here set forth, which as they are few in number, so they are plain and easy to be understood. So that here you have an order for prayer, and for the reading of the holy Scripture, much agreeable to the mind and purpose of the old Fathers, and a great deal more profitable and commodious than that which of late was used. It is more profitable, because here are left out many things, whereof some are untrue, some uncertain, some vain and superstitious; and nothing is ordained to be read, but the very pure word of God, the holy Scriptures, or that which is agree-

synod, the canons thereof were to be read in the churches, and the tenor of them to be declared and made known to the people; and some of them to be annually repeated on certain Sundays in the year.[87]

Pie, why so called.

* *Pie.*] The word *pie* some suppose derives its name from πίναξ, which the Greeks sometimes use for table or index: though others think these tables or indexes were called the pie, from the parti-coloured letters whereof they consisted; the initial and some other remarkable letters and words being done in red, and the rest all in black. And upon this account, when they translate it into Latin, they call it pica. From whence it is supposed, that when printing came in use, those letters which were of a moderate size (i. e. about the bigness of those in these comments and tables) were called pica letters.[88]

Pica letters, from whence so called.

[87] See Dr. Nichols in his notes on the word *synodals* in the preface concerning the service of the Church.

[88] See Dr. Nichols, as above, upon the word *pie*.

able to the same; and that, in such a language and order, as is most easy and plain for the understanding both of the readers and hearers: it is also more commodious, both for the shortness thereof, and for the plainness of the order, and for that the rules be few and easy.

§. 10. The Scripture being the word of God, and so a declaration of his will; the reading of it or making it known to the people is an act of authority, and therefore the minister that reads the Lessons is to *stand*. And because it is an office directed to the congregation, by all the former Common Prayer Books it was ordered, that (*to the end the people may the better hear*) *in such places where they do sing, there shall the Lessons be sung in a plain tune, after the manner of distinct reading:* and *likewise the Epistle and the Gospel.* But that rubric is now left out, and the minister is only directed to *read distinctly with an audible voice, and to turn himself so as he may best be heard of all such as are present:* which shews, that in time of prayer the minister used to look another way; a custom still observed in some parish-churches, where the reading pews have two desks; one for the Bible, looking towards the body of the church to the people; another for the Prayer Book, looking towards the east or upper end of the chancel; in conformity to the practice of the primitive Church, which, as I have already observed,[89] paid a more than ordinary reverence in their worship towards the east.

The posture of the minister.

Reading pews to have two desks.

§. 11. Before every Lesson the minister is directed to give notice to the people what chapter he reads, by saying, *Here beginneth such a chapter, or verse of such a chapter of such a book:* that so the people, if they have their Bibles with them, may, by looking over them, be the more attentive. The care of the primitive Church in this case was very remarkable. Before the Lesson began, the deacon first stood up, calling out aloud, *Let us listen, my brethren;* and then he that read invited his audience to attention, by introducing the Lesson with these words: *Thus saith the Lord.*[90] *After every Lesson* the minister with us is also directed to give notice that it is finished, by saying, *Here endeth the first or second Lesson:* which is the form now prescribed instead of the old one, *Here endeth such a chapter of such a book*, which were the words enjoined by all our former Liturgies.

The naming of the Lessons, &c.

[89] Page 86. [90] Chrysost. in Act. 9, Hom. 19.

The posture of the people.

§. 12. As for the people, there is no posture prescribed for them; but in former times they always *stood*, to shew their reverence. It is recorded of the Jews in the book of Nehemiah,[91] that *when Ezra opened the book of the law, in the sight of the people, all the people stood up.* And in the first ages of Christianity those only were permitted to *sit*, who by reason of old age, or some other infirmity, were not able to stand throughout the whole time of divine service.[92] And it is very observable, that another ceremony used by the Christians of those times, before the reading of the Lessons, was the *washing their hands*,[93] a ceremony said to be still used by the Turks, before they touch their Alcoran, who also write thereupon, *Let no unclean person touch this:*[94] which should excite us at least to prepare ourselves in such a manner, as may fit us to hear the word of God, and to express such outward reverence, as may testify a due regard to its author.

SECT. XI.—*Of the Hymns in general.*

The antiquity of hymns.

THE use of hymns among Christians is undoubtedly as old as the times of the Apostles:[95] and we learn, both from the observation of St. Augustin[96] and from the canons of the Church,[97] that hymns and psalms were intermingled with the Lessons, that so by variety the people might be secured against weariness and distraction.

The reasonableness of them after the Lessons.

§. 2. But besides antiquity, reason calls for this interposition of hymns, in respect to the great benefit we may receive from the word of God: for if we daily bless him for our ordinary meat and drink, how much more are we bound to glorify him for the food of our souls?

When first added.

§. 3. That we may not therefore want forms of praise proper for the occasion, the Church hath provided us with two after each Lesson, both in the morning and evening service; leaving it to the discretion of him that ministereth, to use those which he thinks most convenient and suitable: though in the first Common Prayer Book of king Edward VI. there was only one provided for a

[91] Chap. viii. 5. [92] August. Serm. 300, in Append. ad tom. v. col. 504, B. [93] Chrys. Hom. 53, in Joan. tom. ii. p. 776, lin. 3, 4. [94] Mr. Gregory's Pref. to his Notes and Observations upon Scripture, p. 3. [95] Matt. xxvi. 30. Col. v. 16. James v. 13. [96] Serm. 176, tom. v. col. 839, D. [97] Concil. Laod. Can. 17, Concil. tom. i. col. 1500, B.

Lesson; the hundredth, the ninety-eighth, and the sixty-seventh psalms not being added till 1552. The *Te Deum* and the *Benedicite* indeed were both in the first book; but not for choice, but to be used one at one time of the year, and the other at another, as the next section will shew.

SECT. XII.—*Of the Hymns after the first Lessons.*

Hymns after the first Lessons.

HAVING heard the holy precepts and useful examples, the comfortable promises and just threatenings, contained in the first Lesson, we immediately break out into praising God for illuminating our minds, for quickening our affections, for reviving our hopes, for awakening our sloth, and for confirming our resolutions.

The Te Deum and Benedicite, why so called.

I. For our supply and assistance in which reasonable duty, the Church has provided us two ancient hymns; the one called *Te Deum*, from the first words of it in Latin, (*Te Deum laudamus, We praise thee, O God;*) the other *Benedicite*, for the same reason, the beginning of it in Latin being *Benedicite omnia opera Domini Domino:* or, *O all ye works of the Lord, bless ye the Lord.* The former of these is now most frequently used, and the latter only upon some particular occasions.

The original of the Te Deum.

§. 2. The first (as it is generally believed) was composed by St. Ambrose for the baptism of St. Augustin;[98] since which time it has ever been held in the greatest esteem, and daily repeated in the church: so that it is now of above thirteen hundred years standing. The hymn itself is rational and majestic, and in all particulars worthy of the spouse of Christ; being above all the compositions of men uninspired, fittest for the tongues of men and angels.

Of the Benedicite, or Song of the three Children: its antiquity.

II. The other was an ancient hymn in the Jewish Church, and adopted into the public devotions of the Christians from the most early times. St. Cyprian quotes it as part of the holy Scriptures;[99] in which opinion he is seconded by Ruffinus, who very severely inveighs against St. Jerome for doubting of its divine authority; and informs us, that it was used in the Church long before his time, who himself lived

[98] St. Greg. lib. 3, Dial. cap. 4, mentions Dacius bishop of Milan, A. D. 560, who, in the first book of the Chronicles writ by him, gives an account of this. See also St. Bennet Reg. cap. 11. [99] De Orat. Dom. p. 142.

A. D. 390.[100] And when afterwards it was left out by some that performed divine service, the fourth Council of Toledo, in the year 633, commanded it to be used, and excommunicated the priests that omitted it.[1] Our Church indeed does not receive it for canonical Scripture, because it is not to be found in the Hebrew, nor was allowed in the Jewish canon; but it is notwithstanding an exact paraphrase of the hundred and forty-eighth psalm, and so like it in words and sense, that whoever despiseth this, reproacheth that part of the canonical writings.

The subject of it.

§. 2. As to the subject of it, it is an elegant summons to all God's works to praise him; intimating that they all set out his glory, and invite us, who have the benefit of them, to join with these *three children* (to whom so great and wonderful a deliverance was given) in *praising and magnifying the Lord for ever.*

When proper to be used.

§. 3. So that when we would glorify God for his works, which is one main end of the Lord's day; or when the Lesson treats of the creation, or sets before us the wonderful works of God in any of his creatures, or the use he makes of them either ordinary or miraculous for the good of the Church; this hymn may very seasonably be used. Though in the first Common Prayer Book of king Edward VI., *Te Deum* was appointed *daily throughout the year, except in Lent, all the which time, in the place of Te Deum, Benedicite was to be used.* So that, as I have already observed, they were not originally inserted for choice; but to be used at different parts of the year. But when the second book came out with double hymns for the other Lessons; these also were left indifferent at the discretion of the minister, and the words, *Or this Canticle*, inserted before the hymn we are now speaking of.

Of the Magnificat, or the Song of the blessed Virgin Mary.

III. After the first Lesson at *evening prayer*, two other hymns are appointed, both of them taken out of canonical Scripture: the first is the song of the blessed Virgin, called the *Magnificat*, from its first word in Latin. It is the first hymn recorded in the New Testament, and, from its ancient use among the primitive Christians, has been continued in the offices of the Reformed Churches abroad,[2] as well as in ours.

[100] Ruffin. l. 2, adv. Hieron. [1] Can. 14, Concil. tom. v. col. 1710, C. D. [2] See Durell's View of the Reformed Churches, page 38.

For as the Holy Virgin, when she reflected upon the promises of the Old Testament, now about to be fulfilled in the mysterious conception and happy birth, of which God had designed her to be the instrument, expressed her joy in this form; so we, when we hear in the Lessons like examples of his mercy, and are told of those prophecies and promises which were then fulfilled, may not improperly rejoice with her in the same words, as having a proportionable share of interest in the same blessing.

Of the ninety-eighth psalm.

IV. But when the first Lesson treats of some great and temporal deliverance granted to the peculiar people of God, we have the ninety-eighth psalm for variety; which, though made on occasion of some of David's victories, may yet be very properly applied to ourselves, who, being God's adopted children, are a *spiritual Israel*, and therefore have all imaginable reason to bless God for the same, and to call upon the whole creation to join with us in thanksgiving. This was one of those which, I have already observed, was first added to king Edward's second Common Prayer.

SECT. XIII.—*Of the Hymns after the second Lessons.*

Hymns after the second Lessons.

HAVING expressed our thankfulness to God in one of the above-mentioned hymns for the light and instruction we have received from the first Lesson; we are fitly disposed to hear the clearer revelations exhibited to us in the second.

Of the Benedictus, or song of Zacharias.

I. As to the second Lesson in the morning, it is always taken out either of the Gospels or the Acts; which contain an historical account of the great work of our redemption: and therefore as the angel, that first published the glad tidings of salvation, was joined by a multitude of the heavenly host, who all brake forth in praises to God; so when the same tidings are rehearsed by the priest, both he and the people immediately join their mutual gratulations, praising God, and saying, *Blessed be the Lord God of Israel, for he hath visited and redeemed his people; and hath raised up a mighty salvation for us in the house of his servant David*, &c.; being the hymn that was composed by good old Zacharias, at the circumcision of his son, St. John the Baptist,[3] and containing a thanksgiving to God

[3] Luke i. 57.

for the incarnation of our Saviour, and for those unspeakable mercies which (though they were not then fully completed) were quickly afterwards the subject of the whole Church's praises.

Of the hundredth psalm.

II. For variety the hundredth psalm was also appointed by king Edward's second book, in which all lands and nations are invited and called upon to *serve the Lord with gladness, and come before his presence with a song*, for his exceeding grace, mercy, and truth, which are so eminently set forth in the Gospels.

Of the Nunc Dimittis.

III. After the second Lesson at evening, which is always out of the Epistles, the Song of Simeon, called *Nunc Dimittis*, is most commonly used. The author of it is supposed to have been he whom the Jews call Simeon the Just, son to the famous Rabbi Hillel,[4] a man of eminent integrity, and one who opposed the then common opinion of the Messiah's temporal kingdom. The occasion of his composing it was his meeting Christ in the temple, when he came to be presented there, wherein God fulfilled his promise to him, that he should not die till he had seen the Lord's Christ.[5]

And though we cannot see our Saviour with our bodily eyes, as he did, yet he is by the writings of the Apostles daily presented to the eyes of our faith: and therefore if we were much concerned for heaven, and as loose from the love of the world as old Simeon was, and we ought to be; we might, upon the view of Christ in his holy word, be daily ready to sing this hymn, which is taken into the services of all Christian Churches in the world, Greek, Roman, and Reformed, and was formerly very frequently sung by saints and martyrs a little before their deaths.

Of the sixty-seventh psalm.

IV. Instead of it sometimes the sixty-seventh psalm is used, (being one of those that was introduced in king Edward's second Liturgy,) which being a prayer of David for the coming of the Gospel, is a proper form wherein to express our desires for the further propagation of it.

N. B. It ought to be noted, that both the sixty-seventh and hundredth psalms, being inserted in the Common Prayer Books in the ordinary version, ought so to be used, and not to be sung in Sternhold and Hopkins, or any other metre, as is

[4] Vid. Scultet. Exercit. Evang. l. 1, c. 61, and Lightfoot's Harmony on the place.
[5] Luke ii. 26.

now the custom in too many churches, to the jostling out of the psalms themselves, expressly contrary to the design of the rubric: which, if not prevented, may in time make way for further innovations and gross irregularities.

SECT. XIV.—*Of the Apostles' Creed.*

The Creed.

THOUGH the Scriptures be a perfect revelation of all divine truths necessary to salvation; yet the fundamental articles of our faith are so dispersed there, that it was thought necessary to collect out of those sacred writings one plain and short summary of fundamental doctrines, which might easily be understood and remembered by all Christians.

Why so called. Why called Symbolum.

§. 2. This summary, from the first word in Latin, *Credo*, is commonly called the *Creed*; though in Latin it is called *Symbolum*, for which several reasons are given: as, first, that it is an allusion to the custom of several persons meeting together to eat of one common supper, whither every one brings something for his share to make up that common meal, which from hence was called *Symbolum*, from the Greek word συμβάλλειν, which signifies to throw or cast together: even so, say some,[6] the Apostles met together, and each one put or threw in his article to compose this symbol.

Another signification of the word is fetched from military affairs, where it is used to denote those marks, signs, or watch-words, &c., whereby the soldiers of an army distinguished and knew each other: in like manner, as some think,[7] by this Creed the true soldiers of Jesus Christ were distinguished from all others, and discerned from those who were only false and hypocritical pretenders.

But the most natural signification of the word seems to be derived from the pagan symbols, which were secret marks, words, or tokens communicated at the time of initiation, or a little before, unto those who were consecrated or entered into their reserved or hidden rites, and to none else; by the declaration, manifestation, or pronunciation whereof, those more devout idolaters knew each other, and were with all freedom and liberty of access admitted to their more intimate mysteries, i. e. to the secret worship and rites of that God, whose sym-

[6] Ruffin. Expos. in Symb. Apost. ad calcem Cyprian. Oper. pag. 17. Cassian. de Incarn. Dom. l. 6, c. 3, pag. 1046, Atrebat. 1628. [7] Ruffin. ut supra. Maxim. Taurinens. Homil. in Symbol. ap Biblioth. Vet. Patr. Colon. Agrippin. 1618, tom. v. pag. 39.

bols they had received: from whence the multitude in general were kept out and excluded: which said symbols those who had received them were obliged carefully to conceal, and not, on any account whatsoever, to divulge or reveal.[8] And for the same reasons the Apostles' Creed is thought by some to have been termed a symbol, because it was studiously concealed from the pagan world, and not revealed to the catechumens themselves, till just before their baptism or initiation in the Christian mysteries; when it was delivered to them as that secret note, mark, or token, by which the faithful in all parts of the world might, without any danger, make themselves known to one another.[9]

The antiquity of it.

§. 3. That the whole Creed, as we now use it, was drawn up by the Apostles themselves, can hardly be proved: but that the greatest part of it was derived from the very days of the Apostles, is evident from the testimonies of the most ancient writers;[10] particularly of St. Ignatius, in whose epistles most of its articles are to be found: though there are some reasons to believe, that some few of them, viz. that of the *descent into hell*, the *communion of saints*, and *the life everlasting*, were not added till some time after, in opposition to some gross errors and heresies that sprang up in the Church. But the whole form, as it now stands in our Liturgy, is to be found in the works of St. Ambrose and Ruffinus.[11]

When first recited publicly.

§. 4. It is true indeed the primitive Christians, by reason they always concealed this and their other mysteries, did not in their assemblies publicly recite the Creed, except at the times of baptism; which, unless in cases of necessity, were only at Easter and Whitsuntide. From whence it came to pass, that the constant repeating of the Creed in the church was not introduced till five hundred years after Christ: about which time Petrus Gnapheus, bishop of Antioch, prescribed the constant recital of the Creed at the public administration of divine service.[12]

The place of the Creed in the Liturgy.

§. 5. The place of it in our Liturgy may be considered with respect both to what goes before, and what comes after it. That which goes before it are the Lessons taken out of the word of God: for *faith*

[8] See instances of these symbols in the lord chief-justice King's Critical History of the Creed, chap. 1, p. 11, &c. [9] See this proved by the same author, p. 20, &c. [10] Vid. Irenæum, contr. Hæres. l. 1, c. 2, p. 44. Tertull. de Virg. veland. c. 1, p. 175, A. De Præscript. Hæreticor. c. 13, p. 206, D. [11] In their Expositions upon it. [12] Theodor. Lector. Histor. Eccles. p. 563, C.

comes by hearing;[13] and therefore when we have heard God's word, it is fit we should profess our belief of it, thereby *setting our seals* (as it were) *to the truth of God*,[14] especially to such articles as the chapters now read to us have confirmed. What follows the Creed are the prayers which are grounded upon it: for we cannot *call on him in whom we have not believed*.[15] And therefore since we are to pray to God the Father, in the name of the Son, by the assistance of the Holy Ghost, for remission of sins, and a joyful resurrection; we first declare that we believe in God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and that there is remission here, and a resurrection to life hereafter, for all true members of the Catholic Church; and then we may be said to pray in faith.

To be repeated by the whole congregation.

§. 6. Both minister and people are appointed to repeat this Creed; because it is the profession of every person present, and ought for that reason to be made by every one in his own person; the more expressly to declare their belief of it to each other, and consequently to the whole Christian world, with whom they maintain communion.

Standing.

§. 7. It is to be repeated *standing*, to signify our resolution to stand up stoutly in the defence of it. And in Poland and Lithuania the nobles used formerly to draw their swords, in token that, if need were, they would defend and seal the truth of it with their blood.[16]

With their faces towards the east.

§. 8. When we repeat it, it is customary to turn towards the east, that so whilst we are making profession of our faith in the blessed Trinity, we may look towards that quarter of the heavens where God is supposed to have his peculiar residence of glory.[17]

Reverence to be made at the name of JESUS.

§. 9. When we come to the second article in this Creed, in which the name of JESUS is mentioned, the whole congregation makes obeisance, which the Church (in regard to that passage of St. Paul, *That at the name of* JESUS *every knee should bow*[18]) expressly enjoins in her eighteenth canon: ordering, *that when in time of divine service the Lord* JESUS *shall be mentioned, due and lowly reverence shall be done by all persons present, as it has been accustomed; testifying by these outward ceremonies and gestures their inward humility, Christian resolution, and*

[13] Rom. x. 17. [14] John iii. 33. [15] Rom. x. 14. [16] See Durell's View, &c. sect. 1, §. 24, page 37. [17] See Mr. Gregory, as quoted in note [38], p. 86. [18] Phil. ii. 10.

due acknowledgment that the Lord JESUS CHRIST, *the true eternal Son of God, is the only Saviour of the world, in whom alone all the mercies, graces, and promises of God to mankind for this life, and the life to come, are fully and wholly comprised.*

SECT. XV.—*Of St. Athanasius's Creed.*

The Creed of Saint Athanasius.

WHETHER this Creed was composed by Athanasius or not, is matter of dispute: in the rubric before it, as enlarged at the review, it is only said to be *commonly called the Creed of St. Athanasius:* but we are certain that it has been received as a treasure of inestimable price both by the Greek and Latin Churches for almost a thousand years.

The scruple which some make against it.

§. 2. As to the matter of it, it condemns all ancient and modern heresies, and is the sum of all orthodox divinity. And therefore if any scruple at the denying salvation to such as do not believe these articles; let them remember, that such as hold any of those fundamental heresies are condemned in Scripture:[19] from whence it was a primitive custom, after a confession of the orthodox faith, to pass an anathema against all that denied it. But however, for the ease and satisfaction of some people who have a notion that this Creed requires every person to assent to, or believe, every verse in it on pain of damnation; and who therefore (because there are several things in it which they cannot comprehend) scruple to repeat it for fear they should anathematize or condemn themselves; I desire to offer what follows to their consideration, viz. That howsoever plain and agreeable to reason every verse in this Creed may be; yet we are not required, by the words of the Creed, to believe the whole on pain of damnation. For all that is required of us as *necessary to salvation*, is, that *before all things we hold the catholic faith: and the catholic faith is* by the third and fourth verses explained to be *this, that we worship one God in Trinity, and Trinity in Unity: neither confounding the persons, nor dividing the substance.* This therefore is declared necessary to be believed: but all that follows from hence to the twenty-sixth verse, is only brought as a proof and illustration of it; and therefore requires our assent no more than a sermon does, which is made to prove or illustrate

[19] 1 John ii. 22, 23. v. 10. 2 Pet. ii. 1.

a text. The text, we know, is the word of God, and therefore necessary to be believed: but no person is, for that reason, bound to believe every particular of the sermon deduced from it, upon pain of damnation, though every tittle of it may be true. The same I take it to be in this Creed: the belief of the *catholic faith* before mentioned, the Scripture makes necessary to salvation, and therefore we must believe it: but there is no such necessity laid upon us to believe the illustration that is there given of it, nor does the Creed itself require it: for it goes on in the twenty-sixth and twenty-seventh verses in these words, *So that in all things as is aforesaid, the Unity in Trinity, and the Trinity in Unity is to be worshipped: he therefore that will be saved, must thus think of the Trinity.* Where it plainly passes off from that illustration, and returns back to the fourth and fifth verses, requiring only our belief of the catholic faith, as there expressed, as necessary to salvation, viz. that *One God* or *Unity in Trinity and Trinity in Unity is to be worshipped.* All the rest of the Creed, from the twenty-seventh verse to the end, relates to our Saviour's incarnation; which indeed is another essential part of our faith, and as necessary to be believed as the former: but that being expressed in such plain terms as none, I suppose, scruple, I need not enlarge any further.

Why said on those days mentioned in the rubric.

§. 3. The reasons why this Creed is appointed to be said upon those days specified in the rubric, are, because some of them are more proper for this confession of faith, which, being of all others the most express concerning the Trinity, is for that reason appointed on *Christmas-day*, *Epiphany*, *Easter-day*, *Ascension-day*, *Whit-Sunday*, and *Trinity Sunday*; which were all the days that were appointed for it by the first book of king Edward: but in his second book it was also enjoined on Saint *Matthias*, and some other *saints-days*, that so it might be repeated once in every month.

SECT. XVI.—*Of the Versicles before the Lord's Prayer.*

The good order and method of our service.

THE congregation having now their consciences absolved from sin, their affections warmed with thanksgiving, their understandings enlightened by the word, and their faith strengthened by a public profession, enter solemnly in the next place upon the remaining part of divine worship, viz. supplication and prayer, that is,

to ask those things which are requisite and necessary, as well for the body as the soul.

Pr. The Lord be with you.

§. 2. But because they are not able to do this without God's help, therefore the minister first blesses them with *The Lord be with you:* which, it must be observed too, is a very proper salutation in this place, viz. after a public and solemn profession of their faith. For St. John forbids us to say to any heretic, *God speed:*[20] and the primitive Christians were never allowed to salute any that were excommunicated.[21] But when the minister hath heard the whole congregation rehearse the Creed, and seen, by their standing up at it, a testimony of their assent to it; he can now salute them as brethren and members of the Church. But because he is their representative and mouth to God, they return his salutation, immediately replying, *And with thy spirit:* both which sentences are taken out of holy Scripture,[22] and together with that salutation, *Peace be with you*, (which was generally used by the bishop, instead of *The Lord be with you*,[23]) have been of very early use in the Church,[24] especially in the eastern part of it, to which, as an ancient Council says,[25] they were delivered down by the Apostles themselves: and it is observable that they always denoted (as here) a transition from one part of the divine service to another.

Answ. And with thy spirit.

Pr. Let us pray.

§. 3. In the heathen sacrifices there was always one to cry, *Hoc agite*, or to bid them mind what they were about. And in all the old Christian Liturgies the deacon was wont to call often upon the people, ἐκτενῶς δεηθῶμεν, *Let us pray earnestly;* and then again, ἐκτενέστερον, *more earnestly.* And the same vehemence and earnest devotion does our Church call for in these words, *Let us pray:* warning us thereby to lay aside all wandering thoughts, and to attend to the great work we are about; for though the minister only speaks most of the words, yet our affections must go along with every petition, and sign them all at last with an hearty *Amen.*

Pr. Lord have mercy upon us.

§. 4. But being unclean, like the lepers recorded by St. Luke,[26] before we come to address ourselves to God, we begin to cry, *Lord have*

[20] 2 John 10, 11. [21] Capital. Carol. Mag. l. 5, c. 42. [22] Ruth ii. 4. 2 Thess. iii. 16. 2 Tim. iv. 22. Gal. vi. 18. [23] Durand. Rational. lib. 4, c. 14, §. 7, fol. 111. [24] Chrys. in Coloss. 1, Hom. 3, tom. 4, p. 107, lin. 3, &c. Isid. Peleus. l. 1, Ep. 122, p. 44, A. [25] Concil. Bracar. 2, cap. 3, tom. v. col. 740, B. [26] Luke xvii. 12, 13.

mercy on us; lest, if we should unworthily call him *Our Father*, he upbraid us as he did the Jews, *If I be a father, where is mine honour?*[27] And it is to be observed, that the Church hath such an awful reverence for the Lord's Prayer, that she seldom suffers it to be used without some preceding preparation. In the beginning of the morning and evening service we are prepared by the confession of our sins, and the absolution of the priest; and very commonly in other places by this short litany: whereby we are taught first to bewail our unworthiness, and pray for *mercy;* and then with an humble boldness to look up to heaven, and call God *Our Father*, and beg further blessings of him.

As to the original of this form, it is taken out of the Psalms,[28] where it is sometimes repeated twice together; to which the Christian Church hath added a third, viz. *Christ have mercy upon us*, that so it might be a short litany or supplication to every person in the blessed Trinity: we have offended each person, and are to pray to each, and therefore we beg help from them all.

It is of great antiquity both in the Eastern and Western Churches; and an old Council orders it to be used there times a day in the public service.[29] And we are informed that Constantinople was delivered from an earthquake by the people going barefoot in procession and using this short litany.[30]

The clerk and people not to repeat *Lord have mercy upon us* after the minister.

N. B. The clerk and people are here to take notice not to repeat the last of these versicles, viz. *Lord have mercy upon us*, after the minister. In the end of the Litany indeed they ought to do it, because there they are directed to say all the three versicles distinctly after him; each of them being repeated in the Common Prayer Book, viz. first in a Roman letter for the priest, and then in an Italic, which denotes the people's response. But in the daily morning and evening service, in the office for solemnization of matrimony, in those for the visitation of the sick, for the burial of the dead, for the churching of women, and in the commination, where these versicles are single, and only the second printed in an Italic character, there they are to be repeated alternately, and not by way of repetition: so that none but the second versicle, viz. *Christ have mercy upon us*, comes to the people's turn, the first and last belonging to the minister.

[27] Mal. i. 6. [28] Psalm vi. 2. li. 1. cxxiii. 3. [29] Concil. Vasens. 2, Can. 3, tom. iv. col. 1680, C. [30] Paul. Diacon. l. 16, c. 24.

SECT. XVII.—*Of the Lord's Prayer.*

The Lord's Prayer, why repeated.

THE *minister*, *clerk*, *and people*, being prepared in the manner that we have described above, are now again to *say the Lord's Prayer with a loud voice*. For this consecrates and makes way for all the rest, and is therefore now again repeated. By which repetition we have this further advantage, that if we did not put up any petition of it with fervency enough before, we may make amends for it now, by asking that with a doubled earnestness.

Clerks, who intended by them.

§. 2. By the clerks in this rubric (which was first inserted in the second book of king Edward) I suppose were meant such persons as were appointed at the beginning of the Reformation, to attend the incumbent in his performance of the offices; and such as are still in some cathedral and collegiate churches, which have lay-clerks (as they are called, being not always ordained) to look out the Lessons, name the anthem, set the Psalms, and the like:[31] of which sort I take our parish clerks to be, though we have now seldom more than one to a church.

SECT. XVIII.—*Of the Versicles after the Lord's Prayer.*

The versicles.

BEFORE the minister begins to pray alone for the people, they are to join with him (according to the primitive way of praying) in some short versicles and responsals taken chiefly out of the Psalms, and containing the sum of all the following collects.

To the first, *O Lord, shew thy mercy upon us,—and grant us thy salvation*,[32] answers the Sunday collect, which generally contains petitions for mercy and salvation. To the second, *O Lord, save the king,—and mercifully hear us when we call upon thee*,[33] answer the prayers for the king and royal family. To the third, *Endue thy ministers with righteousness,—and make thy chosen people joyful*;[34] and the fourth, *O Lord, save thy people,—and bless thine inheritance*;[35] answers the collect for the clergy and people. To the fifth, *Give peace in our time, O Lord,—because there is none other that fighteth for us, but only thou, O God*,[36] answer the daily collects for peace: and to the last, *O God, make clean our hearts within us, and take not thy Holy Spirit from us*,[37] answer the daily collects for grace.

[31] See the Clergyman's Vade Mecum, p. 202, 203. [32] Psalm lxxxv. 7. [33] Psalm xx. verse the last, according to the Greek translation. [34] Psalm cxxxii. 9. [35] Psalm xxviii. 9. [36] 1 Chron. xxii. 9. [37] Psalm li. 10, 11.

§. 2. Against two of these versicles it is objected, that the Church enjoins us to pray to God to *give peace in our time*, for this odd reason, viz. *because there is none other that fighteth for us but only God*. But to this we answer, that the Church by these words does by no means imply, that the only reason of our desiring peace, is because we have none other to fight for us, save God alone; as if we could be well enough content to be engaged in war, had we any other to fight for us, besides God: but they are a more full declaration and acknowledgment of that forlorn condition we are in, who are not able to help ourselves, and who cannot depend upon man for help; which we confess and lay before Almighty God, to excite the greater compassion in his divine Majesty. And thus the Psalmist cries out to God, *Be not far from me, for trouble is near; for there is none to help.*[38]

An objection answered.

§. 3. The rubric which orders the priest to *stand up* to say these versicles, (which was first added in 1552,) I imagine to have been founded upon the practice of the priests in the Romish Church. For it is a custom there for the priest, at all the long prayers, to kneel before the altar, and mutter them over softly by himself: but whenever he comes to any versicles where the people are to make their responses, he rises up and turns himself to them, in order to be heard: which custom the compilers of our Liturgy might probably have in their eye, when they ordered the minister to *stand up* in this place.

Why the minister is to stand up at these versicles.

SECT. XIX.—*Of the Collects and Prayers in general.*

BEFORE we come to speak of each of the following prayers in particular, it may not be amiss to observe one thing concerning them in general, viz. the reason why they are not carried on in one continued discourse, but divided into many short collects, such as is that which our Lord himself composed. And that might be one reason why our Church so ordered it, viz. that so she might follow the example of our Lord, who best knew what kind of prayers were fittest for us to use. And indeed we cannot but find, by our own experience, how difficult it is to keep our minds long intent upon any thing, much more upon so great things as the object and subject of our prayers; and that, do what we can, we are still liable to wanderings and

The prayers, why divided into so many short collects.

[38] Psalm xxii. 11.

distractions: so that there is a kind of necessity to break off sometimes, that our thoughts, being respited for a while, may with more ease be fixed again, as it is necessary they should, so long as we are actually praying to the Supreme Being of the world.

But besides, in order to the performing our devotions aright to the most high God, it is necessary that our souls should be possessed all along with due apprehensions of his greatness and glory. To which purpose our short prayers contribute very much. For every one of them beginning with some of the attributes or perfections of God, and so suggesting to us right apprehensions of him at first, it is easy to preserve them in our minds during the space of a short prayer, which in a long one would be too apt to scatter and vanish away.

But one of the principal reasons why our public devotions are and should be divided into short collects, is this: our blessed Saviour, we know, hath often told us, that *whatsoever we ask the Father in his name he will give it us*;[39] and so hath directed us in all our prayers to make use of *his name*, and to ask nothing but upon the account of his merit and mediation for us: upon which all our hopes and expectations from God do wholly depend. For this reason therefore (as it always was, so also now) it cannot but be judged necessary, that the name of Christ be frequently inserted in our prayers, that so we may lift up our hearts unto him, and rest our faith upon him, for the obtaining those good things we pray for. And therefore whatsoever it be which we ask of God, we presently add, *through Jesus Christ our Lord*, or something to that effect; and so ask nothing but according to our Lord's direction, i. e. in his name. And this is the reason that makes our prayers so short: for take away the conclusion of every collect or prayer, and they may be joined all together, and be made but as one continued prayer. But would not this tend to make us forgetful that we are to offer up our prayers in the name of Christ, by taking away that which refresheth our memory?

Why called collects.

§. 2. The reason why these prayers are so often called collects is differently represented. Some ritualists think, because the word *collect* is sometimes used both in the vulgar Latin Bible,[40] and by the ancient Fathers,[41] to denote the gathering together of the people

[39] John xiv. 13, and xvi. 24. [40] Dies Collectæ, Lev. xxiii. 36. Collectionem, Heb. x. 25. [41] Collectum celebrare. Passim apud Patres.

into religious assemblies; that therefore the prayers are called collects, as being repeated when the people are collected together.[42] Others think they are so named upon account of their comprehensive brevity; the minister collecting into short forms the petitions of the people, which had before been divided between him and them by versicles and responses:[43] and for this reason God is desired in some of them to *hear the prayers and supplications of the people.* Though I think it is very probable that the *collects for the Sundays and Holy-days* bear that name, upon account that a great many of them are very evidently collected out of the Epistles and Gospels.

SECT. XX.—*Of the three Collects at Morning and Evening Prayer.*

THE next thing to be taken notice of is the rubric that follows the versicles after the Lord's prayer in the morning service, viz. The rubric after the Lord's prayer.

¶ *Then shall follow three Collects: the first of the Day, which shall be the same that is appointed at the Communion; the second for Peace; the third for Grace to live well. And the two last Collects shall never alter, but daily be said at Morning Prayer throughout all the year, as followeth; all kneeling.*

There is much the same rubric in the evening service; only whereas the third collect for the morning is entitled, *for grace to live well;* the title of that for the evening is, *for aid against all perils.*

I. The first of these collects, *viz.* that of the day, to be *the same that is appointed at the communion,* will fall under my particular consideration, when I come to treat of the several Sundays and Holy-days, which will naturally lead me to take notice of the several collects that belong to them. Of the collect for the day.

II. The second collect, *for peace,* both for the morning and evening service, are, word for word, translated out of the Sacramentary of St. Gregory; each of them being suited to the office it is assigned to. In that which we use in the beginning of the day, when we are going to engage ourselves in various affairs, and to converse with the world, we pray for outward peace, and desire to be preserved from the injuries, affronts, and wicked de- Of the collect for peace.

[42] A populi collectione, Collectæ appellari cœperunt. Alcuinus.
[43] Sacerdos omnium petitiones compendiosa brevitate colligit. Walafrid. Strabo.

signs of men. But in that for the evening we ask for inward tranquillity, requesting *for that peace which the world cannot give*, as springing only from the testimony of a good conscience: that so each of us may with David be enabled to say, *I will lay me down in peace, and take my rest;* having our hearts as easy as our heads, and our sleep sweet and quiet.

Of the collects for grace.

III. The third collects, both at morning and evening, are framed out of the Greek *euchologion*. That in the morning service, *for grace*, is very proper to be used in the beginning of the day, when we are probably going to be exposed to various dangers and temptations. Nor is the other, *for aid against all perils*, less seasonable at night; for being then in danger of the terrors of darkness, we by this form commend ourselves into the hands of that God, who neither slumbers nor sleeps, and with whom darkness and light are both alike.

And for aid against all perils.

SECT. XXI.—*Of the Anthem.*

Anthem.

AFTER the aforesaid collects, as well at morning prayer as at evening, the rubric orders, that *in choirs and places where they sing, here followeth the anthem;* the original of which is probably derived from the very first Christians. For Pliny has recorded that it was the custom in his time to meet upon a fixed day before light, and to sing a hymn, *in parts* or *by turns*, to Christ, as God:[44] which expression can hardly have any other sense put upon it, than that they sung in an *antiphonical* way. Socrates indeed attributes the rise of them to St. Ignatius, who, when he had heard the angels in heaven singing and answering one another in hymns to God, ordered that, in the church of Antioch, psalms of praise should be composed and set to music, and sung in parts by the choir in the time of divine service;[45] which, from the manner of singing them, were called ἀντίφωνα, *antiphons*, or *anthems*, i. e. hymns sung in parts, or by course. This practice was soon imitated by the whole Church, and has universally obtained ever since.

Their original and antiquity.

§. 2. The reason of its being ordered in this place is partly perhaps for the relief of the congregation, who, if they have joined with due fer-

Why to be sung here.

[44] Plin. Epist. l. 10, Ep. 97, p. 284. edit. Oxon. 1703. [45] Socrat. Hist. Eccl. lib. 6, cap. 8, p. 313, D.

vour in the foregoing parts of the office, may now be thought to be something weary; and partly, I suppose, to make a division in the service, the former part of it being performed in behalf of ourselves, and that which follows being mostly intercessional.

§. 3. And therefore since it is now grown a custom, in a great many churches, to sing a psalm in metre in the middle of the service; I cannot see why it would not be more proper here, than just after the second Lesson, where a hymn is purposely provided by the Church to follow it. I have already showed the irregularity of singing the hymn itself in metre: and to sing a different psalm between the Lesson and the psalm appointed, is no less irregular. And therefore certainly this must be the most proper place for singing, (if there must be singing before the service is ended,) since it seems much more timely and conformable to the rubric, and moreover does honour to the singing-psalms themselves, by making them supply the place of anthems.

This the proper place for singing psalms.

SECT. XXII.—*Of the Prayer for the King.*

WE have been hitherto only praying for ourselves; but since we are commanded to *pray for all men*,[46] we now proceed, in obedience to that command, to pray for the whole Church; and in the first place for the king, whom, under Christ, we acknowledge to be the supreme governor of this part of it to which we belong. And since the supreme King of all the world is God, by whom all mortal kings reign; and since his authority sets them up, and his power only can defend them; therefore all mankind, as it were by common consent, have agreed to pray to God for their rulers. The heathens offered sacrifices, prayers, and vows for their welfare: and the Jews (as we may see by the Psalms[47]) always made their prayers for the king a part of their public devotion. And all the ancient Fathers, Liturgies, and Councils fully evidence, that the same was done daily by Christians: and this not only for those that encouraged them, but even for such as opposed them, and were enemies to the faith. Afterwards indeed, when the emperors became Christian, they particularly named them in their offices, with titles expressing the dearest affection, and most honourable respect; and prayed for them in as loyal and as hearty terms as are in-

The prayer for the king.

[46] 1 Tim. ii. 1, 2.

[47] Psalm xx. and lxxii

cluded in the prayer we are now speaking of: which is taken almost verbatim out of the Sacramentary of St. Gregory, but was not inserted in our Liturgy till the reign of queen Elizabeth; when our reformers observing that, by the Liturgies of king Edward, the queen could not be prayed for, but upon those days when either the Litany or Communion-office was to be used, they found it necessary to add a form, to supply the defect of the daily service.

When first used in our service.

SECT. XXIII.—*Of the Prayer for the Royal Family.*

The prayer for the royal family.

THERE is as near an alliance between this and the former prayer, as between the persons for whom they are made. And we may observe that the Persian emperor Darius desired the Jewish priests to pray not only for the king, but his sons too;[48] and the Romans prayed for the heirs of the empire, as well as the emperor himself.[49] The primitive Christians prayed also for the imperial family;[50] and the canons of old Councils both at home and abroad enjoin the same.[51] In our own Church indeed there was no mention made of the royal family till the reign of king James I., because after the Reformation no protestant prince had children till he came to the throne. But at his accession, this prayer was immediately added; except that the beginning of it, when it was first inserted, was, *Almighty God, which hast promised to be a father of thine elect, and of their seed:* but this, I suppose, being thought to savour a little of Calvinism, was altered about the year 1632 or 33, when (*Frederic the prince elector palatine, the lady Elizabeth his wife, with their princely issue*, being left out) these words were changed into, *Almighty God, the fountain of all goodness.*

When added to our liturgy.

SECT. XXIV.—*Of the Prayer for the Clergy and People.*

The prayer for the clergy and people.

HAVING thus made our supplications for our temporal governors, that under them we may have all those outward blessings which will make our lives comfortable here; we proceed, in the next place, to pray for our spiritual guides, that with them we may receive all those graces and inward blessings which will make

[48] Ezra vi. 10. [49] Tacit. Annal. l. 4. [50] Liturg. S. Basil. [51] Excerpt. Egberti, Can. 7, Spelm. tom. i. p. 259. Concil. Rhemens. 2, Can. 40, tom. vii. col. 1285, C.

our souls happy hereafter. We are members of the Church as well as of the State, and therefore we must pray for the prosperity of both, since they mutually defend and support each other. That we might not want a form therefore suitable and good, this prayer was added in queen Elizabeth's Common Prayer Book, out of the Sacramentary of St. Gregory, in conformity to the practice of the ancient Church, which always had prayers for the clergy and people.[52]

When first added.

§. 2. And because to gather a Church at first out of infidels, and then to protect it continually from its enemies, is an act of as great power, and a greater miracle of love than to create the world; therefore in the preface of this prayer we may properly address ourselves to God, as to him *who alone worketh great marvels:* though it is not improbable that those words might be added with a view to the *miraculous* descent of the Holy Ghost upon the twelve Apostles on the day of Pentecost.

The meaning of, *who alone worketh great marvels.*

§. 3. By the word *curates* in this prayer, are meant all that are intrusted with the cure or care of souls, whether they be the incumbents themselves, who from that cure were anciently called curates; or those whom we now more generally call so, from assisting incumbents in their said cure.

Curates; who they be.

SECT. XXV.—*Of the Prayer of St. Chrysostom.*

WHERE ancient Liturgies afforded proper prayers, the compilers of ours rather chose to retain them than make new ones: and therefore as some are taken from the Western offices, so is this from the Eastern; where it is daily used, with very little difference, in the Liturgies both of St. Basil and St. Chrysostom; the last of which was the undoubted author of it. It is inserted indeed in the middle of their Liturgies; but in ours, I think more properly, at the conclusion. For it is fit, that, in the close of our prayers, we should first reflect on all those great and necessary requests we have made, and then not only renew our desires that God may grant them, but also stir up our hearts to hope he will. To which end we address ourselves in this prayer to the second Person in the glorious

The prayer of St. Chrysostom.

[52] Synes. Ep. 11, p. 173, B. Excerpt. Egberti, Can. 8, Spelm. tom. i. p. 229. Concil. Calchuthens. Can. 10, tom. vi. col. 1816, A.

Trinity, our blessed Saviour, and remind him of the gracious promise he made to us when on earth, that *where two or three are gathered together in his name, he would be there in the midst of them*;[53] and therefore if we can but prevail with him to hear our *desires and petitions*, we know that the power of his intercession with God is so great, that we need not doubt but we shall obtain them. But however, since it may happen that we may have asked some things which he may not think convenient for us; we do not peremptorily desire that he would give us all we have prayed for, but submit our prayers to his heavenly will; and only request that *he would fulfil our desires and petitions as may be most expedient for us*: begging nothing positively, but what we are sure we cannot be too importunate for, viz. *in this world knowledge of his truth, and in the world to come life everlasting.* This we may ask peremptorily, without fear of arrogance or presumption; and yet this is all we really stand in need of.

When first added.

§. 2. Neither this nor the following benedictory prayer is at the end of either the morning or evening service, in any of the old Common Prayer Books; which all of them conclude with the third collect. But the prayer of St. Chrysostom is at the end of the Litany, from the very first book of king Edward; and the benedictory prayer from that of queen Elizabeth; and there also stood the prayers for the king, the royal family, for the clergy and people, till the last review. And I suppose, though not printed, they were always used, as now, at the conclusion of the daily service. For after the third collect, the Scotch Liturgy directs, that *they shall follow the prayer for the king's Majesty, with the rest of the prayers at the end of the Litany to the benediction.*

SECT. XXVI.—*Of* 2 *Cor.* xiii. 14.

2 Cor. xiii. 14.

THE whole service being thus finished, the minister closes it with that benedictory prayer of St. Paul, with which he concludes most of his Epistles: a form of blessing which the Holy Spirit seems, by the repeated use of it, to have delivered to the Church to be used instead of that old Jewish form, with which the priest under the law dismissed the congregation.[54] The reason of its being changed was undoubtedly owing to the new revelation made of the

[53] Matt. xviii. 20. [54] Numb. vi. 23, &c.

three Persons in the Godhead. For otherwise the Jews both worshipped and blessed in the name of the same God as the Christians; only their devotions had respect chiefly to the Unity of the Godhead, whereas ours comprehend also the Trinity of Persons.

§. 2. I must not forget to observe, that the form here used in our daily service is rather a *prayer* than a *blessing;* since there is no alteration either of person or posture prescribed to the minister, but he is directed to pronounce it *kneeling*, and to include himself as well as the people. Not a blessing.

CHAPTER IV.

OF THE LITANY.

THE INTRODUCTION.

After the order for the morning and evening prayer in our present Liturgy, as well as in all the old ones, stands *the confession of our Christian faith, commonly called the Creed of Athanasius*,[1] which hath already been spoken to: and then *followeth the Litany or general supplication to be sung or said after morning prayer, upon Sundays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, and at all other times when it shall be commanded by the ordinary.* The word *Litany*, as it is explained by our present Liturgy, signifies *a general supplication;* and so it is used by the most ancient heathens, viz. "for an earnest supplication to the gods made in time of adverse fortune;[2] and in the same sense it is used in the Christian Church, viz. for a supplication and common intercession to God, when his wrath lies heavy upon us."[3] Such a kind of supplication was the fifty-first psalm, which may be called David's litany. Such was that litany of God's appointing in Joel,[4] where, in a general assembly, the priests were *to weep between the porch and the altar*, and to say, *Spare thy people, O Lord:* (in allusion to which place, The signification of the word *Litany.*

[1] The words *commonly called the Creed of Athanasius* were added at the Restoration. [2] Πολλὰ δὲ καὶ σπένδων χρυσέῳ δέπαϊ Λιτάνευεν· Hom. Il. Ψ. Φίλως Λιτάνευε τοκῆας Μῆτιν συμφράσασθαι. Hesiod. Theog. [3] Λιτανεία δέ ἐστι παράκλησις πρὸς Θεὸν, καὶ ἱκεσία—δι' ὀργὴν ἐπιφερομένην. Symeon. Thessal. Opusc. de Hæret.
[4] Joel ii. 17.

our Litany, retaining also the same words, is enjoined, by the royal injunctions still in force,[5] to be said or sung in the *midst* of the church, at a low desk before the chancel door, anciently called the *falled stool.*[6]) And such was that litany of our Saviour,[7] which he thrice repeated *with strong crying and tears.*[8]

Why sung in the midst of the church.

§. 2. As for the *form* in which they are now made, viz. in short requests by the priests, to which the people all answer, it appears to be very ancient; for St. Basil tells us, that litanies were read in the church of Neocæsarea, between Gregory Thaumaturgus's time and his own.[9] And St. Ambrose hath left a form of litany, which bears his name, agreeing in many things with this of ours. For when miraculous gifts began to cease, they wrote down several of those forms, which were the original of our modern office.

The antiquity of litanies in this form.

§. 3. About the year 400 they began to be used in procession, the people walking barefoot, and saying them with great devotion; by which means, it is said, several countries were delivered from great calamities.[10] About the year 600, Gregory the Great, out of all the litanies extant, composed that famous sevenfold litany,[11] by which Rome was delivered from a grievous mortality;[12] which hath been a pattern to all the Western Churches since; and to which ours comes nearer than that in the present Roman Missal, wherein later popes had put in the invocation of saints, which our reformers have justly expunged. But here we must observe, that litanies were of use before processions, and remained when they were taken away. For those processional litanies having occasioned much scandal, it was decreed "that the litanies should for the future only be used within the walls of the church;"[13] and so they are used amongst us to this day.

Litanies used in procession.

§. 4. In the Common Prayer Book of 1549, (i. e. in the first book of king Edward,) the Litany was placed between the communion office, and

Why said on Sundays, Wednesdays, and Fridays.

[5] Injunctions of Edward VI. and of queen Elizabeth, A. D. 1559, in bishop Sparrow's Collect. p. 8 and 72. [6] See a note of bishop Andrews, in Dr. Nichols's Additional Notes, p. 22, col. 1. [7] Luke xxii. 44. [8] Heb. v. 7. [9] Basil. Ep. 63, ad Neocæsar. [10] Vid. Niceph. Hist. l. 14, c. 3, tom. ii. p. 443, A. [11] It was called *Litania septiformis*, or the sevenfold litany, because he ordered the Church to make their procession in seven classes: viz. first the clergy, then the laymen, next the monks, after the virgins, then the married women, next the widows, last of all the poor and the children. Vide Greg. lib. 11, Ep. 2, and Strabo de Offic. Eccles. c. 28. [12] Paul. Diac. l. 18, et Balæus in Vit. Greg. [13] Concil. Coloniens.

the office for baptism, with this single title, *The Letany*[14] *and Suffrages*, and without any rubric either before or after it. But at the end of the communion office the first rubric began thus: *Upon Wednesdays and Fridays the English Litany shall be said or sung in all places, after such form as is appointed by the King's Majesty's Injunctions: or as it shall be otherwise appointed by his Highness.* What this *form* was I shall mention presently from the Injunctions themselves: but first I must observe, that Wednesdays and Fridays are here only mentioned, which were the ancient fasting-days of the primitive Church:[15] the death of Christ being designed on the Wednesday, when he was sold by Judas, and accomplished on the Friday, when he died on the cross.[16] As to Sunday, I find no direction relating to it; though I conclude from two other rubrics, which dispense with the use of it on some particular Sundays, that it was generally used on all the rest. For among the notes of explication at the end of that book, the two last allow that *upon Christmas-day, Easter-day, the Ascension-day, Whit-Sunday, and the feast of Trinity, may be used any part of holy Scripture, hereafter to be certainly limited and appointed instead of the Litany.* And that *if there be a sermon, or for other great cause, the curate by his discretion may leave out the Litany, the Gloria in Excelsis, the Creed, the Homily, and the Exhortation to the Communion.* But in the review of the Common Prayer in 1552, the Litany was placed where it stands at this time, with direction at the beginning, that it should *be used on Sundays, Wednesdays, and Fridays; and at other times when it shall be commanded by the ordinary.* And the order for *Sunday* has continued ever since; I suppose partly because there is then the greatest assembly to join in so important a supplication, and partly that no day might seem to have a more solemn office than the Lord's day.

§. 5. The particular *time of the day* when it is to be said seems now different from what it was formerly: in king Edward's and queen Elizabeth's time, it seems it was used as preparatory to the second service. For by their Injunctions[17] it was ordered, that *immediately before high mass, or the time of communion of*

What time of the day it is to be used.

[14] So the word was spelt in all the old Common Prayer Books. [15] Clem. Alex. Strom. 7, c. 744, B. Tertul. de Jejun. c. 2, p. 545, A. Epiphan. adv. Hæres. l. 3, tom. i. p. 910, B. [16] Petrus Alexandrinus, ap. Albaspinæum, l. i. Obs. 16, p. 35, col. 1, E. [17] Sparrow's Collections, p. 8, 72.

the sacrament, the priests with others of the quire should kneel in the midst of the church, and sing or say plainly and distinctly the Litany which is set forth in English, with all the suffrages following. And even long afterwards it was a custom in several churches *to toll a bell* whilst the Litany was reading, to give notice to the people that the communion service was coming on.[18] And indeed till the last review in 1661 the Litany was designed to be a distinct service by itself, and to be used some time after the morning prayer was over; as may be gathered from the rubric before the commination in all the old Common Prayer Books, which orders, that *after morning prayer, the people being called together by the ringing of a bell, and assembled in the church, the English Litany shall be said after the accustomed manner.* This custom, as I am informed, is still observed in some cathedrals and chapels:[19] though now, for the most part, it is made one office with the morning prayer; it being ordered by the rubric before the prayer for the king, to be read after the third collect for grace, instead of the intercessional prayers in the daily service. Which order seems to have been formed from the rubric before the litany in the Scotch Common Prayer Book, which I have transcribed in the margin.[20] And accordingly we find that, as the aforementioned rubric before the commination office is now altered, both the morning prayer and Litany are there supposed to be read at one and the same time.

One out of every family to attend the Litany.

§. 6. By the fifteenth canon above mentioned, whenever the Litany is read, *every householder dwelling within half a mile of the church, is to come or send one at the least of his household fit to join with the minister in prayers.*

The minister to kneel.

§. 7. The *posture*, which the minister is to use in saying the Litany, is not prescribed in any present rubric, except that, as it is now a part of the morning service for the days above mentioned, it is included in the rubric at the end of the suffrages after the second Lord's prayer, which orders *all to kneel* in that place, after which there is no direction for *standing*. And the In-

[18] Heylin's Antidot. Lincoln. cap. 10, sect. 3, p. 59. [19] As at Worcester Cathedral and Merton College in Oxford, where morning prayer is read at six or seven, and the Litany at ten. [20] Here followeth the Litany to be used after the third collect at morning prayer, called the collect for grace, upon Sundays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, and at other times, when it shall be commanded by the Ordinary, and without the omission of any part of the other daily service of the Church on those days.

junctions of king Edward and queen Elizabeth both appoint, that the *priests, with others of the choir, shall kneel in the midst of the church, and sing or say plainly and distinctly the Litany, which is set forth in English, with all the suffrages following, to the intent the people may hear and answer*, &c.[21] As to the posture of the people, nothing need to be said in relation to that, because whenever the priest kneels, they are always to do the same.

The irregularity of singing the Litany by laymen.

§. 8. The singing of this office by laymen, as practised in several cathedrals and colleges, is certainly very unjustifiable, and deservedly gives offence to all such as are zealous for regularity and decency in divine worship. And therefore (since it is plainly a practice against the express rules of our Church, crept in partly through the indevout laziness of minor canons and others, whose duty it is to perform that solemn office; and partly through the shameful negligence of those who can and ought to correct whatever they see amiss in such matters) it cannot surely be thought impertinent, if I take hold of this opportunity to express my concern at so irreligious a custom. And to shew that I am not singular in my complaint, I shall here transcribe the words of the learned Dr. Bennet, who hath some time since, upon a like occasion, very severely, but with a great deal of decency, inveighed against this practice; though I cannot learn that he has yet been so fortunate as to obtain much reformation.

"I think myself obliged (saith he[22]) to take notice of a most scandalous practice, which prevails in many such congregations, as ought to be fit precedents for the whole kingdom to follow. It is this; that laymen, and very often young boys of eighteen or nineteen years of age, are not only permitted, but obliged to perform this office, which is one of the most solemn parts of divine service, even though many priests and deacons are at the same time present.

"Those persons upon whom it must be charged, and in whose power it is to rectify it, cannot but know that this practice is illegal, as well as abominable in itself, and a flat contradiction to all primitive order. And one would think, when the nation swarms with such as ridicule, oppose, and deny the distinction of clergy and laity; those who possess

[21] See Bishop Sparrow, as in page 165, note [17].

[22] Upon the Common Prayer, page 94.

some of the largest and most honourable preferments in the Church, should be ashamed to betray her into the hands of her professed enemies, and to put arguments into their mouths, and declare by their actions that they think any layman whatsoever as truly authorized to minister in holy things as those who are regularly ordained. Besides, with what face can those persons blame the dissenting teachers for officiating without episcopal ordination, when they themselves do not only allow of but require the same thing?"

SECT. I.—*Of the Invocation.*

The invocation.

WE have a divine command to call upon God for mercy in the time of trouble;[23] and all the litanies I have seen begin with this solemn word, Κύριε ἐλέησον, *Lord have mercy upon us.* So that this invocation is the sum of the whole Litany, being a particular address for mercy, first to each person in the glorious Trinity, and then to them all together. The address being urged by two motives, viz. first, because we are *miserable;* and secondly, because we are *sinners:* upon both which accounts we extremely need mercy.

Why repeated by the whole congregation.

§. 2. The design of the people's repeating these whole verses after the minister is, that every one may first crave to be heard in his own words: which when they have obtained, they may leave it to the priest to set forth all their needs to Almighty God, provided that they declare their assent to every petition as he delivers it.

SECT. II.—*Of the Deprecations.*

The deprecations.

HAVING opened the way by the preceding invocation, we now begin to ask: and because deliverance from evil is the first step to felicity, we begin with these deprecations for removing it. Both the Eastern and Western Church begin their litanies after the same manner,[24] theirs as well as ours being a paraphrase upon that petition in the Lord's prayer, *deliver us from evil.*

The method of them.

§. 2. But because our requests ought to ascend by degrees; before we ask for a perfect deliverance, we beg the mercy of forbearance. For we confess *we have sinned with our fathers,* and that therefore God may justly punish us, not only for our own

[23] James v. 13. [24] Liturg. S. Chrysos. et S. Basil.—Miss. sec. Us. Sarisb.

sins, but for theirs also, which we have made our own by imitation: for which reason we beg of him *not to remember*, or *take vengeance* of us for them, especially since he has himself so dearly purchased our pardon with his own *most precious blood*. But however if we cannot obtain to be wholly spared, but that he may see it good for us to be a little under chastisement; then we beg his correction may be short, and soon removed, and that *he would not be angry with us for ever*.

And the sum of all that we pray against being deliverance from the evils of sin and punishment, we begin the next petition with two general words which comprehend both: for *evil and mischief* signify wickedness and misery: and as the first is caused by *the crafts and assaults of the Devil*, so the second is brought upon us by the just *wrath of God* here, and completed by *everlasting damnation* hereafter: and therefore we desire to be delivered both from sin and the punishment of it; as well from the causes that lead to it, as the consequences that follow it.

After we have thus prayed against sin and misery in general, we descend regularly to the particulars, reckoning divers kinds of the most notorious sins, some of which have their seat in the heart or mind, and others in the body. And first we begin against those of the heart, where all sins begin, and there recount first the sins concerning ourselves: and, secondly, those concerning our neighbours. Of the former sort are *blindness of heart*, (which we place in the front as the cause of all the rest,) and *pride*, *vainglory*, *and hypocrisy*, which are united together in this deprecation, as vices which generally accompany one another. Of the other sort are *envy*, *hatred*, *and malice*, *and all uncharitableness*; in which words are comprehended all those sins which we do, or can, commit against our neighbour in our hearts.

From the heart sin spreads further into the life and actions, and thither our Litany now pursues it, beginning with that which St. Paul reckons first among the works of the flesh,[25] but which is notwithstanding the boldest and most barefaced sin in this lewd age, viz. *fornication*, which is not be restrained to the defiling of single persons, but comprehends under it all acts of uncleanness whatsoever. But though this be a *deadly* sin, yet it is not the only one, and therefore we

[25] Gal. v. 29.

Deadly sin, what it signifies.

pray to be delivered from *all other deadly sins:* by which we understand not such as are deadly by way of distinction, or as they stand in opposition to *venial* sins, (for there are no sins venial in their own nature,) but such as are those which David calls *presumptuous*, and begs particular preservation from,[26] or those which are most heinous and crying above others. For though every sin deserves damnation in its own nature, yet we know that the infinite goodness of God will not inflict it for every sin. But then there are some sins so exceeding great, that they are inconsistent even with the gospel-clemency, and immediately render a man obnoxious to the wrath of God, and in danger of eternal damnation. And these are they which we pray against, together with all other sins, which we are apt to fall into through *the deceits of* our three great enemies, which we renounced in baptism, *the world*, *the flesh*, *and the Devil.*

When the cause is removed, there are hopes the consequences may be prevented: and therefore, after we have petitioned against all sin, we may regularly pray against all those judgments with which God generally scourges those who offend him; whether they are such as fall upon whole nations and kingdoms, and either come immediately from the hand of God, as *lightning and tempest*, *plague*, *pestilence*, *and famine:* or else are inflicted by the hands of wicked men, as his instruments, as *battle and murder:* or whether they are such as fall upon particular persons only, as *sudden death:* such as happens sometimes by violence, as by stabbing, burning, drowning, or the like; or else on a sudden, and in a moment's time, without any warning or apparent cause. And though both these kinds of death may sometimes happen to very good men, yet if we consider that by such means we may leave our relations without comfort, and our affairs unsettled; and may ourselves be deprived of the preparative ordinances for death, and have no time to fit our souls for our great account; prudence as well as humility will teach us to pray against them.

Why we pray against sudden death.

Having thus deprecated those evils which might endanger our lives, we proceed next to pray against such as would deprive us of our peace and truth: as well those which are levelled at the state, as is all *sedition*, *privy conspiracy*, *and*

[26] Psalm xix. 13.

rebellion,[27] as those which portend the ruin of the Church, as *all false doctrine, heresy, and schism*.[27] And then we conclude with the last and worst of God's judgments, which he generally inflicts upon those whom neither private nor public calamities will reform, viz. *hardness of heart, and contempt of his word and commandment*: for when people amend not upon those punishments which are inflicted upon their estates and persons, upon the Church and State; then the patience of God is tired out, and he withdraws his grace, and gives them up to a reprobate sense, the usual prologue to destruction and damnation, from which deplorable state, *good Lord deliver us*.

And now to be delivered from all these great and grievous evils, is a mercy so very desirable, that it ought to be begged by the most importunate kind of supplication imaginable; and such are the two next petitions, which the Latins call *Obsecrations*, in which the Church beseeches our dear Redeemer to deliver us from all the evils we have been praying against, *by the mystery of his holy incarnation*, &c., i. e. she lays before our Lord all his former mercies to us expressed in his *incarnation, nativity, circumcision, baptism*, and in every thing else which he has done and suffered for us; and offers these considerations to move him to grant our requests, and to deliver us from those evils.

And though we are always either under or near some evil, for which reason it is never unseasonable to pray for deliverance; yet there are some particular times when we stand in more especial need of the divine help: and they are either during our lives, or at our deaths. During our lives we particularly want the divine assistance, first *in all times of tribulation*, when we are usually tempted to murmuring, impatience, sadness, despair, and the like; and these we pray against now, before the evil day comes: not that God would deliver us *from* all such times, which would be an unlawful request; but that he would support us *under* them whenever he shall please to inflict them. The other part of our lives which we pray to be delivered in, is *all time of* our wealth, i. e. of our welfare and prosperity, which are rather more dangerous than our time of adversity: all kinds of prosperity, especially plenty

[27] *Rebellion, schism.*] Both these words were added in the review after the restoration of king Charles II., to deprecate for the future the like subversion of Church and State to what they had then so lately felt. After *privy conspiracy* in both Common Prayer Books of king Edward VI. followed, *from the tyranny of the Bishop of Rome, and all his detestable enormities*: but this has ever since been omitted.

and abundance, being exceedingly apt to increase our pride, to inflame our lusts, to multiply our sins, and in a word, to make us forget God, and grow careless of our souls. And therefore we had need to pray that in all such times God would be pleased *to deliver us*. But whether we spend our days in prosperity or adversity, they must all end in *death, in the hour of* which the Devil is always most active, and we least able to resist him. Our pains are grievous, and our fears many, and the danger great of falling into impatience, despair, or security: and therefore we constantly pray for deliverance in that important hour, which if God grant us, we have but one request more, and that is, that he would also deliver us *in the day of judgment;* which is the last time a man is capable of deliverance, since if we be not delivered then, we are left to perish eternally. How fervently therefore ought we to pray for ourselves all our life long, as St. Paul prayed for Onesiphorus,[28] that *the Lord would grant unto us that we may find mercy of the Lord in that day!*

SECT. III.—*Of the Intercessions.*

The Intercessions.

IF the institution of God be required to make this part of our Litany necessary, we have his positive command by St. Paul, to *make intercession for all men;*[29] and if the consent of the universal Church can add any thing to its esteem, it is evident that this kind of prayer is in all the Liturgies in the world, and that every one of the petitions we are now going to discourse of are taken from the best and oldest litanies extant. All therefore that will be necessary here, is to shew the admirable method and order of these intercessions, which are so exact, curious, and natural, that every degree of men follow in their due place; and, at the same time, so comprehensive, that we can think of no sorts of persons but who are enumerated, and for whom all those things are asked which all and every of them stand in need of.

The method and order of them.

§. 2. But because it may seem presumptuous for us to pray for others, who are unworthy to pray for ourselves, before we begin, we acknowledge that we are *sinners:* but yet, if we are penitent, we know our prayers will be acceptable: and therefore in humble confidence of his mercy, and in obedience to his command,

[28] 2 Tim. i. 18. [29] 1 Tim. ii. 1.

We sinners do beseech him to hear us in these our intercessions, which we offer up, first, for the *holy Church universal*, the common mother of all Christians, as thinking ourselves more concerned for the good of the whole, than of any particular part. After this, we pray for our own Church, to which, next the catholic Church, we owe the greatest observance and duty; and therein, in the first place, for the principal members of it, in whose welfare the peace of the Church chiefly consists: such as is the *king*, whom, because he is the supreme governor of the Church in his dominions, and so the greatest security upon earth to the true religion, we pray for in the three next petitions, that he may be orthodox, pious, and prosperous.[30] And though at present we may be happy under him; yet because his crown doth not render him immortal, and the security of the government ordinarily depends upon the *royal family*, we pray in the next place for them, (and particularly for the heir apparent,) that they may be supplied with all spiritual blessings, and preserved from all plots and dangers.[31]

The Jews and Gentiles always reckoned their chief priests to be next in dignity to the king;[32] and all ancient Liturgies pray for the clergy immediately after the royal family, as being the most considerable members of the Christian Church, distinguished here into those three apostolical orders of *bishops*, *priests*, *and deacons*; though in all former Common Prayer Books they were called the *bishops*, *pastors*, *and ministers of the Church*, except in the Scotch Liturgy, which for *pastors* had *presbyters*.

Next to these follow those who are eminent in the state, viz. *the lords of the council and all the nobility*, who by reason of their dignity and trust have need of our particular prayers, and were always prayed for in the old Liturgies, by the title of *the whole palace*.

After we have prayed for all the nobility in general, we pray for such of the nobility and gentry as are *magistrates*, or more inferior governors of the people, according to the example of the primitive Christians, and in obedience to the positive command of St. Paul, who enjoins us to pray *for all that are in authority*.[33]

[30] In king Edward's Liturgies the first petition for the king was only this: *That it may please thee to keep Edward the Sixth, thy servant, our king and governor.*

[31] This petition was not added till king James the First's time, for a reason given in the section upon the prayer for the royal family in the daily service.

[32] Alex. ab Alex. l. 2, c. 8.

[33] 1 Tim. ii. 2.

After these we pray for *all the people*, i. e. all the commons of the land, who are the most numerous, though the least eminent; and unless they be safe and happy, the governors themselves cannot be prosperous, the diseases of the members being a trouble to the head also.

And though we may be allowed to pray for our own nation first, yet our prayers must extend to all mankind; and therefore in the next place we pray for the whole world, in the very words of ancient Liturgies, viz. that *all nations may have unity* at home among themselves, *peace* with one another, *and concord*, i. e. amity, commerce, and leagues.

Having thus prayed for temporal blessings both for ourselves and others, it is time now to look inward, and to consider what is wanting for our souls; and therefore we now proceed to pray for spiritual blessings, such as virtue and goodness. And, first, we pray that the principles of it may be planted in our *hearts*, viz. the *love and dread* of God, and then that the practice of it may be seen in our lives, by our *diligent living after his commandments*.

But though we receive grace, yet if we do not improve it, we shall be in danger of losing it again; and therefore having in the fomer petition desired that we might become good, we subjoin this that we may grow better: begging *increase of grace*, and also that we may use proper means thereunto, such as is the *meekly hearing God's word*, &c.

From praying for the sanctification and improvement of those within the Church, we become solicitous for the conversion of those that are without it; being desirous that *all should be brought into the way of truth who have erred or are deceived*.

But though those without the Church are the most miserable, yet those within are not yet so happy as not to need our prayers; some of them standing in need of *strength*, and others of *comfort:* these blessings therefore we now ask for those that want them.

Having thus considered the souls of men, we go on next to such things as concern their bodies, and to pray for all the afflicted in general; begging of God to *succour all that are in danger*, by preventing the mischief that is falling upon them; *to help those that are in necessity*, by giving them those blessings they want; and *to comfort all that are in tribulation*, by supporting them under it, and delivering them out of it.

And because the circumstances of some of these hinder them

from being present to pray for themselves; we particularly remember them, since they more especially stand in need of our prayers, such as are *all that travel by land or by water*, and the rest mentioned in that petition.

There are other afflicted persons who are unable to help themselves, such as are *fatherless children and widows*, who are too often destitute of earthly friends; and such as are *desolate* of maintenance and lodging; or are *oppressed* by the false and cruel dealings of wicked and powerful men; and therefore these also we particularly recommend to God, and beg of him to *defend and provide for* them.

And after this large catalogue of sufferers as well in spiritual as temporal things; lest any should be passed who are already under or in danger of any affliction, we pray next that God would *have mercy upon all men.*

And then, to shew we have no reserve or exception in our charity or devotions, we pray particularly for our *enemies*, *persecutors*, *and slanderers*; who we desire may be partakers of all the blessings we have been praying for, and that God would moreover *forgive them, and turn their hearts.*

After we have thus prayed, first for ourselves and then for others, we proceed to pray for them and ourselves together: begging, first, whatsoever is necessary for the sustenance of our bodies, comprehended here under *the fruits of the earth.*

And then, in the next petition, asking for all things necessary to our souls, in order to bring them to eternal happiness, viz. *true repentance*, *forgiveness of all our sins*, &c., *and amendment of life.* Which last petition is very proper for a conclusion. For we know that if we do not amend our lives, all these intercessions will signify nothing, because God will not hear impenitent sinners. We therefore earnestly beg repentance and amendment of life, that so all our preceding requests may not miscarry.

And now having presented so many excellent supplications to the throne of grace; if we should conclude them here, and leave them abruptly, it would look as if we were not much concerned whether they were received or not: and therefore the Church has appointed us to pursue them still with vigorous importunities, and redoubled entreaties. And for this reason we now call upon our Saviour, whom we have all this while been praying to, and *beseech* him by his divinity, as he is the *Son of God*, and consequently abundantly able to help us in

all these things, that he would *hear us:* and then afterwards invocate him by his humanity, beseeching him by his sufferings for us, when he became *the Lamb of God*, and was sacrificed *to take away the sins of the world*, that he would *grant us* an interest in that *peace*, which he then made with God, and the peace of conscience following thereupon; and that he would *have mercy upon us*, and take away our sins, so as to deliver us from guilt and punishment. And lastly, we beg of him, as he is the *Lord Christ*, our anointed Mediator, to *hear us*, and favour us with a gracious answer to all these intercessions.

Finally, that our conclusion may be suitable to our beginning, we close up all with an address to the whole Trinity, *Father*, *Son*, and *Holy Ghost*, for that mercy which we have been begging in so many particulars: this one word comprehends them all, and therefore these three sentences are the epitome of the whole Litany; and considering how often and how many ways we need mercy, we can never ask it too often. But of these see more in the former chapter, sect. xvi.

SECT. IV.—*Of the Supplications.*

The original of the supplications.

THE following part of this Litany we call the *supplications*, which were first collected, and put into this form, when the barbarous nations first began to overrun the empire, about six hundred years after Christ: but considering the troubles of the Church militant, and the many enemies it always hath in this world, this part of the Litany is no less suitable than the former at all times whatsoever.

The Lord's prayer.

§. 2. We begin with the Lord's prayer, of which we have spoke before,[34] and need only observe here, that the ancients annexed it to every office, to shew both their esteem of that, and their mean opinion of their own composures, which receive life and value from this divine form.

Pr. O Lord, deal not, &c.

§. 3. After this, we proceed to beg deliverance from our troubles: but because our consciences presently suggest, that our iniquities deserve much greater, and that therefore we cannot expect to be delivered, since we suffer so justly; we are put in mind that *God doth not deal with us after our sins, nor reward us according to our ini-*

Ans. Neither reward us, &c.

[34] Chap. iii. sect. vi. page 123.

quities.[35] And therefore we turn these very words into supplication, and thereby clear his justice in punishing us, but apply to his mercy to proportion his chastisements according to our ability of bearing, and not according to the desert of our offences.

§. 4. The way being thus prepared, the priest now begins to pray for the people alone: but lest they should think their duty at an end, as soon as the responses are over, he enjoins them to accompany him in their hearts still by that ancient form *Let us pray:*[36] and then proceeds to the prayer against persecution, which is collected partly out of the Scripture, and partly out of the primitive forms, and is still to be found entire among the offices of the Western Church, with the title, *For tribulation of heart.*[37]

The prayer against persecution.

It is not concluded with Amen, to shew that the same request is continued in another form: and what the priest begged before alone, all the people join to ask in the following alternate supplications taken from the Psalms.[38] When our enemies are rising against us to destroy us, we desire that God will *arise and help us*, not for any worthiness in ourselves, but *for his name's sake, that he may make his power to be known*.[39]

Ans. O Lord, arise, &c. for thy name's sake.

§. 5. Whilst the people are praying thus earnestly, the priest, to quicken their faith by another divine sentence,[40] commemorates the great troubles, adversities, and persecutions, which God hath delivered his Church from in all ages: and since he is the same Lord, and we have the same occasion, this is laid down as the ground of our future hope.

Pr. O God, we have heard, &c.

For the wonderful relations which *we have heard with our ears, and our fathers have declared unto us*, of God's rescuing this particular Church at first from popery, and of his delivering and preserving it ever since from faction and superstition, from so many secret seditions and open rebellions, fully assure us that his arm is not shortened.

And therefore the people again say, *O Lord, arise, help us, and deliver us for thine honour;* which is no vain repetition, but a testimony that

Ans. O Lord, arise, &c. for thine honour.

[35] Psalm ciii. 10. [36] *Let us pray.*] In ancient Liturgies these words often served as a mark of transition from one sort of prayer to another, viz. from what the Latins call *preces*, to what they term *orationes*: the *preces* were those alternate petitions which passed conjointly between the priest and people; the *orationes* were those that were said by the priest alone, the people only answering Amen. [37] Miss. Sarisb.
[38] Psalm xliv. 26, and lxxix. 9. [39] Psalm cvi. 8. [40] Psalm xliv. 1.

they are convinced they did wisely to ask of this God (who hath done so great things for his people in all ages) now to *arise and help;* that so the honour he hath gotten by the wonders of his mercy may be renewed and confirmed by this new act of his power and goodness.

Glory be to the Father, &c.

§. 6. To this is added the Doxology in imitation of David, who would often, in the very midst of his complaints, out of a firm persuasion that God would hear him, suddenly break out into an act of praise.[41] And thus we, having the same God to pray to, in the midst of our mournful supplications, do not only look back on former blessings with joy and comfort, but forward also on the mercies we now pray for: and though we have not yet received them, yet we praise him for them beforehand, and doubt not, but that, as he was *glorified in the beginning* for past mercies, so he ought to be *now* for the present, and *shall be* hereafter for future blessings.

The following responses.

§. 7. But though the faithful do firmly believe, that they shall be delivered at the last, and do at present rejoice in hopes thereof; yet because it is probable their afflictions may be continued for a while for a trial of their patience, and the exercise of their other graces; for that reason we continue to pray for support in the mean time, and beg of *Christ* to *defend us from our enemies*, and to *look graciously upon our afflictions; pitifully to behold the sorrows of our hearts*, and *mercifully to forgive our sins*, which are the cause of them.

And this we know he will do, if our prayers be accepted; and therefore we beg of him *favourably with mercy to hear them*, and do beseech him, as he assumed our nature, and became the *Son of David*, (whereby he took on him our infirmities, and became acquainted with our griefs,) to *have mercy upon us.*

And because the hearing of our prayers in the time of distress is so desirable a mercy, that we cannot ask it too fervently nor too often; we therefore redouble our cries, and beg of him as he is *Christ*, our anointed Lord and Saviour, that he would *vouchsafe to hear us now, and whenever* we cry to him for relief in our troubles. And, to shew we rely on no other helper, we conclude these supplications with David's words in a like case,[42] *O Lord, let thy mercy be shewed*

[41] Psalm vi. 8, and xxii. 22, &c. [42] Psalm xxxiii. 21.

upon us, as we do put our trust in thee. To him, and to him only, we have applied ourselves; and as we have no other hope but in him, so we may expect that this hope shall be fulfilled, and that we shall certainly be delivered in his due time.

§. 8. The whole congregation having thus addressed the Son; the priest now calls upon us to make our application to the *Father* (who knows as well what we suffer as what we can bear) in a most fervent form of address, composed at first by St. Gregory above one thousand one hundred years ago,[43] but afterwards corrupted by the Romish Church, by the addition of the intercession of saints,[44] which our reformers have left out, not only restoring, but improving the form.

The prayer for sanctifying our troubles.

SECT. V.—*Of the Prayer of St. Chrysostom, and 2 Cor.* xiii. 14.

THE Litany, as I have already observed, was formerly a distinct service by itself, and was used generally after morning prayer was over; and then these two final prayers belonged particularly to this service. But it being now used almost every where with the morning prayer, these latter collects being omitted there (after some occasional prayers, which shall be spoken of next) come in here; and how fit they are for this place may be seen by what is said of them already.

The prayer of Saint Chrysostom, and 2 Cor. xiii. 14.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER IV.

OF THE OCCASIONAL PRAYERS AND THANKSGIVINGS.

SECT. I.—*Of the six first Occasional Prayers.*

THE usual calamities which afflict the world are so exactly enumerated in the preceding Litany, and the common necessities of mankind so orderly set down there; that there seems to be no need of any additional prayers to complete so perfect an office. But yet because the variety of the particulars allows them but a bare mention in that comprehensive form; the Church hath thought good to enlarge our petitions in some instances, be-

The six first Occasional Prayers.

[43] Sacram. S. Greg. tom. ii. col. 1535, B. [44] Miss. Sarisb.

cause there are some evils so universal and grievous, that it is necessary they should be deprecated with a peculiar importunity; and some mercies so exceeding needful at some times, that it is not satisfactory enough to include our desires of them among our general requests; but very requisite that we should more solemnly petition for them in forms proper to the several occasions. Thus it seems to have been among the Jews: for that famous prayer which Solomon made at the dedication of the temple,[45] supposes that special prayers would be made there in times of *war*, *drought*, *pestilence*, and *famine*. And the light of nature taught the Gentiles, on such extraordinary occasions, to make extraordinary addresses to their gods.[46] Nor are Christians to be thought less mindful of their own necessities. The Greek Church hath full and proper offices for times of *drought* and *famine*, of *war* and *tumults*, of *pestilence* and *mortality*, and upon occasion of *earthquakes* also, a judgment very frequent there, but more seldom in this part of the world. In the Western Missals there is a Collect, and an Epistle and Gospel, with some responses upon every one of these subjects, seldom indeed agreeing with any of our forms, which are the shortest of all; being not designed for a complete office, but appointed to be joined to the Litany, or Morning and Evening Prayer, every day while the occasion requires it; that so, according to the laws of Charles the Great, "in times of famine, plague, and war, the mercy of God may be immediately implored, without staying for the king's edict."[47]

When first added.

§. 2. The two first of these prayers, viz. those for *rain* and for *fair weather*, are placed after the six collects at the end of the communion office, in the first book of king Edward VI. The other four were added afterwards to his second book, in which they were all six placed, as now, at the end of the Litany. But in the old Common Prayer Book of queen Elizabeth and king James I., the second of the prayers *in the time of dearth and famine* was omitted, and not inserted again till the restoration of king Charles II.

SECT. II.—*Of the Prayers in the Ember-Weeks.*

The Prayers in the Ember-Weeks.

THE ordination of ministers is a matter of so great concern to all degrees of men, that it has ever been done with great solemnity: and by

[45] 1 Kings viii. 33, 35, 37. [46] Lactant. Inst. l. 2, c. 1, p. 115. [47] Capitular. lib. 1, c. 118.

the thirty-first canon of the Church it is appointed, *That no deacons and ministers be made and ordained, but only upon the Sundays immediately following* jejunia quatuor temporum, *commonly called Ember-Weeks.* And since the whole nation is obliged, at these times, to extraordinary prayer and fasting; the Church hath provided two forms upon the occasion, of which the first is most proper to be used before the candidates have passed their examination, and the other afterwards. They were both added to our Common Prayer Book at the last review; though the second occurs in the Scotch Liturgy, just before the prayer of St. Chrysostom, at the end of the Litany.

When added.

As to the original, antiquity, and reason of these four ember-fasts, and the fixing the ordination of ministers at those times, I shall take occasion to speak hereafter; and shall only observe further in this place, that it is a mistake in those who imagine that these prayers are only to be used upon the three ember-days, i. e. upon the Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday in every ember-week; the rubric expressing as plain as words can do, that one of them is to be said every day in the ember-weeks, i. e. *beginning* (as it is expressed in the Scotch Liturgy) *on the Sunday before the day of ordination.*

SECT. III.—*Of the Prayer that may be said after any of the former.*

When first added.

THIS prayer was first added in queen Elizabeth's Common Prayer Book, and not by order of king James I., as Dr. Nichols affirms. When it was first inserted, it was placed just after the prayer in the time of any common plague or sickness, (that being then the last of the prayers upon particular occasions,) but at the review after the Restoration, the two prayers for the ember-weeks were inserted just after that, and the collect we are speaking of ordered to be placed immediately after those prayers. The printers indeed set it in the place where it now usually stands, viz. between *the prayers for all conditions of men* and *the general thanksgiving;* but the commissioners obliged them to strike it out, and print a new leaf, wherein it should stand just before the prayer for the parliament. But notwithstanding this, in all the following impressions, this order was again neglected, and the prayer that we are speaking of has, in all editions ever since, been continued in the same place, viz. just after *the prayer for all*

Wrong placed in all the editions of the Common Prayer.

conditions of men. But as no edition of the Common Prayer is authorized by act of parliament, but such as is exactly conformable to the Sealed Books;[48] we cannot justify ourselves in using it after that prayer, since the Sealed Books assign it a quite different place.

SECT. IV.—*Of the Prayer for the High Court of Parliament.*

The prayer for the high court of parliament.

THOUGH the ancient monarchs of this kingdom, Saxons and Normans, coming in by conquest, governed according to their own will at first; yet in after times they chose themselves a great council of their bishops and barons, and at last freely condescended to let the people choose persons to represent them: so that we have now had parliaments for above four hundred years, consisting of bishops and barons to represent the clergy and nobility, and of knights and burgesses to represent the commons. But these being never summoned but when the king or queen desires their advice, *de arduis regni negotiis*, and they having at such times great affairs under their debate, and happy opportunities to do both their prince and country service; it is fit they should have the people's prayers for their success. And accordingly we find not only that the primitive Christians prayed for the Roman senate,[49] but that even the Gentiles offered sacrifices in behalf of their public councils, which were always held in some sacred place.[50] In conformity therefore to so ancient and universal a practice, this prayer for our own parliament was added at the last review.

SECT. V.—*Of the Prayer for all Conditions of Men.*

When first added.

BEFORE the addition of this prayer, which was made but at the last review, the Church had no general intercession *for all conditions of men*, except on those days upon which the Litany was appointed. For which reason this collect was then drawn up, to supply the want of that office upon ordinary days; and therefore it is ordered by the rubric *to be used at such times, when the Litany is not appointed to be said:* consonant to which it is now, I believe, a universal practice, and a very reasonable one, I think, to read this prayer every evening, as well as on such mornings as the Li-

Whether to be used in the afternoons.

[48] To understand what is meant by the Sealed Books, see a clause toward the end of the Act of Uniformity. [49] Tertull. Apologet. [50] Al. ab Alex. Gen. Dier. l. 4, c. 11. Aul. Gell. l. 14, c. 7.

tany is not said: though Dr. Bisse informs us,[51] that "bishop Gunning, the supposed author of it, in the college whereof he was head, suffered it not to be read in the afternoon, because the Litany was never read then, the place of which it was supposed to supply." I know this form has been generally ascribed to bishop Sanderson: but the above-mentioned gentleman assures me, that it is a tradition at St. John's in Cambridge, that bishop Gunning, who was for some time master there, was the author, and that in his time it was the practice of the college not to read it in the afternoon. And I have heard elsewhere, that it was originally drawn up much longer than it is now, and that the throwing out a great part of it, which consisted of petitions for the king, the royal family, clergy, &c., who are prayed for in the other collects, was the occasion why the word *finally* comes in so soon in so short a prayer. It is not improbable, that the bishop might have designed to comprehend all the intercessional collects in one: but that the others who were commissioned for the same affair, might think it better to retain the old forms, and so only to take as much of bishop Gunning's as was not comprehended in the rest.

Collects out of the Visitation Office not to be used here.

§. 2. There being a particular clause provided in this prayer, *to be said when any desire the prayers of the congregation*, it is needless as well as irregular to use any collects out of the Visitation Office upon these occasions; as some are accustomed to do, without observing the impropriety they are guilty of in using those forms in the public congregations, which are drawn up to be used in private, and run in terms that suppose the sick person to be present.

SECT. VI.—*Of the Thanksgivings.*

The great duty of thanksgiving.

PRAISE is one of the most essential parts of God's worship, by which not only all the Christian world, but the Jews and Gentiles also paid their homage to the Divine Majesty; as might be shewed by innumerable testimonies: and indeed considering how many blessings we daily receive from God, and that he expects nothing else from us in return but the easy tribute of love and gratitude, (a duty that no one can want leisure or ability to perform,) it is certain no excuse can be made for the omission

[51] Beauty of Holiness in the Common Prayer. p. 97, in the notes.

of it. It is pleasant in the performance,[52] and profitable in the event; for it engages our great Benefactor to continue the mercies we have, and as well inclines him to give, as fits us to receive more.[53]

These forms of thanksgiving, when added.

§. 2. Therefore for the performance of this duty the reverend compilers of our Liturgy had appointed the *Hallelujah*, the *Gloria Patri*, and the daily psalms and hymns. But because some thought that we did not praise God so particularly as we ought to have done upon extraordinary occasions, some particular thanksgivings upon deliverance from *drought*, *rain*, *famine*, *war*, *tumults*, and *pestilence*, were added in the time of king James I. And to give more satisfaction still, by removing all shadows of defect from our Liturgy, there was one *general thanksgiving* added to the last review for daily use, drawn up (as it is said) by bishop Sanderson, and so admirably composed, that it is fit to be said by all men who would give God thanks for common blessings, and yet peculiarly provided with a proper clause for those who, having received some eminent personal mercy, desire to offer up their public praise: a duty which none, that have had the prayers of the Church, should ever omit after their recovery, lest they incur the reprehension given by our Saviour to the ungrateful lepers recorded in the Gospel, *Were there not ten cleansed? but where are the nine?*[54]

CHAPTER V.

OF THE SUNDAYS AND HOLY-DAYS,

AND THEIR SEVERAL

COLLECTS, EPISTLES, AND GOSPELS.

THE INTRODUCTION.

THE Collects, Epistles, and Gospels, to be used (at the celebration of the Lord's Supper, and Holy Communion, as it was said in all the old Common Prayer Books) *throughout the year*, standing next in order in the Common Prayer Book, come now to be treated of: but because they are seldom used but upon *Sundays* and *Holy-days*, it is necessary

[52] Psalm cxlvii. 1. [53] Psalm lxvii. 5, 6, 7. [54] Luke xvii. 17.

something should be premised concerning the reasons and original of the more solemn observation of those days in general. And first,

I.—*Of Sundays in general.*

One day in seven, why kept holy.

ONE day in *seven* seems from the very beginning to have been sanctified by God,[1] and commanded to be set apart for the exercise of religious duties. All the mysteries of it perhaps are beyond our comprehension: but to be sure one design of it was that men, by thus sanctifying the *seventh* day, after they had spent *six* in labour, might shew themselves to be worshippers of that God only, who rested the *seventh* day, after he had finished the heavens and the earth in *six*.

Saturday, why the Jewish Sabbath.

§. 2. The reasons why the Jews were commanded to observe the *Seventh-day*, or *Saturday*, in particular for their Sabbath, were peculiar and proper to themselves: it was on this day God had delivered them from their Egyptian bondage, and overwhelmed Pharaoh and his host in the Red Sea: so that no day could be more properly set apart to celebrate the mercies and goodness of God, than that, on which he himself chose to confer upon them the greatest blessing they enjoyed.

Sunday, why observed by the Christians.

§. 3. But the deliverance of Israel out of Egypt by the ministry of Moses, was only intended for a type and pledge of a spiritual deliverance which was to come by Christ: their Canaan also was no more than a type of that heavenly Canaan, which the redeemed by Christ do look for. Since therefore the shadow is made void by the coming of the substance, the relation is changed; and God is no more to be worshipped and believed in, as a God foreshewing and assuring by types, but as a God who hath performed the substance of what he promised. The Christians indeed, as well as the Jews, are to observe the moral equity of the fourth commandment, and, after six days spent in their own works, are to sanctify the seventh: but in the designation of the particular day, they may and ought to differ. For if the Jews were to sanctify the seventh day, only because they had on that day a temporal deliverance as a pledge of a spiritual one; the Christians surely have much greater reasons to sanctify the first, since on that very day God redeemed us from

[1] Genesis ii. 3.

this spiritual thraldom, by raising Jesus Christ our Lord from the dead, and begetting us, instead *of an earthly Canaan, to an inheritance incorruptible in the heavens.* And accordingly we have the concurrent testimonies both of Scripture[2] and antiquity,[3] that the *first* day of the week, or *Sunday*, hath ever been the stated and solemn time of the Christians meeting for their public worship and service.

Saturday, why and how observed by the Eastern Christians.

§. 4. In the East indeed, where the Gospel chiefly prevailed among the Jews, who retained a great reverence for the Mosaic rites, the Church thought fit to indulge the humour of the Judaizing Christians so far as to observe the *Saturday* as a festival day of devotions, and thereon to meet for the exercise of religious duties: as is plain from several passages of the ancients.[4] But however, to prevent giving any offence to others, they openly declared, that they observed it in a Christian way, and not as a Jewish Sabbath.[5] And this custom was so far from being universal, that at the same time all over the West, except at Milan in Italy,[6] Saturday was kept as a fast,[7] (as being the day on which our Lord lay dead in the grave,) and is still, for the same reason, appointed for one of the fast-days in the ember-weeks by the Church of England; which, in imitation both of the Eastern and Western Churches, always reserves to the Sunday the more solemn acts of public worship and devotion.

II.—*Of our Saviour's Holy-days in general.*

Our Saviour's Holy-days in general.

But besides the weekly return of Sunday, (whereon we celebrate God's goodness and mercies set forth in our creation and redemption in general,) the Church hath set apart some days yearly for the more particular remembrance of some special acts and passages of our Lord in the redemption of mankind; such as are his *incarnation* and *nativity*, *circumcision*, *manifestation to the Gentiles*, *presentation in the temple*; his *fasting*, *passion*, *resurrection*, and *ascension*; the *sending of the Holy Ghost*, and

[2] Acts ii. 1. xx. 7. 1 Cor. xvi. 2. Rev. i. 10. [3] S. Barnab. §. 15. Ignat. ad Magnes. §. 9, p. 23. Just. Mart. Apol. 1, c. 89, p. 132. Tert. de Coron. Mil. cap. 3, p. 102, A. Plin. l. 10, Epist. 97. Orig. in Exod. xv. Hom. 7, tom. i. p. 49, F. et alibi.
[4] Athanas. Homil. de Sement. tom. ii. p. 60, A. Socrat. Hist. Eccl. l. 6, c. 8, p. 312, D. Concil. Laod. Can. 16, 51, t. i. col. 1500, B. et 1505, B. [5] Athanas. ut supra. Concil. Laod. Can. 29, tom. i. col. 1501, C. [6] Paulin. in Vita Ambr. [7] Innocentii primi Epist. ad Decent. Eugubin. c. 4. Concil. tom. ii. col. 1246, D. Concil. Elib. Can. 26, tom. i. col. 973. D.

the *manifestation of the sacred Trinity*. That the observation of such days is requisite, is evident from the practice both of Jews and Gentiles: nature taught the one,[8] and God the other, that the celebration of solemn festivals was a part of the public exercise of religion. Besides the feasts of the *passover*, of *weeks*, and of *tabernacles*, which were all of divine appointment, the Jews celebrated some of their own institution, viz. the feast of *purim*[9] and the *dedication of the temple*,[10] the latter of which even our blessed Saviour himself honoured with his presence.[11]

Christians not to observe Jewish feasts.

§. 2. But these festivals being instituted in remembrance of some signal mercies granted in particular to the Jews; the Christians, who were chiefly converted from the heathen world, were no more obliged to observe them, than they were concerned in the mercies thereon commemorated. And this is the reason that when the Judaizing Christians would have imposed upon the Galatians the observation of the Jewish festivals, as necessary to salvation; St. Paul looked upon it as a thing so criminal, that he was afraid the labour he had bestowed upon them to set them at liberty in the freedom of the Gospel had been *in vain*:[12] not that he thought the observation of festivals was a thing in itself unlawful, but because they thought themselves still obliged by the law to observe those days and times, which, being only shadows of things to come, were made void by the coming of the substance.

Christian festivals, how early observed in the Church.

§. 3. As to the celebration of Christian festivals, they thought themselves as much obliged to observe them as the Jews were to observe theirs. They had received greater benefits, and therefore it would have been the highest degree of ingratitude to have been less zealous in commemorating them. And accordingly we find that in the very infancy of Christianity some certain days were yearly set apart, to commemorate the *resurrection* and *ascension* of Christ, the *coming of the Holy Ghost*, &c., and to glorify God by an humble and grateful acknowledgment of these mercies granted to them at those times. Which laudable and religious custom so soon prevailed over the universal Church, that in five hundred years after our Saviour, we meet with them distinguished by the same

[8] Plat. de Legibus, lib. 2, tom. ii. p. 653, D. ab Hen. Steph. Paris. 1578. [9] Esther ix. [10] 1 Maccab. iv. 59. [11] John x. 22. [12] Gal. iv. 10, 11.

names we now call them by; such as *Epiphany*, *Ascension-day*, *Whit-Sunday*, &c., and appointed to be observed on those days on which the Church of England now observes them.[13]

III.—*Of Saints-days in general.*

How they were observed by the primitive Christians.

But besides the more solemn festivals, whereon they were wont to celebrate the mysteries of their redemption, the primitive Christians had their *memoriæ martyrum*, or certain days set apart yearly in commemoration of the great heroes of the Christian religion, the blessed Apostles and martyrs, who had attested the truth of these mysteries with their blood: at whose graves they constantly met once a year, to celebrate their virtues, and to bless God for their exemplary lives and glorious deaths; as well to the intent that others might be encouraged to the same patience and fortitude, as also that virtue, even in this world, might not wholly lose its reward: a practice doubtless very ancient, and probably founded upon that exhortation to the Hebrews, *to remember those who had had the rule over them, and who had spoken unto them the word of God*, and had sealed it with their blood.[14] In which place the author of that Epistle is thought chiefly to hint at the martyrdom of St. James, the first bishop of Jerusalem, who, not long before, had laid down his life for the testimony of Jesus. And we find that those who were eyewitnesses of the sufferings of St. Ignatius, published the day of his martyrdom, that the Church of Antioch might meet together at that time to celebrate the memory of such a valiant combatant and martyr of Christ.[15] After this we read of the Church of Smyrna's giving an account of St. Polycarp's martyrdom, (which was A. D. 147,[16]) and of the place where they had entombed his bones, and withal professing that they would assemble in that place, and celebrate the *birthday of his martyrdom* with joy and gladness.[17] (Where we may observe, by the way, that the days of the martyrs' deaths were called their *birthdays*; because they looked upon those as the days of their nativity, whereon they were freed from the pains and sorrows of a troublesome world, and born again to the joys and happiness of an endless life.) These solemnities, as we

[13] Const. Apost. l. 5, c. 13.—l. 8, c. 33. [14] Heb. xiii. 7. [15] Act. Mart. Ignat §. 7, p. 52. [16] Pearson. Dissertat. Chronologic. part. 2, a cap. 14 ad 20. [17] Ecclesiæ Smyrn. Epist. de Mart. S. Polycarp. §. 18, p. 73, et Euseb. Histor. Eccl. l. 4, c. 15 p. 135, A. B.

learn from Tertullian,[18] were yearly celebrated, and were afterwards observed with so much care and strictness, that it was thought profaneness to be absent from the Christian assemblies upon those occasions.[19]

IV.—*Of the Festivals observed by the Church of England.*

What festivals the Church of England observes.

THE following ages were as forward as those we have already spoken of, in celebrating the festivals of the martyrs and holy men of their time. Insomuch that at the last the observation of holy-days became both superstitious and troublesome; a number of dead men's names, not over-eminent in their lives either for sense or morals, crowding the calendar, and jostling out the festivals of the first saints and martyrs. But at the reformation of the Church, all these modern martyrs were thrown aside, and no festivals retained in the calendar as days of *obligation*, but such as were dedicated to the honour of Christ, &c., or to the memory of those that were famous in the Gospels. Such as were, in the first place, the twelve Apostles, who being constant attendants on our Lord, and advanced by him to that high order, have each of them a day assigned to their memory. St. John the Baptist and St. Stephen have the same honour done to them; the first because he was Christ's forerunner; the other upon account of his being the first martyr. St. Paul and St. Barnabas* are com-

[18] De Coron. Mil. c. 3, p. 102, A. [19] Euseb. de Vit. Const. l. 4, c. 23, p. 536, C. Basil. Ep. 336, tom. iii. p. 228, E.

St. Paul and St. Barnabas, why not formerly in the table of holy-days.

* St. Paul and St. Barnabas were neither of them inserted in the table of holy-days prefixed to the calendar, till the Scotch Liturgy was compiled, from whence they were taken into our own at the last review; nor were they reckoned up among the days that were appointed by the act, in the fifth and sixth year of king Edward VI.,[20] to be observed as holy-days; though it is there expressly enacted, that no other day but what is therein mentioned shall be kept, or commanded to be kept, holy. However, the names of each of them were inserted in the calendar itself, and proper services were appointed for them in all the Common Prayer Books that have been since the Reformation. And in the first book of king Edward they are both red-letter holy-days: though in the second book (in which the other holy-days are also printed in red letters) the Conversion of St. Paul is put down in black, and St. Barnabas is omitted. But this last seems to have been done through the carelessness of the printer, and not through design; proper second Lessons being added in the calendar against the day. The reason of their being left out of the table of holy-days, was, because if they fell upon any week day, they were not to be observed as *days of obligation*, or by ceasing from labour, nor to be bid in the church. Their proper offices might be used, so they were not used solemnly, nor by ringing to the same, after the manner used on high-holy-days. The reason why these were not high-holy-days, I suppose, was, because the Conversion of St. Paul did always, and St. Barnabas did often, fall in term-time; during which time and the time of harvest, i. e. from the first of July to the twenty-ninth of September, it was ordained in convocation by the authority of king Henry VIII. in 1536, that no days should be observed as holy-days, except the feasts of the Apostles, of our blessed Lady, and St. George, and such feasts as the king's judges did not use to sit in judgment in Westminster-hall.[21] The days in the terms in which the judges did not use to sit were the

[20] Chap. III. [21] See Sparrow's Collect. p. 167, 168, and Heylin's Miscellaneous Tracts, p. 1[illegible]

memorated upon account of their extraordinary call: St. Mark and St. Luke, for the service they did Christianity by their Gospels; the Holy Innocents, because they are the first that suffered upon our Saviour's account, as also for the greater solemnity of Christmas, the birth of Christ being the occasion of their death. The memory of all other pious persons is celebrated together upon the festival of All-Saints: and that the people may know what benefits Christians receive by the ministry of angels, the feast of St. Michael and all Angels is for that reason solemnly observed in the Church.

How she observes them.

§. 2. Designing to treat in this chapter of all these days separately, in the order that they lie in the Common Prayer Book, I shall say nothing further of them in this place; but only shall observe in general, that they were constantly observed in the Church of England, from the time of the Reformation till the late rebellion, when it could not be expected that any thing that carried an air of religion or antiquity could bear up against such an irresistible inundation of impiety and confusion. But at the Restoration our holy-days were again revived, together with our ancient Liturgy, which appoints proper Collects, Epistles, and Gospels for each of them; and orders the *curate to declare unto the people, on the Sunday before, what holy-days or fasting-days are in the week following to be observed.*[22] And the preface to the Act of Uniformity intimates it to be schismatical to refuse to come to church on those days. And by the first of Elizabeth, which is declared by the Uniformity-Act to be in full force, *all persons, having no lawful or reasonable excuse to be absent, are obliged to resort to their parish-church on holy-days, as well as Sundays, and there to abide orderly and soberly during the time of divine service, upon pain or punishment by the censures of the Church, and also upon pain of twelve pence for every offence, to be levied by distress.*

Of concurrence of holy-days.

§. 3. In relation to the concurrence of two holy-days together, we have no directions either in the rubric or elsewhere, which must give place, or which of the two services must be used. According

feasts of the Ascension, of St. John Baptist, of All-Saints, and of the Purification. By the feasts of the Apostles I suppose the twelve only were meant, and therefore St. Paul and St. Barnabas were excluded. But as they are inserted now in the table of holy-days, which, with the whole Liturgy, is confirmed by the Act of Uniformity, they are both of them days of equal obligation with the rest.

[22] Rubric after the Nicene Creed.

to what I can gather from the rubrics in the Roman Breviary and Missal, (which are very intricate and difficult,) it is the custom of that Church, when two holy-days come together, that the office for one only be read, and that the office for the other be transferred to the next day; excepting that some commemoration of the transferred holy-day be made upon the first day, by reading the hymns, verses, &c., which belong to the holy-day that is transferred. But our Liturgy has made no such provision. For this reason some ministers, when a holy-day happens upon a Sunday, take no notice of the holy-day, (except that sometimes they are forced to use the second Lesson for such holy-day, there being a gap in the column of second Lessons in the calendar,) but use the service appointed for the Sunday; alleging that the holy-day, which is of human institution, should give way to the Sunday, which is allowed to be of divine. But this is an argument which I think not satisfactory: for though the observation of Sunday be of divine institution, yet the service we use on it is of human appointment. Nor is there any thing in the services appointed to be used on the ordinary Sundays, that is more peculiar to, or tends to the greater solemnity of the Sunday, than any of the services appointed for the holy-days. What slight therefore do we shew to our Lord's institution, if when we meet on the day that he has set apart for the worship of himself, we particularly praise him for the eminent virtues that shined forth in some saint, whose memory that day happens to bring to our mind? Such praises are so agreeable to the duty of the day, that I cannot but esteem the general practice to be preferable, which is, to make the lesser holy-day give way to the greater; as an ordinary Sunday, for instance, to a saint's day; a saint's day to one of our Lord's festivals; and a lesser festival of our Lord to a greater: except that some, if the first Lesson for the holy-day be out of the Apocrypha, will join the first Lesson of the Sunday to the holy-day service: as observing that the Church, by always appointing canonical Scripture upon Sundays, seems to countenance their use of a canonical Lesson even upon a holy-day, that has a proper one appointed out of the Apocrypha, if that holy-day shall happen upon a Sunday. But what if the Annunciation should happen in Passion-week; or either that or St. Mark upon Easter-Monday or Tuesday? or what if St. Barnabas should fall upon Whit-Monday or Tuesday? or what if St. Andrew and Advent-Sunday both come together? In any of these concurrences I

do not doubt but the service would be differently performed in different Churches. And therefore I take this to be a case in which the bishops ought to be consulted, they having a power vested in them *to appease all diversity, (if any arise,) and to resolve all doubt concerning the manner how to understand, do, and execute the things contained in the Book of Common Prayer.*[23]

V.—*Of the Vigils or Eve.*

Vigils, why so called.

In the primitive times it was the custom to pass great part of the night that preceded certain holy-days in religious exercises and devotion; and this even in those places which were set apart for the public worship of God. And these exercises, from their being performed in the night-time, came to be called *vigiliæ*, vigils or watchings.

The original of them.

§. 2. As to the original of this practice, some are inclined to found it upon the several texts of Scripture literally understood, where watching is enjoined as well as prayer; particularly upon the conclusion our Saviour draws from the parable of the ten virgins: *Watch therefore, for ye know neither the day nor the hour wherein the Son of man cometh.*[24] But others, with greater probability, have imputed the rise of these night-watches to the necessity which Christians were under of meeting in the night, and before day, for the exercise of their public devotions, by reason of the malice and persecution of their enemies, who endeavoured the destruction of all that appeared to be Christians.[25] And when this first occasion ceased, by the Christians having liberty given them to perform their devotions in a more public manner, they still continued these night-watches before certain festivals, in order to prepare their minds for a due observation of the ensuing solemnity.[26] But afterwards, when these night-meetings came to be so far abused, that no care could prevent several disorders and irregularities, the Church thought fit to abolish them: so that the nightly watchings were laid aside, and the fasts only retained, but still keeping the former name of vigils.[27]

[23] See the preface concerning the service of the Church: [24] Matt. xxv. 13.
[25] See John xx. 19. Acts xii. 12, and xx. 7. Tertull. de Coron. c. 3. Plin. Lib. 10. Ep. 97. [26] Tert. ad Uxor. lib. 2. Euseb. de Vit. Const. lib. 4. Hieron. ad Ripar. adv. Vigilantium. [27] It seems the vigil upon All-hallows day at night was kept by watching, and ringing of bells all night long, till the year 1545, when king Henry VIII. wrote to Cranmer to abolish it. Collier's History, vol. ii. p. 203.

§. 3. The festivals that have these vigils assigned to them by the Church of England[28] are, the Nativity of our Lord, the Purification of the blessed Virgin Mary, the Annunciation of the blessed Virgin, Easter-day, Ascension-day, Pentecost, St. Matthias, St. John Baptist, St. Peter, St. James, St. Bartholomew, St. Matthew, St. Simon and St. Jude, St. Andrew, St. Thomas, and All-Saints. The reason why the other holy-days have no vigils before them, is, because they generally happen either between Christmas and the Purification or between Easter and Whitsuntide; which were always esteemed such seasons of joy, that the Church did not think fit to intermingle them with any days of fasting and humiliation. They that fall between Christmas and the Purification, are the feasts of St. Stephen, St. John the Evangelist, the Holy Innocents, the Circumcision, and the Conversion of St. Paul.[29] The others that may happen between Easter and Whitsuntide, are St. Mark, St. Philip and St. James, and St. Barnabas. It is true, indeed, the festival of our Lord's ascension, which is always ten days before Whit-Sunday, has a vigil before it: but it may be worth inquiring, whether there was any vigil prefixed to it before the institution of the rogation-fasts, which were appointed upon the three days that precede this festival. There are two holy-days not yet named, that have no vigils, though they do not happen in either of the above-mentioned seasons: the one is in September, viz. the feast of St. Michael and All Angels; the other in October, viz. the festival of St. Luke. Upon the first of these, one reason for the institution of vigils ceaseth, which was to conform us to the example of the saints we commemorate, and to remind us that they passed through sufferings and mortifications before they entered into the joy of their Master; whereas those ministering spirits, for whose protection and assistance we return God thanks on that day, were at first created in full possession of bliss. The reason why the latter, viz. St. Luke, has no vigil, is because the eve of that saint was formerly itself a celebrated holy-day in the Church of England, viz. the feast of St. Etheldred: but that reason being now removed, I sup-

Which festivals have vigils.

Which have not, and why.

[28] See the table of the vigils, &c., before the calendar, which was first inserted at the last review. Though the days before these several festivals were marked for fasts in the calendar in all the Common Prayer Books, except king Edward's. [29] The day before the Conversion of St. Paul is marked for a fast in the Scotch Liturgy.

pose every one is left to his own liberty, as to his private devotions, whether he will observe the eve as a vigil or not.

The vigil of a feast upon a Monday to be observed upon the Saturday.

§. 3. All Sundays in the year being appointed by the Church to be observed as festivals, no vigil is allowed to be kept upon any of those days: there being a particular rubric to order, *that if any of the feast-days that have a vigil fall upon a Monday, then the vigil or fast-day shall be kept upon the Saturday, not upon the Sunday next before it.*[30] But from hence a query ariseth, viz. on which evening service the collect for the festival is to be used: the rubric indeed relating to this matter seems to be worded very plain, viz. *That the collect appointed for every Sunday, or for any holy-day that hath a vigil or eve, shall be said at the evening service next before;*[31] but then this rubric seems to suppose that the day before is the vigil or eve; and makes no provision in case the festival falls upon the Monday, when we are directed by the rubric above cited to keep the vigil or fast upon the Saturday. Here then we are left at an uncertainty, nor can we get any light by comparing our present Liturgy with any former Common Prayer Book, because both these rubrics, together with the tables of vigils or eves, were first added at the last review. According to Mr. Johnson, indeed, who imagines that the collect for the festival is appointed to be used upon the evening before, because then the holy-day properly begins, we ought to read the collect upon the Sunday evening, though the vigil be kept upon the Saturday. For he observes,[32] that "the Church of England has divided her nights and days according to the scriptural, not the civil account: and that though our civil day begins from midnight, yet our ecclesiastical day begins at six in the evening. And therefore the collect for the Sunday is to be read on what in our civil account is called Saturday evening, and the collect of every greater festival at evening prayer next before. The proper time for vespers or even-song is six of the clock, and from that time the religious day begins: therefore where evening prayer is ready at its proper season, the collect for the Purification may well be used as the rubric directs, on what they call the foregoing evening, notwithstanding those words,

Whether the collect of a Monday festival is to be used upon the Saturday or Sunday evening.

[30] See the rubric at the bottom of the table of vigils. [31] See the rubric before the Collect for the first Sunday in Advent. [32] Clergyman's Vade Mecum, c. 22, page 210.

Thy only Son was THIS DAY *presented in the temple.*" But against this supposition lie two objections: the one is, that there are very few churches which begin prayers after six in the evening, which Mr. Johnson affirms to be the proper time for vespers or even-song: though if they did, the same difficulty would occur what collect we must use at evening prayer upon the festival itself, for then, according to Mr. Johnson, another day begins. But further, if the day begins at six of the clock on the evening before, then the collect of every festival ought to be used on the foregoing evening; whereas the rubric only orders, that the collects for Sundays, and such holy-days as have vigils and eves, be said at the preceding evening service, and consequently supposes that the collects of such festivals as have no vigils are only to be used upon the festivals themselves.* From whence too we may observe by the way, it is a mistake in those who use the collects of all

* Mr. Johnson has been pleased to reply to this, that "it is so certain that six is the hour of even-song, that no man will dispute it who is not a perfect stranger to things of this nature."[33] That it was so formerly, whilst the old canonical hours of prayer were strictly observed, I readily allow. But that it is so still, I was not aware: for I own myself to be so much a stranger to things of this nature, as to have been hitherto of the opinion (though I shall be glad to alter it, when I shall be better informed) that, upon reducing the seven offices into two,[34] viz. Matins and Even-Song, or Morning and Evening Prayer, as we now generally call them, there were no hours fixed for the saying of either. The same learned gentleman says further in the same place, that "they who terminate the feasts within certain minutes, and because six is the hour of vespers will allow no latitude, have never considered that in the Scripture language (which is the best guide in this matter) what is expressed by the *evening, and going down of the sun*, in one text, (Deut. xvi. 6,) is called the time *between the two evenings* in another (Exod. xii. 6). And the time of the evening sacrifice is expressed by this last phrase (Numb. xxviii. 4). And it is notorious that this was any time between the ninth and twelfth according to them, the third and sixth with us." These texts of Scripture I have seen before; and have since considered how far they help Mr. Johnson's argument. But I cannot see yet that they prove any more than that they who began the day punctually at six one evening, ended it as punctually at six the next. But that the Church of England divides her nights and days according to the scriptural, and not the civil account, is his assertion, and not mine. To him it is clear, but not to me, that feasts are to be kept from even-song to even-song inclusively.[35] That the festival day is not past till even-song is ended, I willingly grant: but that the festival begins at even-song before, wants, I think, a better proof. That the collect for a holy-day that hath a vigil or eve, is to be said at the evening service next before, the rubric appoints: but that the evening before is therefore part of the festival, I know not how to reconcile with another rubric that calls the eve or vigil a fast.[36] I rather take it, that the evenings before such festivals as have vigils are designed by the Church to be preparations to the festivals, rather than parts of them; and therefore I know not what Mr. Johnson means when he tells us, "that holy-days which begin not till morning prayer are not perfect feasts, but were deemed to be of inferior rank by them that had the ordering of these matters." When he gives us his authority for what he asserts, I shall readily submit: but till then I shall be of the opinion, that some festivals which have not vigils are as perfect feasts as some others which have: and that their not having vigils assigned them, was not because they are of inferior rank, but for the other reasons that I have given above.

[33] See Mr. Johnson's Addenda to his Clergyman's Vade Mecum, at the end of his two cases, pages 106, 107. [34] See Mr. Johnson's Ecclesiastical Laws, A. D. 740, 28, and 957, 19. [35] Addenda ut supra. [36] See the rubric at the end of the table of vigils.

holy-days whatsoever upon the evening before. I know indeed it may be urged against this last observation, that the *Collect of the Nativity* is directed by another rubric to *be said continually from Christmas-day unto New-Year's-Eve;* and what makes this objection the stronger, is, that before the last review of the Liturgy, the Christmas collect was to be said until New-Year's-Day. The changing Day therefore for Eve looks something remarkable; and as if they purposely designed that the collect of the Circumcision should be used on the evening before, and that the collect of the Nativity should be then left off: the Church always speaking exclusive of the time or place it mentions in any such directions. What answer to make to this, I own I am at a loss. The best I can think of is, that New-Year's-Eve being the common name given to the last day of the year, the person that altered the rubric might imagine, that the feast of the circumcision had really an eve belonging to it. But whatever might be the occasion of the alteration, I think it can be urged no otherwise against what I have said, than as a single exception from a general rule.

The week-day collects not to be used on holy-days, or their eves.

§. 4. Now I am speaking of this, I shall observe one thing more; and that is, that whenever the collect of a Sunday or holy-day is read at the evening service before, the *weekly collect* that had been in course must be omitted and give place. And the same rule, as I take it, should be observed upon the holy-day itself, upon which no other collect ought to be used, but the proper one for the day. For the rubric, at the end of *the order how the rest of the service is appointed to be read*, directs, that *the collect, &c. for the Sunday shall serve all the week after, where it is not otherwise ordered;* which supposes, that in some places it is otherwise ordered, which must be (as it was worded in all the old Common Prayer Books) when *there falls some feast that hath its proper*, i. e. when any day falls that hath a proper or peculiar collect, &c. to itself: upon which occasions the rubric plainly supposes, that the collect for the Sunday shall be left out and omitted: the Church never designing to use two collects at once, except within the octaves of Christmas, and during Advent and Lent; when, for the greater solemnity of those solemn seasons, she particularly orders the collects of the principal days to be used continually after the ordinary collects.

VI.—*Of Days of Fasting or Abstinence in general.*

Fasting, how ancient and universal a duty.

THAT *Fasting* or *Abstinence* from our usual sustenance is a proper means to express sorrow and grief, and a fit method to dispose our minds towards the consideration of any thing that is serious, nature seems to suggest: and therefore all nations, from ancient times, have used fasting as a part of repentance, and as a means to avert the anger of God. This is plain in the case of the Ninevites,[37] whose notion of fasting, to appease the wrath of God, seems to have been common to them with the rest of mankind. In the Old Testament, besides the examples of private fasting by David,[38] and Daniel,[39] and others; we have instances of public fasts observed by the whole nation of the Jews at once upon solemn occasions.[40] It is true, indeed, in the New Testament we find no positive precept, that expressly requires and commands us to fast: but our Saviour mentions fasting with almsgiving and prayer, which are unquestionable duties; and the directions he gave concerning the performance of it sufficiently suppose its necessity. And he himself was pleased, before he entered upon his ministry, to give us an extraordinary example in his own person, by fasting forty days and forty nights.[41] He excused indeed his disciples from fasting, so long as he, *the Bridegroom, was with them*; because that being a time of joy and gladness, it would be an improper season for tokens of sorrow: but then he intimates at the same time, that though it was not fit for them then, it would yet be their duty hereafter: for *the days*, says he, *will come, when the Bridegroom shall be taken from them, and then they shall fast.*[42] And accordingly we find, that after his ascension, the duty of fasting was not only recommended,[43] but practised by the Apostles, as any one may see by the texts of Scripture referred to in the margin.[44] After the Apostles, we find the primitive Christians very constant and regular in the observation both of their annual and weekly fasts. Their weekly fasts were kept on Wednesdays and Fridays, because on the one our Lord was betrayed, on the other crucified. The chief of their annual fasts was that of Lent, which they observed by way of preparation for their feast of Easter.

[37] Jonah iii. 5. [38] Psalm lxix. 10. [39] Daniel ix. 3. [40] See Lev. xxiii. 26, &c. 2 Chron. xx. 3. Ezra viii. 21. Jer. xxxvi. 9. Zech. viii. 19. Joel i. 14. [41] Matt. iv. 2. [42] Matt. ix. 15. [43] 1 Cor. vii. 5. [44] Acts xiii. 2, and xiv. 23. 1 Cor. ix. 27. 2 Cor. vi. 5, and xi. 27.

Days of fasting, how observed by the primitive Christians.

§. 2. Their manner of observing these fasts was very strict; it being their general custom to abstain from all food, till the public devotion of the Church was over: which was about three of the clock in the afternoon, though in the time of Lent they were not to eat till six in the evening; and even then they forbore both flesh and wine, the greater part of them feeding only upon herbs or pulse, with a little bread. Some used the dry diet, as nuts and almonds, and such like fruit, whilst others fed only upon bread and water.

Fasting and abstinence, how distinguished in the Church of Rome.

§. 3. In the Church of Rome, fasting and abstinence admit of a distinction, and different days are appointed for each of them. On their days of fasting, they are allowed but one meal in four and twenty hours: but on days of abstinence, provided they abstain from flesh, and make but a moderate meal, they are indulged in a collation at night. The times by them set apart for the first are, all Lent except Sundays, the ember-days, the vigils of the more solemn feasts, and all Fridays, except those that fall within the twelve days of Christmas, and between Easter and the Ascension. Their days of abstinence are, all the Sundays in Lent, St. Mark's day, if it does not fall into Easter-week, the three Rogation-days, all Saturdays throughout the year, with the Fridays before excepted, unless either happen to be Christmas-day. The reason why they observe St. Mark as a day of abstinence is, as we learn from their own books, in imitation of St. Mark's disciples, the first Christians of Alexandria, who, under this saint's conduct, were eminent for their great prayer, abstinence, and sobriety. They further tell us, that St. Gregory the Great, the Apostle of England, first set apart this day for abstinence and public prayer, as an acknowledgment of the divine mercy in putting a stop to a mortality in his time at Rome.[45]

What days appointed for the one and the other.

St. Mark, why observed as a day of abstinence by the Romanists.

No distinction made in the Church of England either between days of fasting, and days of abstinence, or between any different kinds of food.

§. 4. I do not find that the Church of England makes any difference between days of fasting and days of abstinence: it is true, in the title of the table of vigils, &c. she mentions *fasts* AND *days of abstinence* separately; but when she comes to enumerate the particulars, she calls them all *days of fasting* OR *abstinence*, without distin-

[45] See their Practical Catechism upon the Sundays, Feasts, and Fasts, pages 186, 187.

guishing between the one and the other. Nor does she any where point out to us what food is proper for such times or seasons, or seem to place any part of religion in abstaining from any particular kinds of meat. It is true, by a statute still in force,[46] flesh is prohibited on fast-days: but this is declared to be for a political reason, viz. for the increase of cattle, and for the encouragement of fishery and navigation. Not but that the statute allows that abstinence is serviceable to virtue, and helps to subdue the body to the mind: but the distinction of clean and unclean meats determined, it says, with the Mosaic law; and therefore it sets forth, that days and meats are in themselves all of the same nature and quality as to moral consideration, one not having any inherent holiness above the other. And for this reason it is that our Church, as I have said, no where makes any difference in the kinds of meat: but, as far as she determines, she seems to recommend an entire abstinence from all manner of food till the time of fasting be over; declaring in her Homilies,[47] that *fasting (by the decree of the six hundred and thirty Fathers, assembled at the Council of Chalcedon, which was one of the four first general Councils, who grounded their determination upon the sacred Scriptures, and long-continued usage or practice both of the prophets and other godly persons before the coming of Christ; and also of the apostles and other devout men in the New Testament) is a withholding of meat, drink, and all natural food from the body, for the determined time of fasting.*

What days observed as fasts.

§. 5. The times she sets apart as proper for this duty are such as she finds have been observed with fasting and abstinence by the earliest ages of the Church; which, besides the vigils above mentioned, are the *forty days of Lent*, the *ember-days* at the four seasons, the *three rogation-days*, and all *Fridays in the year*, except Christmas-day.

Friday, why observed as a fast.

§. 6. Every one of these seasons (except the *Friday-fast* only) will come in turn to be spoken to hereafter; and therefore I shall waive saying any thing further to them here; and shall only observe of *Friday* in particular, that it was always observed by the primitive Christians as a day of fasting, who thought it very proper to humble themselves on the same day weekly, on

[46] In the second and third of king Edward VI. c. 19. [47] See the first part of the sermon of Fasting.

which the *blessed Jesus humbled himself* once, *even to the death of the cross, for us miserable sinners.*

VII.—*Of the Collects, Epistles, and Gospels in general.*

How the Church of England observes these days.

ALL the days above mentioned, as well fasts as festivals, the Church of England still requires us to observe, in such manner as may answer the end for which they were appointed. To this end she always enlarges her ordinary devotions, adding particular Lessons on most of them, proper Psalms on some, and the Communion Office on all. The proper Lessons and Psalms I shall take notice of, when I come to treat of the particular days on which they are appointed: but because there are a Collect, Epistle, and Gospel appointed for every Sunday and holy-day throughout the year; it is requisite I should first speak of them in general, and shew their antiquity as well as their suitableness to the days they belong to. And first of their antiquity.

The antiquity, &c. of the collects.

§. 2. That most of our collects are very ancient, appears by their conformity to the Epistles and Gospels, which are thought to have been selected by St. Jerome, and put into the Lectionary by him: for which reason many believe that the collects also were first framed by him. It is certain that Gelasius, who was bishop of Rome A. D. 492, ranged the collects, which were then used, into order, and added some new ones of his own;[48] which office was again corrected by pope Gregory the Great in the year 600, whose Sacramentary contains most of the collects we now use. But our reformers observing that some of these collects were afterwards corrupted by superstitious alterations and additions, and that others were quite left out of the Roman Missals, and entire new ones, relating to their present innovations, added in their room; they therefore examined every collect strictly, and where they found any of them corrupted, there they corrected them; where any new ones had been inserted, they restored the old ones; and lastly, at the Restoration, every collect was again reviewed, when whatsoever was deficient was supplied, and all that was but improperly expressed, rectified. The several alterations both then and at the Reformation shall be noted hereafter in their proper places: in the mean while I shall proceed to give the like general account of the Epistles and Gospels.

[48] See Dr. Comber's History of Liturgies, part ii. §. 14, p. 68.

§. 3. I have already hinted, that they are thought to have been at first selected by St. Jerome, and put into the Lectionary by him. It is certain that they were very anciently appropriated to the days whereon we now read them; since they are not only of general use throughout the whole Western Church, but are also commented upon in the homilies of several ancient Fathers, which are said to have been preached upon those very days, to which these portions of Scripture are now affixed. So that they have most of them belonged to the same Sundays and holy-days we now use them on, for above twelve hundred years; as I might easily shew also from several authorities.[49]

The antiquity of the Epistles and Gospels.

§. 4. In all the old Common Prayer Books, except the Scotch one, the Epistles and Gospels were taken out of the Great Bible, neither of the two last translations being extant when the Common Prayer was first compiled. But in regard of the many defects which were observed in that version, and upon the petition of the presbyterian commissioners at the Savoy conference, the commissioners on the Church side concluded that all the Epistles and Gospels should be used, according to the last translation.[50]

In what version they are used.

§. 5. The other variations that have been made in them, at and since the Reformation, shall be taken notice of as I go along: I shall only observe further in this place, in relation to them in general, in what admirable order and method they are appointed, and what special relation they bear to the several days whereon they are read.

Their order and method.

The whole year is distinguished into two parts: the design of the first being to commemorate Christ's living amongst us; the other to instruct us to live after his example. The former takes in the whole time *from Advent to Trinity-Sunday*; for the latter are all the Sundays *from Trinity to Advent*. The first part being conversant about the life of our Saviour, and the mysteries of his divine dispensation: therefore beginning at *Advent*, we first celebrate his *incarnation* in general, and after that in their order the several particulars of it: such as were his *nativity*, *circumcision*, and *manifestation* to the Gentiles; his *doctrine* and *miracles*, his *baptism*, *fasting*, and *temptation*; his *agony* and *bloody sweat*; his *cross* and *pas-*

[49] Vid. Liturg. S. Jacob. S. Clem. S. Basil, Walefrid. Strab. de Reb. Eccl. c. 22.

[50] Account of all the Proceedings of the Commissioners, 1661, p. 15, or in Baxter's Narrative, p. 318, and the Papers that passed between the Commissioners, p. 129.

sion; his precious *death* and *burial;* his glorious *resurrection* and *ascension;* and his *sending the Holy Ghost* to comfort us. During all this time the chief end and design of the Epistles and Gospels is to make us remember with thankful hearts what unspeakable benefits we receive from the Father, first by his Son, and then by his Holy Spirit; for which we very aptly end this part of the year with giving praise and glory to the whole *blessed Trinity.*

The second part of the year, (which comprehends all the whole time *from Trinity-Sunday to Advent,*) I observed, is to instruct us to lead our lives after our Lord's example. For having in the first part of the year learned the mysteries of our religion, we are in the second to practise what is agreeable to the same. For it concerns us, not only to know that we have no other foundation of our religion, than Christ Jesus our Lord; but further also to build upon this foundation such a life as he requires of us. And therefore as the first part ends with Pentecost, whereon we commemorate a new law given us in our hearts; so the second is to begin with the practice of that law: for which reason such Epistles and Gospels are appointed, as may most easily and plainly instruct and lead us in the true paths of Christianity; that so those who are regenerated by Christ, and initiated in his faith, may know what virtues to follow, and what vices to eschew.

The Collect, Epistle, and Gospel for the Sunday, to serve for the week afterwards.

§. 6. This I take to be a proper place to speak to the rubric which directs, that *the Collect, Epistle, and Gospel appointed for the Sunday shall serve all the week after, where it is not in this book otherwise ordered.*[51] The principal occasion of which provision, I suppose, was a rubric at the end of the Communion Office, in the first book of king Edward VI., which ordered, that *upon Wednesdays and Fridays, though there were none to communicate with the priest, yet (after the Litany ended) the priest should put upon him a plain alb, or surplice, with a cope, and say all things at the altar (appointed to be said at the celebration of the Lord's Supper) until after the offertory.—And that the same order should be used all other days, whensoever the people accustomably assembled to pray in the church, and none disposed to communicate with him.* But though this custom be now laid aside, yet the

[51] See the last rubric in the Order how the rest of the holy Scripture is appointed to be read.

direction above mentioned is still of use to us, if either at a *marriage*, or at the *churching of a woman*, (at both which times a communion is prescribed by the rubric as convenient,) or upon any other such like occasion, the sacrament be administered: at which times we are ordered by the rubric I am speaking of, to use the same Collect, Epistle, and Gospel as were used the Sunday before, *where it is not otherwise ordered in this book*. Before the last review it was said, *except there fall some feast that hath its proper*, i. e. except there fall some holy-day in the week which has a Collect, Epistle, and Gospel of its own; or, as it is worded in the Scotch Liturgy, *except there fall some feast that hath its proper Collect, Epistle, and Gospel: as it is on Ash-Wednesday, and on every day in the holy week next before the Pasch or Easter;* in which case the Sunday Collect, Epistle, and Gospel are to give place to the proper Collect, Epistle, and Gospel for that day. And this to be sure is part of what is intended by the rubric, as it stands now. Though the design I suppose of altering the last words into, *where it is not in this book otherwise ordered*, was for a direction also at such times as a *new season* begins between one Sunday and another, as it happens upon *Ash-Wednesday* and *Ascension-day*. In which case the services of those days being placed between the services for the Sundays immediately before and after; I take that to be an order that the Collect, &c. for the foregoing Sunday shall be then left off, and the Collect, &c. for the holy-day shall succeed as the service for the remaining part of the week. Which is exactly agreeable to an express rubric after the Gospel for *Ash-Wednesday* in the Scotch Liturgy, which enjoins that *from Ash-Wednesday to the first Sunday in Lent shall be used the same Collect, Epistle, and Gospel, which were used on Ash-Wednesday.*

Except some holy-day happens in the week.

Or some new season begins.

§. 7. In the first Common Prayer Book of king Edward VI. there were two Collects, Epistles, and Gospels appointed for Christmas-day and Easter-day, one to be used at the *first communion*, the other at the *second:* for the churches not affording room enough upon those high festivals for all to communicate at once that were willing to come; therefore the sacrament was ordered to be repeated, and a different service appointed for each solemnity. As to a *double communion*, the practice is ancient: for we find

Two communions formerly at Christmas and Easter.

Double communions on the

same day an ancient practice.

that pope Leo, writing to Dioscorus, bishop of Alexandria, advised, that where the churches were too small to admit all that were desirous to communicate at once, the priests should administer two or three communions in one day, that so they who could not get room to offer themselves the first time, might have an opportunity of doing it afterwards. Convinced by this authority, Bucer afterwards retracted an exception he had made against having two communions in one day;[52] though in the second review of the Liturgy under king Edward, one of these services was laid aside, not, I suppose, with intent to forbid a repetition of the sacrament, if the minister should see occasion to administer it twice, but only that, as the congregation at each time is supposed to be different, therefore the same service should be used for both.

VIII.—*Of Introits in general.*

I SHOULD now proceed to give the reasons of the choice of the several Collects, Epistles, and Gospels, and to shew their suitableness to the days they belong to. But because to do this it is necessary I should shew what particular blessings the Church commemorates at those several times on which they are prescribed; I shall descend to particulars, and first give a short account of the several Sundays and holy-days, as they stand in order, and then shew how these portions of Scripture are to be applied to the day.

Introits, what they were, and how ancient.

But first I shall take this opportunity to observe, that in the first Common Prayer Book of king Edward VI., before every Collect, Epistle, and Gospel, there is a Psalm printed, which contains something prophetical of the evangelical history used upon each Sunday and holy-day, or in some way or other proper to the day; which, from its being sung or said while the priest made his entrance within the rails of the altar, was called *Introitus* or *Introit*.[53] But in the second edition of king Edward's book

[52] Script. Anglican. p. 465, et 495.

[53] The Introits for every Sunday and holy-day throughout the year.

1 Sunday in Advent	*Psalm* 1	Sunday after Christmas-day	*Psalm* 121
2	120	Circumcision	122
3	4	Epiphany	96
4	5	1 Sunday after Epiphany	13
Christmas-day. At the first communion	98	2	14
——— At the second communion	8	3	15
St. Stephen	52	4	2
St. John the Evangelist	11	5 } 6 }	20
Innocents'-day	79	Septuagesima Sunday	23
		Sexagesima	24

it was laid aside; though the reason they had for doing so is not easily assigned. For it is very certain that the use of Introits to begin the Communion Office was not only unexceptionable, but of great antiquity in the Church: Durand proving that they were taken into divine service before the time of St. Jerome.[54] And it is plain that they would still have been very useful, since the want of them is forced to be supplied by the singing of anthems in cathedrals, and part of a psalm in metre in parish churches. And therefore I cannot but think, it would have been much more decent for us to have been guided by the Church what psalms to have used in that intermediate time, than to stand to the direction of every illiterate parish clerk, who too often has neither judgment to choose a psalm proper to the occasion, nor skill to sing it so as to assist devotion.

SECT. I.—*Of the Sundays in Advent.*

Advent Sundays.

FOR the greater solemnity of the three principal holy-days, *Christmas-day*, *Easter-day*, and

Quinquagesima Sunday	*Psalm* 26
Ash-Wednesday	6
1 Sunday in Lent	32
2	130
3	43
4	46
5	54
Sunday next before Easter	61
Good Friday	22
Easter-even	88
Easter-day. At the first communion	16
——— At the second communion	3
Monday in Easter-week	62
Tuesday in Easter-week	113
1 Sunday after Easter	112
2	70
3	75
4	83
5	84
Ascension-day	47
Sunday after Ascension-day	93
Whit-Sunday	33
Monday in Whitsun-week	100
Tuesday in Whitsun-week	101
Trinity Sunday	67
1 Sunday after Trinity	part 1 119
2	2
3	3
4	4
5	5
6	6
7	7
8	8
9	9
10	10
11 Sunday after Trinity	part 11
12	12
13	13
14	14
15	15
16	16
17	17
18	18
19	19
20	20
21	21
22	22
23	124
24	125
25	127
St. Andrew	129
St. Thomas	128
Conversion of St. Paul	138
Purification of the blessed Virgin Mary	134
St. Matthias	140
Annunciation	131
St. Mark	141
St. Philip and St. James	133
St. Barnabas	142
St. John the Baptist	143
St. Peter	144
St. Mary Magdalene	146
St. James	148
St. Bartholomew	115
St. Matthew	117
St. Michael and All Angels	113
St. Luke the Evangelist	137
St. Simon and St. Jude	150
All Saints	149

[54] De Rit. Eccl. l. 7, c. 11.

Whit-Sunday, the Church hath appointed certain days to attend them: some to go before, and others to come after them.

Why so called.

Before *Christmas* are appointed four *Advent Sundays*, so called, because the design of them is to prepare us for a religious commemoration of the *Advent*, or coming of Christ in the flesh.

The antiquity of them.

The Roman ritualists would have the celebration of this holy season to be apostolical, and that it was instituted by St. Peter.[55] But the precise time of its institution is not so easily to be determined: though it certainly had its beginning before the year 450, because Maximus Taurinensis, who lived about that time, writ a homily upon it.

Advent sermons formerly preached.

And it is to be observed, that for the more strict and religious observation of this season, courses of sermons were formerly preached in several cathedrals on Wednesdays and Fridays, as it is now the usual practice in Lent.[56] And we find by the Salisbury Missal, that before the Reformation there was a Special Epistle and Gospel relating to Christ's Advent, appointed for those days during all that time.

The Collects.

§. 2. The Collects for the first and second Sundays in Advent were made new in 1549, being first inserted in the first book of king Edward VI. That for the third Sunday was added at the Restoration in the room of a very short one not so suitable to the time.* The Collect for the fourth Sunday is the same with what we meet with in the most ancient offices, except that in some of them it is appointed for the first Sunday.†

Epistles and Gospels.

The Epistles and Gospels appointed on these days are all very ancient and very proper to the time: they assure us of the truth of Christ's first coming;[57] and, as a proper means to bring our lives to a conformity with the end and design of it, they recommend to us the considerations of his second coming, when he will execute vengeance on all those that obey not his Gospel.[58]

Why the Church begins her year

§. 3. It is worth observing in this place, that it is the peculiar computation of the Church, to

* The old Collect was this: "Lord, we beseech thee, give ear to our prayers, and by thy gracious visitation lighten the darkness of our hearts, by our Lord Jesus Christ, *Amen*." † The words "through the satisfaction of thy Son our Lord" were first added in the Scotch Liturgy.

[55] Durand. Rational. l. 6, c. 2, numb. 2, fol. 255. [56] See Dr. Greenvil's Sermon, preached in the cathedral of Durham, upon the revival of the ancient and laudable practice of that and some other cathedrals, in having sermons on Wednesdays and Fridays in Advent and Lent. Quarto, 1686. [57] Epistle and Gospel for Sunday 1. Epistle for Sunday 2. Gospel for Sunday 3. Epistle and Gospel for Sunday 4. [58] Gospel for Sunday 2 and 3.

begin her year, and to renew the annual course of her service, at this time of *Advent*, therein differing from all other accounts of time whatsoever. The reason of which is, because she does not number her days, or measure her seasons, so much by the motion of the sun, as by the course of our Saviour: beginning and counting on her year with him, who being the true *Sun of Righteousness*, began now to rise upon the world, and, as *the day-star on high*, to enlighten them that sat in spiritual darkness. At Advent.

SECT. II.—*Of the Ember-Weeks.*

THE first season of the ember-days falling after the third Sunday in Advent, I shall take this opportunity to speak a word or two of them; which are certain days set apart for the consecrating to God the four seasons of the year, and for the imploring his blessing by fasting and prayer, upon the ordinations performed in the Church at those times: in conformity to the practice of the Apostles, who, when they separated persons for the work of the ministry, prayed and fasted, before they laid on their hands.[59] It is true, at the first planting of the Gospel, orders were conferred at any time, as there was occasion: but as soon as the Church was settled, the ordination of ministers was affixed to certain set times, which was the first original of these four weeks of fasting. The original of them.

§. 2. They are called *ember-weeks* (as some think) from a German word which imports *abstinence:* though others are of the opinion that they are so called, because it was customary among the ancients to express their humiliation at those seasons of fasting, by sprinkling ashes upon their heads, or sitting on them; and when they broke their fasts on such days to eat only cakes baked upon embers, which were therefore called *ember-bread.* But the most probable conjecture is that of Dr. Mareschal, who derives it from a Saxon word, importing a *circuit* or *course;* so that these fasts being not occasional, but returning every year in certain courses, may properly be said to be *ember-days*, i. e. *fasts in course.*[60] Why so called.

§. 3. They were formerly observed in several churches with some variety,[61] but were at last settled by the Council of Placentia, A. D. 1095, At what times observed.

[59] Acts xiii. 3. [60] In his observations upon the Saxon Gospels, pages 528, 529.
[61] See the answers of Ecbright upon question 16, in Johnson's Ecclesiastical Laws, A. D. 734.

to be the Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday after the first Sunday in Lent, after Whit-Sunday, after the fourteenth of September, which was then observed as the feast of holy-cross, and the thirteenth of December, which was then also observed in remembrance of St. Lucy.[62]

Why ordinations are fixed to these times.

§. 4. The reasons why the ordinations of ministers are fixed to these set times of fasting are these: first, that as all men's souls are concerned in the ordaining a fit clergy, so all may join in fasting and prayer for a blessing upon it: secondly, that both bishops and candidates, knowing the time, may prepare themselves for this great work: thirdly, that no vacancy may remain long unsupplied: lastly, that the people, knowing the times, may, if they please, be present, either to approve the choice made by the bishop, or to object against those whom they know to be unworthy; which primitive privilege is still reserved to the people in this well-constituted Church.

SECT. III.—*Of Christmas-day.*

How early observed in the Church.

THOUGH the learned in most ages have differed concerning the day and month of our Saviour's nativity, yet we are certain that the festival was very early observed in the primitive Church. And if the day was mistaken, yet the matter of the mistake being of no greater moment than the false calculation of a day; it will certainly be very pardonable in those who perform the business of the festival, with as much piety and devotion as they could do, if they certainly knew the time.

The service for the day.

§. 2. And that no one may want an opportunity to celebrate so great a festival with a suitable solemnity, the Church both excites and assists our devotion, by an admirable frame of office fitted to the day. In the first Lessons[63] she reads to us the clearest prophecies of Christ's coming in the flesh; and in the second Lessons,[64] Epistle, and Gospel, shews us the completion of those prophecies, by giving us the entire history of it. In the collect she teaches us to pray, that we may be partakers of the benefit of his birth, and in the proper psalms she sets us to our duty of praising and glorifying God for his incomprehensible mystery.

The Collect, Epistle, and Gospel.

The Epistle and Gospel are the same that were used in the most ancient Liturgies; but

[62] Concil. tom. x. col. 502, B. [63] Isa. ix. to ver. 8. chap. vii. ver. 10 to ver. 17.
[64] Luke ii. to ver. 15. Tit. iii. ver. 4 to ver. 9.

the Collect was made new in 1549. In the first book of king Edward VI. they are appointed for the second communion, which I suppose was the principal one: since the first was probably more early in the morning, for the benefit of servants, and others who could not attend at the usual time. The Collect for the first communion was different from what we now use,* as were also the Epistle and Gospel; the Epistle beginning Tit. ii. ver. 11, to the end; the Gospel, Luke ii. to ver. 15, the last of which we now read for the second Lesson in the morning service.

The Psalms.

§. 3. The Psalms for the morning are Psalms xix. xlv. lxxxv. The xixth was chiefly designed to give glory to God for all his works of power and excellence: the beginning of it, viz. *The heavens declare the glory of God*, &c., is extraordinarily applicable to the day: for at the birth of Christ a new star appeared, which declared his glory and deity so plainly, that it fetched wise men from the East to come and worship him. The following verses all set forth God's goodness, in giving so excellent a rule of life to men, and in warning us of the great danger of presumptuous sins. The xlvth Psalm is thought to be an epithalamium, or marriage-song, upon the nuptials of Solomon and the king of Egypt's daughter; but it is mystically, and in a most eminent sense, applicable to the union between Christ and his Church. The lxxxvth Psalm was principally set for the birth of Christ; and so the primitive Christians understood it; and therefore chose it as a part of their office for this day, as being proper and pertinent to the matter of the feast. The prophet indeed speaks of it as a thing past, but that is no more than what is usual in all prophecies: for by speaking of things after that manner, they signified their prophecies should as surely come to pass, as if what they had foretold had already happened.[65]

The evening Psalms are Psalms lxxxix. cx. cxxxii. The lxxxixth is a commemoration of the mercies performed and promised to be continued to David and his posterity to the end of the world. The greatest of which mercies, viz. the birth of the Messiah, the Church this day celebrates; and therefore appoints this psalm to excite us to thanksgiving for

* The Collect for the first communion in king Edward's first book was this: "God, which makest us glad with the yearly remembrance of the birth of thy only Son Jesus Christ; grant, that as we joyfully receive him for our Redeemer, so we may with sure confidence behold him, when he shall come to be our Judge, who liveth and reigneth," &c.

[65] Acts ii. 30, 31.

such an inestimable mercy, by shewing us how only the bare promise of it, so many ages since, wrought upon the saints of those times. The cxth Psalm is a prophecy of the exaltation of the Messiah to his regal and sacerdotal office;[66] both which are by him exercised at the right hand of the Father, and settled on him as a reward of his humiliation and passion.[67] The cxxxiind Psalm seems to have been at first composed by Solomon upon the building of the temple (part of it being used in his prayer at the dedication of it).[68] It recounts David's care of the ark, and his desire to build God a temple, and God's promises thereupon made to him and his posterity, of setting his seed upon the throne till the coming of Christ.

SECT. IV.—*Of the days of St. Stephen, St. John, and the Innocents.*

The antiquity of them.

THAT the observation of these days is ancient, we have the testimonies of several very ancient writers,[69] who all assure us that they were celebrated in the primitive times.

Why observed immediately after Christmas-day; and in the order they are placed.

§. 2. The placing of them immediately after Christmas-day was to intimate, as is supposed, that none are thought fitter attendants on Christ's nativity, than those blessed martyrs, who have not scrupled to lay down their temporal lives for him, from whose incarnation and birth they received life eternal. And accordingly we may observe, that as there are three kinds of martyrdom; the first both in will and in deed, which is the highest; the second in will, but not in deed; the third in deed, but not in will; so the Church commemorates these martyrs in the same order: St. Stephen first, who suffered death both in will and in deed; St. John the Evangelist next, who suffered martyrdom in will, but not in deed, being miraculously delivered out of a caldron of burning oil, into which he was put before Port Latin in Rome;[70] the holy Innocents last, who suffered in deed, but not in will; for though they were not sensible upon what account they suffered, yet it is certain that they suffered for the sake of Christ; since it was upon the account of his birth that their lives were taken away. And besides, wheresoever their story shall be told, the cause also of their deaths will be declared and made

[66] Matt. xxii. 44. Acts ii. 34. 1 Cor. xv. 25. Heb. i. 13. [67] Phil. ii. 8, 9.
[68] 2 Chron. vi. 41, 42. [69] Orig. Hom. 3, in Divers. part. 2, p. 282, G. Aug. in Natal. Steph. Martyris, Serm. 314, tom. v. col. 1260, B. Chrys. in S. Stephanum, Orat. 135, 136, tom. v. p. 864, &c. et alibi. [70] Tert. de Præsc. Hær. c. 36, p. 215, A.

known: for which reason they cannot be denied, even in the most proper sense, to be true martyrs or witnesses of Christ.

Mr. L'Estrange [71] imagines another reason for the order of these days. He supposes St. Stephen is commemorated first, as being the first martyr for Christianity: that St. John has the second place, as being *the disciple which Jesus loved:* and that the Innocents are commemorated next, because their slaughter was the first considerable consequence of our Saviour's birth. To this he adds another conjecture, viz. "That martyrdom, love, and innocence are first to be magnified, as wherein Christ is most honoured."

Their Collects, Epistles, and Gospels.

§. 3. The Collects for the days of St. Stephen and the holy Innocents were made new at the Restoration; and that for St. John was somewhat altered.* But the Epistles and Gospels for all these days are the same that we meet with in the oldest offices; excepting that the Epistle for St. John was first inserted at the Reformation, instead of a Lesson out of the xxvth of Ecclesiasticus.

The reasons of their choice are very plain. On St. Stephen's day the Epistle gives us an account of his martyrdom, and the Gospel assures us, that his blood, and the blood of all those that have suffered for the name of Christ, shall be required at the hands of those that shed it. On St. John's day both the Epistle and the Gospel are taken out of his own writings, and very aptly answer to one another: the Epistle contains St. John's testimony of Christ, and the Gospel Christ's testimony of St. John: the Gospel seems applicable to the day, as it commemorates this evangelist; but the Epistle seems to be chosen upon account of its being an attendant upon the preceding more solemn festival. On the Innocents' day the Gospel contains the history of the bloody massacre committed by Herod; and for the Epistle is read part of the xivth chapter of the Revelation, shewing the glorious state of those and the like innocents in heaven.

* The old Collect for St. Stephen's day was this: "Grant us, O Lord, to learn to love our enemies by the example of thy martyr Saint Stephen, who prayed for his persecutors to thee, which livest and reignest," &c.

In the Collect for St. John's day, after the words, "Evangelist Saint John," followed, "may attain to thy everlasting gifts, through Jesus Christ our Lord, Amen."

The Collect for Innocents' day was as follows: "Almighty God, whose praise this day the young innocents thy witnesses have confessed and shewed forth, not in speaking but in dying; mortify and kill all vices in us, that in our conversation or life we may express thy faith, which with our tongues we do confess, through Jesus Christ our Lord, Amen."

[71] Alliance of Divine Offices, p. 137. Lond. 1690.

SECT. V.—*Of the Sunday after Christmas-day.*

Octaves formerly observed.

IT was a custom among the primitive Christians to observe the Octave, or eighth day after their principal feasts, with great solemnity, (the reasons whereof shall be given in speaking of the particular prefaces in the Communion Office hereafter;) and upon every day between the feast and the Octave, as also upon the Octave itself, they used to repeat some part of that service which was performed upon the feast itself. In imitation of which religious custom, this day generally falling within the Octave of Christmas-day, the Collect then used is repeated now; and the Epistle and Gospel still set forth the mysteries of our redemption by the birth of Christ. Before the Reformation, instead of the present Gospel, was read Luke ii. ver. 33 to ver. 41. But then the first of St. Matthew was appointed, which is still retained; excepting that the first seventeen verses, relating to our Saviour's genealogy, were left out at the Restoration.

SECT. VI.—*Of the Circumcision.*

The design of this feast.

THIS feast is celebrated by the Church, to commemorate the active obedience of Jesus Christ in fulfilling all righteousness, which is one branch of the meritorious cause of our redemption; and by that means abrogating the severe injunctions of the Mosaical establishment, and putting us under the easier terms of the Gospel.

The antiquity of it.

§. 2. The observation of this feast is not of very great antiquity: the first mention of it under this title is in Ivo Carnotensis, who lived about the year 1090, a little before St. Bernard, which latter has also a sermon upon it. In Isidore, and other more early writers, it is mentioned under the name of *the Octave of Christmas*. The reason why it was not then observed as the feast of the *circumcision*, was probably because it fell upon the calends of January, which was celebrated among the heathens with so much disorder and revellings, and other tokens of idolatry, that St. Chrysostom calls it ἑορτὴν διαβολικὴν, *the Devil's festival*. For which reason the sixth general Council absolutely forbade the observation of it among Christians.[72]

[72] Concil. Trull. Can. 62.

§. 3. The proper services are all very suitable to the day. The first Lesson for the morning gives an account of the institution of circumcision; and the Gospel, of the circumcision of Christ: the first Lesson at evening, and the second Lessons and Epistle, all tend to the same end, viz. that since the circumcision of the flesh is now abrogated, God hath no respect of persons, nor requires any more of us than the circumcision of the heart. The Collect, Epistle, and Gospel for the day were all first inserted in 1549.

The Lessons, Epistle, and Gospel.

SECT. VII.—*Of the Epiphany.*

THE word *Epiphany* in Greek signifies *Manifestation*, and was at first used both for Christmas-day, when Christ was manifested in the flesh, and for this day, (to which it is now more properly appropriated,) when he was manifested by a star to the Gentiles: from which identity of the word, some have concluded that the feasts of Christmas-day and the Epiphany were one and the same: but that they were two different feasts, observed upon two several days, is plain from many of the Fathers.[73]

Epiphany, what it signifies.

But besides this common and more usual name, we find two other titles given to it by the ancients, viz. τὰ ἅγια φῶτα,[74] *the day of the Holy Lights;* and τὰ Θεοφάνεια, *the Theophany*, or *Manifestation of God.*[75] The first name was given it, as being the day whereon they commemorated the baptism of Christ, who from that time became a light to those that sat in darkness: upon which account this day was as solemn for baptizing the catechumens among the Latins, as Easter and Whitsuntide among the Greeks. And for the greater solemnity of so high a festival, it was the custom to adorn the public churches with a great number of lights and tapers, when they came to perform the service of the day. The reason of the other name is very plain, the feast being instituted in commemoration of the first manifestations of our Saviour's divinity.

The ancient names of it.

§. 2. The principal design of the Church's celebrating this feast, is to shew our gratitude to God, in manifesting the Gospel to the Gentile world, and vouchsafing to them equal privileges with the Jews,

The feast of it, to what end instituted.

[73] Aug. Serm. 102, tom. v. col. 914, F. Greg. Naz. in S. Lum. Orat. 39, tom. i. p. 624, &c. et alii. [74] Greg. Naz. in Sanct. Lum. [75] Epiph. Orat. in Ascens. Domini.

who had been all along his peculiar people; the first instance of which divine favour was in declaring the birth of Christ to the wise men of the East.

Three manifestations of Christ commemorated.

§. 3. But, in all, there are three great manifestations of our Saviour commemorated on this day; all which, St. Chrysostom tells us, happened on the same day, though not in the same year: the first of which was what I just now mentioned, viz. his manifestation by a star, which conducted the wise men to come and worship him, which we commemorate in the Collect and Gospel. The second manifestation was that of the glorious Trinity at his baptism, mentioned in the second Lesson at morning prayer. The second Lesson at evening service contains the third, which was the manifestation of the glory and divinity of Christ, by his miraculous turning water into wine. The first Lesson contains prophecies of the increase of the Church by the abundant access of the Gentiles, of which the Epistle contains the completion, giving an account of the mystery of the Gospel's being revealed to them. The Collect and Gospel for this day are the same that were used in the ancient offices; but the Epistle was inserted at the first compiling of our Liturgy, instead of part of the lxth of Isaiah, which is now read for the first Lesson in the morning.*

The Lessons, Collect, Epistle, and Gospel.

SECT. VIII.—*Of the Sundays after the Epiphany.*

The design of the Epistles and Gospels.

FROM Christmas to Epiphany, the Church's design in all her proper services, is to set forth the humanity of our Saviour, and to manifest him in the flesh: but from the Epiphany to Septuagesima Sunday (especially in the four following Sundays) she endeavours to manifest his divinity, by recounting to us in the Gospels some of his first miracles and manifestations of his Deity. The design of the Epistles is to excite us to imitate Christ as far as we can, and to manifest ourselves his disciples by a constant practice of all Christian virtues.

The Collects, Epistles, and Gospels.

§. 2. The Collects, Epistles, and Gospels for the five first Sundays after the Epiphany, are all the same as in the Sacramentary of St. Gregory,

* In the Common Prayer Books of king James, and down to the Restoration, Isaiah the xlth was by mistake (as I presume) set down for the morning first Lesson, instead of the lxth, from whence the same error is continued in some of our present books. The lxth chapter was undoubtedly designed, being in all the books of king Edward, queen Elizabeth, the Scotch Liturgy, and the Sealed Book, at the Restoration. And in those books of king James, where the xlth chapter first appears in the table of the Lessons appointed for Holy-days, the lxth chapter stands against the day in the calendar.

except that the Collect for the fourth Sunday was a little amended at the Restoration,* and that before the Reformation the Epistle for that day was the same with the Epistle for the first Sunday in Advent.

The Collect, Epistle, and Gospel for the sixth Sunday were all added at the last review; till when, if there happened to be six Sundays after the Epiphany, the Collect, Epistle, and Gospel for the fifth Sunday were repeated: though in the Salisbury Missal the service of the third Sunday is ordered to be used upon such an occasion.

SECT. IX.—*Of Septuagesima, Sexagesima, and Quinquagesima Sundays.*

Why so called.

AMONG the several reasons given for the names of these Sundays, the most probable seems to be this: the first Sunday in Lent, being forty days before Easter, was for that reason called Quadragesima Sunday, which in Latin signifies forty; and fifty being the next round number above forty, as sixty is to fifty, and seventy to sixty; therefore the Sunday immediately preceding Quadragesima Sunday, being further from Easter than that was, was called Quinquagesima (or fifty) Sunday, which is also fifty days inclusive before Easter: and the two foregoing Sundays, being still further distant, were for the same reason called Sexagesima and Septuagesima (sixty and seventy) Sundays.

The design of them.

§. 2. The observation of these days and the weeks following appear to be as ancient as the times of Gregory the Great. The design of them is to call us back from our Christmas feasting and joy, in order to prepare ourselves for fasting and humiliation in the approaching time of Lent; from thinking of the *manner* of Christ's coming into the world, to reflect upon the *cause* of it, viz. our own sins and miseries; that so being convinced of the reasonableness of punishing and mortifying ourselves for our sins, we may the more strictly and religiously apply ourselves to those duties when the proper time for them comes. Some of the more devout Christians observed the whole time, from the first of these Sundays to Easter, as a season of humiliation and fasting; though the generality of the people did not begin their fasts till Ash-Wednesday.

* The old Collect was this: "O God, which knowest us to be set in the midst of so many and great dangers, that for man's frailness we cannot always stand uprightly: grant to us the health of body and soul, that all those things which we suffer for sin, by thy help we may well pass and overcome, through Christ our Lord. Amen."

The Collects, Epistles, and Gospels.

§. 3. The Collects, Epistles, and Gospels for these days are all the same as in the ancient Liturgies, excepting only the Collect for Quinquagesima Sunday, which was made new, A. D. 1549. They are all of them plainly suitable to the times. The Epistles are all three taken out of St. Paul's Epistles to the Corinthians: the two first persuade us to acts of mortification and penance, by proposing to us St. Paul's example: but because all bodily exercises without charity profit us nothing; therefore the Church, in the Epistle for Quinquagesima Sunday, recommends charity to us, as a necessary foundation for all our other acts of religion.

The design of the Gospels is much the same with that of the Epistles: that for Septuagesima Sunday tells us, by way of parable, that all that expect to be rewarded hereafter, must perform these religious duties now; and to all those who have been so idle as to neglect their duties all their lifetime hitherto, it affords comfort, by assuring them, they may still entitle themselves to a reward, if they will now set about them with diligence and sincerity. The Gospel for Sexagesima Sunday, in another parable, admonishes us to be careful and circumspect in the performance of our duty, since there is scarce one in four who profess religion, that brings forth fruit to perfection. And, lastly, the Gospel for Quinquagesima Sunday shews us how we are to perform these duties; advising us by the example of the blind beggar to add faith to our charity, and to continue incessant in our prayers, and not to despair of the acceptance of them, because we are not immediately heard, but to cry so much the more, *Jesus, thou Son of David, have mercy on us.*

Shrove-Tuesday, why so called.

§. 4. The Tuesday after Quinquagesima Sunday is generally called Shrove-Tuesday; a name given it from the old Saxon words, *shrive, shrift, or shrove*, which in that language signifies to *confess*; it being a constant custom amongst the Roman Catholics to confess their sins on that day, in order to receive the blessed Sacrament, and thereby qualify themselves for a more religious observation of the holy time of Lent immediately ensuing. But this in process of time was turned into a custom of invitations, and their taking their leave of flesh and other dainties; and afterwards, by degrees, into sports and merriments, which still in that Church make up the whole business of the carnival.

SECT. X.—*Of the Forty days in Lent.*

THOUGH it ought to be the constant endeavour of a Christian to observe his duty at all times, and to have always a great regard to what God requires of him; yet, considering the great corruption of the world, and the frailty of our nature, and how often we transgress the bounds of our duty, and how backward we are to cross our fleshly appetites, it is very expedient we should have some solemn season appointed for the examining our lives, and the exercise of repentance. The necessity of some set time for humiliation.

§. 2. And accordingly we find that, from the very first ages of Christianity, it was customary for the Christians to set apart some time for mortification and self-denial, to prepare themselves for the feast of Easter. Irenæus, who lived but ninety years from the death of St. John, and conversed familiarly with St. Polycarp, as Polycarp had with St. John, has happened to let us know, though incidentally, that as it was observed in his time, so it was in that of his predecessors.[76] The antiquity of it.

§. 3. As to its original, the present lord bishop of Bath and Wells, in his learned *Discourse concerning Lent*, has shewed, by very probable arguments, that the Christian Lent took its rise from the Jewish preparation to their yearly expiation. He likewise proves out of their own writers, that the Jews began their solemn humiliation forty days before the expiation. Wherefore the primitive Christians, following their example, set up this fast at the beginning of Christianity, as a proper preparative for the commemoration of the great expiation of the sins of the whole world. Its original.

§. 4. It is true indeed, as to the length of it, the Christian Lent was observed with great variety at first: some fasting only one day, some two, some more, and some for forty days together, i. e. if Eusebius be rightly understood by the learned Dr. Grabe: if not, we must reduce the forty days to an entire abstinence of forty hours only, according to Valesius;[77] from which number of hours some think it is most probable this fast was first called τεσσαρακοστὴ, or *quadragesima;* as beginning about twelve on Friday, (the time of our Saviour's falling under the power of Variously observed at first.

[76] Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. 5, c. 24, p. 192, D. Bevereg. in loc. p. 247, edit. Reading.

[77] Vid. Euseb. ut supra, et Vales. et

death,) and continuing till Sunday morning, the time of his rising again from the dead. But afterwards it was enlarged to a longer time, drawn out into more days, and then weeks, till it was at last fixed to *forty days*; which number seems very anciently to have been appropriated to repentance and humiliation. For not to reckon up the forty days in which God drowned the world,[78] or the forty years in which the children of Israel did penance in the wilderness,[79] or the forty stripes by which malefactors were to be corrected;[80] whoever considers that Moses did, not once only, fast this number of days,[81] that Elias also fasted in the wilderness the same space of time,[82] that the Ninevites had precisely as many days allowed for their repentance,[83] and that our blessed Saviour himself, when he was pleased to fast, observed the same length of time:[84] whoever, I say, considers these things, cannot but think that this number of days is very suitable to extraordinary humiliation.

Why called Lent.

§. 5. It receives its name from the time of the year wherein it is observed; *Lent*, in the old Saxon language, signifying *Spring*, being now used to signify this spring fast, which always begins so that it may end at Easter; to remind us of our Saviour's sufferings, which ended at his resurrection.

Why to end at Easter.

How observed by the primitive Christians.

§. 6. During this whole season, they were used to give the most public testimonies of sorrow and repentance, and to shew the greatest signs of humiliation that can be imagined: no marriages were allowed of, nor any thing that might give the least occasion to mirth or cheerfulness;[85] insomuch that they would not celebrate the memories of the Apostles or martyrs, that happened within this time, upon the ordinary week-days, but transferred the commemoration of them to the Saturdays or Sundays.[86] For the Eastern Christians, as I have already observed,[87] celebrated Saturday as well as Sunday as a day of festival devotions. But except on those two days, even the holy eucharist was not consecrated during the whole time of Lent, that being an act, as those Fathers thought, more suitable and proper for a festival than a fast.[88] On those days indeed they consecrated enough to supply the communions of each day, till either

[78] Gen. vii. 4. [79] Numb. xiv. 34. [80] Deut. xxv. 3. [81] Deut. ix. 9, 18, 25. [82] 1 Kings xix. 8. [83] Jonah iii. 4. [84] Matt. iv. 2. [85] Concil. Laod. Can. 52, tom. i. col. 1505, C. [86] Concil. Laod. Can. 51. [87] Page 186. [88] Ibid. Can. 49.

Saturday or Sunday returned again. For though the sacrament was not consecrated on the ordinary week-days, yet it was customary to receive it every day; and therefore to those that came to communicate upon any of those days, they administered out of what the Greeks call the προηγιασμένα, the Latins *præsanctificata*, both which words signify the same thing, viz. the bread and wine that were ready consecrated.

Nor was the demeanour of the primitive Christians at home less strict and austere than their discipline at church; they lay in sackcloth and ashes, and took no care of their garb or dress; they used no other food but what was necessary to preserve life;[89] some abstaining from flesh and wine; others, especially the Greeks, forbearing all fish likewise as well as flesh: some contented themselves with eggs and fruits; others forbore both, and lived upon bread, herbs, and roots: but all agreed in this, viz. that whereas at other seasons their fasts continued but till three in the afternoon, they would not on any day in Lent eat till the evening,[90] and then such food as was least delicate.[91]

SECT. XI.—*Of Ash-Wednesday, or the first day of Lent.*

THE first day of Lent had formerly two names, one of which was *Caput Jejunii, the Head of the Fast;* the other, *Dies Cinerum, Ash-Wednesday.* The first compellation was given because Lent began on that day; for since it was never the custom of the Church to fast on Sundays, (whereon we commemorate so great a blessing as our Saviour's resurrection,) therefore we begin Lent on this day, to supply the room of those Sundays. For if you deduct out of the six weeks of Lent the six Sundays, there will remain but thirty-six fasting-days, to which these four of this week being added, make up the exact number of forty. Why Lent begins on this day.

§. 2. The name of Ash-Wednesday proceeded from a custom in the ancient discipline, which began very early to be exercised on this day; an account whereof we have in Gratian[92] as follows: Why called Ash-Wednesday.

On the first day of Lent the penitents were to present themselves before the bishop clothed with sackcloth, with naked feet, and eyes turned to the ground: and this was to be done in the presence of the principal of the clergy of the diocese, who

[89] Tertull. de Pœnit. passim. [90] Basil. Hom. 1, de Jejun. et Prudent. Hymn. ante Cibum. [91] Epiphan. Expos. Fid. Cathol. c. 22, tom. i. p. 1105, B.C. [92] 1 Part Decr. Dist. 50, c. 64, tom. i. p. 331.

were to judge of the sincerity of their repentance. These introduced them into the church, where the bishop, all in tears, and the rest of the clergy, repeated the seven penitential psalms. Then rising from prayers, they threw ashes upon them, and covered their heads with sackcloth; and then with mournful sighs declared to them that as Adam was thrown out of Paradise, so they must be thrown out of the Church. Then the bishop commanded the officers to turn them out of the church-doors; and all the clergy followed after, repeating that curse upon Adam, *In the sweat of thy brow shalt thou eat thy bread.* The like penance was inflicted upon them the next time the Sacrament was administered, which was the Sunday following. And all this was done to the end that the penitents, observing how great a disorder the Church was in by reason of their crimes, should not lightly esteem of penance.

How observed by the Church of England.

§. 3. Though this discipline was severe, yet the many good consequences of it shewed it worthy the imitation of all Churches in succeeding ages; and ours in particular heartily bewails the want of it: but till she can be so happy as to succeed in discharging those obligations she lies under to restore it, she supplies that want, by adding to her ordinary service a very proper and suitable office called the *Commination*, which shall be treated of hereafter in its turn.

The Psalms.

§. 4. In the ordinary morning and evening service, instead of the Psalms for the day, are appointed six of David's penitential Psalms, (the seventh being used in the office of Commination:) concerning which we need only observe, that they are the very forms wherein that royal prophet expressed his repentance, and were all composed by him in times of affliction, and contain supplications and prayers to be delivered from all temporal and spiritual enemies; and have, for this reason, been very much esteemed of in the Church in all ages,[93] and were always thought proper to be used in times of humiliation and repentance.

The Collect, Epistle, and Gospel.

§. 5. The Collect for this day was made new at the compiling of the Liturgy; the Epistle and Gospel were taken out of the old offices. For the former is read part of Joel, which, together with the latter, cautions us to be very careful, that, whilst we seem to be ready at all external signs of sorrow, we be not void of internal contrition.

[93] Greg. Mag. Comment. in 7 Psal. Pœn. tom. iii. col. 369, &c.

§. 6. There are no proper Lessons appointed for this day, which I presume proceeded from an omission of the compilers. No Lessons appointed.

SECT. XII.—*Of the Sundays in Lent.*

THOUGH the Church allows us to interrupt our fasts on the *Sundays in Lent*, by reason of the eminency of those days; yet, lest the pleasantness of those intervals should entice us to a discontinuance of our mortification and abstinence in the returning week-days, when we ought to renew it with the greater zeal, she takes care to remind us of the duties we have undertaken, and therefore in the Epistles (which were continued from the old Missals) sets before us the obligations we lie under of returning to our acts of self-denial and humiliation. But because all this without charity is nothing worth, the Gospels (which are of the same antiquity) are designed to excite us to the exercise of that great duty in all its branches, by proposing to us the example of our great Lord and Master, the blessed Jesus, who not only fasted and withstood the greatest temptations of doing evil in his own person,[94] but went about seeking opportunities of doing good to others; healing the sick,[95] feeding the hungry,[96] blessing those that cursed him,[97] and doing good to those that despitefully used him:[98] in all which actions we are, at this time especially, bound to imitate him. The Collects, as well as the Epistles and Gospels, for all these Sundays, are the same that we meet with in the old offices, excepting that the first was made new at the Reformation, and the last is, in the Liturgy of St. Ambrose, appointed for Good-Friday. The Collects, Epistles, and Gospels.

§. 2. The Sundays in Lent are by our own Church, as well as the Greek, generally termed by their number, being called the *first*, *second*, and *third Sunday*, &c. in Lent; but the three last are sometimes distinguished by particular names of their own: the fourth, for instance, is with us generally called *Midlent-Sunday*: though bishop Sparrow, and some others, term it *Dominica Refectionis*, *the Sunday of Refreshment*: the reason of which, I suppose, is the Gospel for the day, which treats of our Saviour's miraculously feeding five thousand; or else perhaps the first Lesson in the morning, which gives us the story of Joseph's entertaining his brethren. Sundays in Lent, how named. Midlent-Sunday.

[94] Gospel for the first Sunday in Lent. [95] For the second. [96] For the third. [97] For the fourth. [98] For the fifth.

The probable rise of Midlenting or Mothering.

And the appointment of these Scriptures upon this day might probably give the first rise to a custom still retained in many parts of England, and well known by the name of *Midlenting* or *Mothering*.

Passion-Sunday.

The fifth Sunday in Lent is, by the Latins especially, often called *Passion-Sunday*; though I think that would be a more proper name for the Sunday following: but the reason, I suppose, why that title is thrown back to this, is because the *Sunday next before Easter* is

Palm-Sunday.

generally called *Palm-Sunday*, in commemoration of our Saviour's triumphal entry into Jerusalem, when the multitude that attended him strewed palm-branches in his way:[99] in remembrance of which palms were used to be borne here with us upon this day till the second year of king Edward VI.[100]

SECT. XIII.—*Of the Passion-Week.*

Passion-Week.

THE following week was by some looked upon as a distinct time of fasting from the foregoing Lent, and as instituted upon different accounts: that being observed in imitation of our Saviour's fasting, &c., as has been already observed; this in commemoration of his sufferings and passion, which were then completed.[1] But by others it was only accounted a continuation of the same fast in a stricter degree: it being generally called the *great week*,[2] not because it had more hours or days in it than any other week, but because in this week was transacted an affair of the greatest importance to the happiness of man, and actions truly great were performed to secure his salvation: death was conquered, the devil's tyranny was abolished, the partition-wall betwixt Jew and Gentile was broken down, and God and man were reconciled.[3] It was also called the *holy-week*, from

Why called holy-week, and how formerly observed.

those devout exercises which Christians employed themselves in upon this occasion. They applied themselves to prayer, both in public and private, to hearing and reading God's holy word, and exercising a most solemn repentance for those sins which crucified the Lord of life. They observed the whole week with great strictness of

[99] Isid. Hispal. de Offic. Eccl. lib. 1, cap. 27. [100] Collier's History, vol. ii. p. 241.
[1] Anastasius Antiochenus (qui vivit 655) in Coteleri Notis in Const. Apostol. l. 5, c. 13, tom. i. p. 316, edit. Cleric. Antw. 1698, et Matthæus Monachus ibid. [2] Vide Vales. in Euseb. l. 5, c. 24, p. 247, col. 2, edit. Reading. [3] Chrys. Hom. 30, in Gen. xi. 1 tom. i. p. 235.

fasting and humiliation; some fasting three days together; some four; and others, who could bear it, the whole six; beginning on Monday morning, and not eating any thing again till cock-crowing on the Sunday morning following. And several of the Christian emperors, to shew what veneration they had for this holy season, caused all lawsuits to cease, and tribunal doors to be shut, and prisoners to be set free;[4] thereby imitating their great Lord and Master, who by his death at this time delivered us from the prison and chains of sin.

How observed by the Church of England.

§. 2. The Church of England uses all the means she can to retain this decent and pious custom, and hath made sufficient provision for the exercise of the devotion of her members in public; calling us every day this week to meditate upon our Lord's sufferings, and collecting in the Lessons, Epistles, and Gospels, most of those portions of Scripture that relate to this tragical subject, to increase our humiliation by the consideration of our Saviour's; to the end that with penitent hearts, and firm resolution of dying likewise to sin, we may attend our Saviour through the several stages of his bitter passion.

The Gospels.

§. 3. Our reformers did not much confine themselves to the Gospels appointed for this week by the ancient offices; but thought, as there was time enough to admit of it, it would be most regular and useful to read all the four Evangelists' accounts of our Saviour's passion, as they stand in order. To this end they have ordered St. Matthew's account on the Sunday, appointing the xxvith chapter for the second Lesson, and the xxviith, as far as relates to his crucifixion, for the Gospel.* On Monday and Tuesday is read the story as by St. Mark; on Wednesday and Thursday that by St. Luke,† and on Good-Friday the xviiith of St. John is appointed for the second Lesson, and the xixth for the Gospel.‡

Epistles.

The Epistles also that are now appointed are more suitable to the season, than those that were found in older offices.

And Collect.

As for the Collect, the same that is used on the Sunday before is appointed (as indeed a very pro-

* Both the xxvith and xxviith chapters were read for the Gospel on the *Sunday before Easter* till the last review, and the xxviith was continued to the end of the 56th verse.

† The xvth of St. Mark, which was the Gospel for Tuesday, and Luke xxiii., which was appointed for Wednesday, were in all former books read throughout.

‡ Both the chapters of St. John were appointed for the Gospel in the former books.

[4] Cod. Theod. lib. 9, tit. 35, de Quæstione 4, tom. iii. p. 252.

per one) to be used on the four days following till Good-Friday: on which day it is also appointed in the Liturgy of St. Ambrose, though in other offices it is found, as with us, upon the Sunday before.

SECT. XIV.—*Of the Thursday before Easter.*

Maundy-Thursday, why so called.

THIS day is called (*Dies Mandati*) *Mandate* or *Maundy-Thursday*, from the commandment which our Saviour gave his Apostles to commemorate the Sacrament of his Supper, which he this day instituted after the celebration of the Passover; and which was, for that reason, generally received in the evening of the day:[5] or, as others think, from that *new commandment* which he gave them to *love one another*, after he had washed their feet, in token of the love he bore to them, as is recorded in the second Lesson at morning prayer.

Epistle and Gospel.

§. 2. The Gospel for this day is suitable to the time, as treating of our Saviour's passion; but the Epistle is something different, containing an account of the institution of the Lord's Supper: the constant celebration of which on this day, both in the morning and in the evening, after supper,[6] in commemoration of its being first instituted at that time, rendered that portion of Scripture very suitable to the day.

The form of reconciling Penitents.

§. 3. On this day the Penitents, that were put out of the church upon Ash-Wednesday, were received again into the church, partly that they might be partakers of the holy Communion, and partly in remembrance of our Lord's being on this day apprehended and bound, in order to work our deliverance and freedom.[7]

The form of reconciling Penitents was this: the bishop went out to the doors of the church where the Penitents lay prostrate upon the earth, and thrice, in the name of Christ, called them, *Come, come, come, ye children, hearken to me: I will teach you the fear of the Lord.* Then, after he had prayed for them, and admonished them, he reconciled them, and brought them into the church. The Penitents thus received, trimmed their heads and beards, and laying off their penitential weeds, reclothed themselves in decent apparel.[8]

[5] Concil. Carthag. 3, Can. 29. Codex. Can. Eccles. Afric. Can. 41. [6] Concil. Carthag. 3, Can. 29. Codex Can. Eccles. Afric. Can. 41. Concil. Trul. Can. 29. Aug. ad Jan. Ep. 118. [7] Innocent. Epist. ut citat. ab Ivo, part. 15, cap. 40, et a Barchardo, l. 13, c. 18. [8] Capit. l. 7, c. 143.

§. 4. It may not be amiss to observe, that the church-doors used to be all set open on this day, to signify that penitent sinners, coming from north or south, or any part of the world, should be received to mercy, and the Church's favour.

The church-doors always set open on this day.

SECT. XV.—*Of Good-Friday.*

THIS day received its name from the blessed effects of our Saviour's sufferings, which are the ground of all our joy, and from those unspeakable good things he hath purchased for us by his death, whereby the blessed Jesus made expiation for the sins of the whole world, and, by the shedding his own blood, obtained eternal redemption for us. Among the Saxons it was called *Long-Friday*;[9] but for what reasons (excepting for the long fastings and offices they then used) does not appear.

Why so called.

§. 2. The Commemoration of our Saviour's sufferings hath been kept from the very first age of Christianity,[10] and was always observed as a day of the strictest fasting and humiliation; not that the grief and affliction they then expressed did arise from the loss they sustained, but from a sense of the guilt of the sins of the whole world, which drew upon our blessed Redeemer that painful and shameful death of the Cross.

Why observed as a fast.

§. 3. The Gospel for this day (besides its coming in course) is properly taken out of St. John rather than any other Evangelist, because he was the only one that was present at the passion, and stood by the cross while others fled: and therefore, the passion being as it were represented before our eyes, his testimony is read who saw it himself, and from whose example we may learn not to be ashamed or afraid of the cross of Christ.[11]—

The Gospel, why taken out of Saint John.

The Epistle proves from the insufficiency of the Jewish sacrifices, that they only typified a more sufficient one, which the Son of God did as on this day offer up, and by one oblation of himself then made upon the cross, completed all the other sacrifices, (which were only shadows of this,) and made full satisfaction for the sins of the whole world. In imitation of which Divine and infinite love, the Church endeavours to shew her charity to be

The Epistle.

The Collect.

[9] See the thirty-seventh Canon of Elfric in Mr. Johnson's Ecclesiastical Laws, A. D. 957. [10] Euseb. Hist. Eccl. lib. 2, cap. 17, p. 57, B. Apost. Const. l. 5, c. 13.
[11] Rupertus de Officiis Divinis, l. 6, c. 8.

boundless and unlimited, by praying in one of the proper Collects, that the effects of Christ's death may be as universal as the design of it, viz. that it may tend to the salvation of all, *Jews*, *Turks*, *Infidels*, and *Heretics*.*

The Psalms.

§. 4. How suitable the proper psalms are to the day, is obvious to any one that reads them with a due attention: they were all composed by David in times of the greatest calamity and distress, and do most of them belong mystically to the crucifixion of our Saviour; especially the twenty-second, which is the first for the morning, which was in several passages literally fulfilled by his sufferings, and either part of it, or all, recited by him upon the cross.[12] And for that reason (as St. Austin tells us)[13] was always used upon that day by the African Church.

The Lessons.

§. 5. The first Lesson for the morning is Genesis xxii., containing an account of Abraham's readiness to offer up his son; thereby typifying that perfect oblation which was this day made by the Son of God: which was thought so proper a Lesson for this occasion, that the Church used it upon this day in St. Austin's time.[14] The second Lesson is St. John xviii., which needs no explanation. The first Lesson for the evening[15] contains a clear prophecy of the passion of Christ, and of the benefits which the Church thereby receives. The second Lesson[16] exhorts us to patience under afflictions, from the example of Christ, who suffered so much for us.

SECT. XVI.—*Of Easter-eve.*

How observed in the primitive Church.

THIS Eve was in the ancient Church celebrated with more than ordinary devotions, with solemn watchings, with multitudes of lighted torches both in their churches and their own private houses, and with a general resort and confluence of all ranks of people.[17] At Constantinople it was observed with most magnificent illuminations, not only within the Church, but without. All over the city lighted torches were set up, or rather pillars of wax, which gloriously turned the night into day.[18] All which was designed as a forerunner of that great light, even the

* In the first Common Prayer Book of king Edward, the first of the Collects for this day is appointed to be used at matins only; the other two at the Communion.

[12] See Matt. xxvii. 35, 43, 46. [13] Aug. in Psalm. xxi. in Præfat. Serm. 2.
[14] August. Serm. de Temp. 71. [15] Isaiah liii. [16] 1 Peter ii. [17] Greg. Naz. Orat. 42, tom. i. p. 676, D. [18] Euseb. Vit. Const. lib. 4, cap. 22, p. 536, A. B.

Sun of Righteousness, which the next day arose upon the world.

As the day was kept as a strict fast, so the vigil continued at least till midnight, the congregation not being dismissed till that time;[19] it being a tradition of the Church, that our Saviour rose a little after midnight: but in the East the vigil lasted till cock-crowing; the time being spent in reading the Law and the Prophets, in expounding the holy Scriptures, and in baptizing the catechumens.[20]

How observed by the Church of England.

§. 2. Such decent solemnities would in these days be looked upon as popish and antichristian: for which reason, since they are only indifferent (though innocent) ceremonies, the Church of England hath laid them aside: but for the exercise of the devotions of her true sons, she retains as much of the primitive discipline as she can; advising us to fast in private, and calling us together in public, to meditate upon our Saviour's death, burial, and descent into hell: which article of our faith the public service of the Church this day confirms, the Gospel treating of Christ's body lying in the grave, the Epistle of his soul's descent into hell. It is true, the Epistle is by some people otherwise interpreted: but the other parts of it are, notwithstanding, very proper for Easter-eve; the former part of it exciting us to *suffer* cheerfully, even though *for well doing*, after the example of Christ, who, as at this time, had once suffered for sins, the just for the unjust; the latter part shewing us the end and efficacy of baptism, which was always, in the primitive Church, administered to the catechumens on this day.

The Epistle and Gospel.

The Collect.

§. 3. Till the Scotch Liturgy was compiled, there was no particular Collect for this day; those for Good-Friday, I suppose, were repeated: and that which was appointed in the Scotch Liturgy was different from our present one, which I shall therefore give the reader below.*

SECT. XVII.—*Of Easter-day.*

Easter-day.

HAVING now, as it were, with the Apostles and first believers, stood mournfully by the cross on

* O most gracious God, look upon us in mercy, and grant that as we are baptized into the death of thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ; so by our true and hearty repentance all our sins may be buried with him, and we not fear the grave: that as Christ was raised up from the dead by the glory of thee, O Father, so we also may walk in newness of life, but our sins never be able to rise in judgment against us, and that for the merit of Jesus Christ, that died, was buried, and rose again for us. Amen.

[19] Const. Apost. lib. 5, cap. 18. [20] Const. Apost. lib. 5, cap. 14, 17, 18.

Good-Friday, and on the day following been again overwhelmed with grief, for the loss of the Bridegroom; the Church this day, upon the first notice of his resurrection from the grave, calls upon us, with a becoming and holy transport, *to turn our heaviness into joy, to put off our sackcloth, and gird ourselves with gladness.*

When first observed, and why so called.

§. 2. That in and from the times of the Apostles, there has been always observed an anniversary festival in memory of Christ's resurrection, (which from the old Saxon word *oster*, signifying *to rise*, we call *Easter-day*, or the *day of the resurrection*; or, as others think, from one of the Saxon goddesses called *Easter*, which they always worshipped at this time of the year,) no man can doubt, that hath any insight into the affairs of the ancient Church: in those purer times, the only dispute being not about the thing, but the particular time when the festival was to be kept. But of this I have said enough before.[21]

The anthems instead of the Venite Exultemus, why appointed.

§. 3. As for the manner of observing it, we find that it was always accounted the *queen*, or *highest of festivals*, and celebrated with the greatest solemnity.[22] In the primitive times the Christians of all Churches on this day used this morning salutation, *Christ is risen*; to which those who were saluted answered, *Christ is risen indeed*; or else thus, *and hath appeared unto Simon*;[23] a custom still retained in the Greek Church.[24] And our Church, supposing us as eager of the joyful news as they were, is loath to withhold from us long the pleasure of expressing it; and therefore, as soon as the Absolution is pronounced, and we are thereby rendered fit for rejoicing, she begins her office of praise with anthems proper to the day, encouraging her members to call upon one another *to keep the feast: for that Christ our Passover is sacrificed for us, and is also risen from the dead, and become the first-fruits of them that slept*, &c.*

* The first of these sentences was added at the last review: the second (which was the first in king Edward's first Common Prayer) was concluded with two Allelujahs, and the next with one. After which was inserted as follows:

"*The Priest.* Shew forth to all nations the glory of God.
"*The Answer.* And among all people his wonderful works.
"Let us pray.

"O God, who for our redemption didst give thine only-begotten Son to the death of the cross; and, by his glorious resurrection, hast delivered us from the power of our enemy; grant us so to die daily from sin, that we may evermore live with him in the joy of his Resurrection, through the same Christ our Lord. Amen."

[21] See page 36, &c. [22] Greg. Naz. Orat. 42, tom. i. p. 676, C. [23] Luke xxiv. 34.
[24] Dr. Smith's Account of the Greek Church, p. 32.

§. 4. The Psalms for the morning are Psalm ii. lvii. cxi. The first of which was composed by David, upon his being triumphantly settled in his kingdom, after some short opposition made by his enemies: but it is also (as the Jews themselves confess) a prophetical representation of Christ's inauguration to his regal and sacerdotal offices; who after he had been violently opposed, and even crucified by his adversaries, was raised from the dead, by the power of his Father, and exalted to those great offices in the successful exercise whereof our salvation consists. The lviith Psalm was occasioned by David's being delivered from Saul, by whom he was pursued after he had been so merciful to him in the cave, when he had it in his power to destroy him; and, in a mystical sense, contains Christ's triumph over death and hell. The last Psalm for the morning is a thanksgiving to God for all the marvellous works of our redemption, of which the resurrection of Christ is the chief; and therefore, though the Psalm does not peculiarly belong to the day, yet it is very suitable to the business of it. The Psalms.

The Psalms for evening prayer are cxiii. cxiv. cxviii. The cxiiith was designed to set forth, in several particulars, the admirable providence of God, which being never more discernible than in the great work of our redemption, this Psalm can never be more seasonably recited. The cxivth Psalm is a thanksgiving for the deliverance of Israel out of Egypt; which being a type of our deliverance from death and hell, makes this Psalm very proper for this day. The last Psalm for the day is the cxviiith, which is supposed to have been composed at first upon account of the undisturbed peace of David's kingdom, after the ark was brought into Jerusalem: but it was secondarily intended for our Saviour's resurrection, to which we find it applied both by St. Matthew and St. Luke.[25]

§. 5. The first Lessons for the morning and evening service contain an account of the Passover, and of the Israelites' deliverance out of Egypt, both very suitable to the day: for by their Passover Christ our Passover was prefigured; and the deliverance of the Israelites out of Egypt, and the drowning of Pharaoh and his host in the Red Sea, was a type of our deliverance from death and sin, which is done away by our being baptized with water into Christ. The Gospel and the second Lesson for the The Lessons, Collect, Epistle, and Gospel.

[25] Matt. xxi. 42. Acts iv. 11.

evening give us the full evidence of Christ's resurrection; and the Epistle and the second Lesson for the morning teach us what use we must make of it.

The Collect, Epistle, and Gospel are all very old: in the first book of king Edward they are appointed for the first communion; for I have observed,[26] that upon the great feasts they had then two communions, and a distinct service at each. For the second communion they had the same Collect which we now use upon the first Sunday after Easter. The Epistle for that service was 1 Cor. v. 6, to ver. 9; the Gospel was Mark xvi. to ver. 9.

SECT. XVIII.—*Of the Monday and Tuesday in Easter-Week.*

The whole time between Easter and Whitsuntide formerly observed.

AMONG the primitive Christians this *queen of feasts*, as those Fathers called it, was so highly esteemed, that it was solemnized fifty days together, even from Easter to Whitsuntide;[27] and this so strictly in the Spanish Church, that even the rogations were amongst them deferred by an order of council till Whitsuntide was over;[28] during which whole time baptism was conferred, all fasts were suspended and counted unlawful, they prayed standing, (as they were wont to do every Lord's day in token of joy,) thereby making every one of those days in a manner equal to Sunday. As devotion abated, this feast was shortened; yet long after Tertullian, even to Gratian's time and downwards, the whole weeks of Easter and Whitsuntide were reckoned as holy-days.[29] And in our own Church, though she hath appointed Epistles and Gospels for the Monday and Tuesday only of this week, which contain full evidences of our Saviour's resurrection;* yet she makes provision for the solemn observation of the whole week, by appointing a preface suitable to the season for eight days together in the office of Communion.

Easter-week, why so solemnly observed.

§. 2. The occasion of this week's solemnity was principally intended for the expressing our joy for our Lord's resurrection. But among the ancients there was another peculiar reason for the more solemn

* Formerly three days were appointed as holy-days at Easter and Whitsuntide,[30] and then it is probable that the Wednesday also had an Epistle and Gospel.

[26] Page 206. [27] Tert. de Jejuniis, c. 14, p. 552, B. De Idol. c. 14, p. 94, B. De Coron. Mil. c. 3, p. 102, A. Concil. Nicen. Can. 20, tom. ii. col. 37. [28] Concil. Gerundens, Can. 2. Strabo de Offic. Eccles. l. 2, c. 34. [29] Gratian de Consecrat. Dist. 3, c. 1, p. 2421. [30] See archbishop Islep's Constitution in Mr. Johnson's Ecclesiastical Laws, and his note upon it, A. D. 1362, 3.

observation of this week. For except in cases of necessity they administered baptism at no other times than Easter and Whitsuntide; at Easter, in memory of Christ's death and resurrection, (correspondent to which are the two parts of the Christian life represented in baptism, *dying unto sin*, and *rising again unto newness of life*;) and at Whitsuntide, in memory of the Apostles being then *baptized with the Holy Ghost and with fire*, and of their having themselves at that time baptized three thousand souls;[31] this communication of the Holy Ghost to the Apostles being in some measure represented and conveyed by baptism. After these times, they made it part of their festivity the week following to congratulate the access of a new Christian progeny: the new-baptized coming each day to church in white garments, with lights before them, in token that they had now laid aside their works of darkness, and were become the children of light, and had made a resolution to lead a new, innocent, and unspotted life.[32] At church, thanksgivings and prayers were made for them, and those that were at years of discretion (for in those times many such came in from heathenism) were instructed in the principles and ways of Christianity: but afterwards, when most of the baptized were infants, and so not capable of such solemnities, this custom was altered, and baptism administered at all times of the year, as at the beginning of Christianity.

The Lessons.

§. 3. The first Lesson for Monday morning[33] treats about God's sending the Israelites manna or bread from heaven, which was a type of our blessed Saviour, who was the *bread of life that came down from heaven, of which whosoever eateth hath eternal life*. The first Lesson for Monday evening[34] contains the history of the vanquishing the Amalekites, by the holding up of Moses's hands; by which posture he put himself into the form of a cross, and exactly typified the victory which Christians obtain over their spiritual enemies by the cross of Christ. The smiting also of the rock, out of which came water, (mentioned in the same chapter,) is another type of our Saviour: for as the water flowing from the rock quenched the Israelites' thirst; so our Saviour, smitten upon the cross, gave forth that living water, *of which whosoever drinketh shall never thirst*.[35] The second Lessons[36] contain full testimonies of our Saviour's resurrection; that for

[31] Acts ii. 41. [32] Ambr. de Initiand. c. 7, tom. iv. col. 348. [33] Exod. xvi. [34] Exod. xvii. [35] 1 Cor. x. 4. [35] Matt. xxviii. and Acts iii.

the morning giving an historical account of it; the other for the evening containing a relation of a lame man being restored to his feet, through faith in the name of Christ, which was an undeniable proof that he was then alive.

The first Lesson for Tuesday morning[37] contains the Ten Commandments, which were communicated to the people from God by the ministry of Moses, wherein he prefigured our Saviour, who was to be a prophet like unto him,[38] i. e. who was to bring down a new law from heaven, and more perfectly to reveal the divine will to man. The first Lesson at evening[39] represents Moses interceding with God for the children of Israel, for whom (rather than God should impute to them their sins) he desired even to die, and be *blotted out of the book of life;* thereby also typifying Christ, who *died and was made a curse for us.*[40] The second Lesson for the morning[41] is a further evidence of our Saviour's resurrection; and that for the evening[42] proves, by his resurrection, the necessity of ours.

The Epistles and Gospels for these days are the same as in old offices; but the Collect for Tuesday, till the last review, was what we now use on the Sunday after, being the same that in king Edward's first Common Prayer Book was appointed for the second communion on Easter-day.

SECT. XIX.—*Of the Sundays after Easter.*

Low Sunday, why so called.

UPON the octave, or first Sunday after Easter-day, it was a custom of the ancients to repeat some part of the solemnity which was used upon Easter-day: from whence this Sunday took the name of Low-Sunday, being celebrated as a feast, though of a lower degree than Easter-day itself. In Latin it is called

Why called Dominica in Albis.

Dominica in Albis, or rather *post Albas*, (sc. *depositas*,) as some ritualists call it, i. e. *the Sunday of putting off the chrysoms;* because those that were baptized on Easter-eve, on this day laid aside those white robes or chrysoms which were put upon them at their baptism, and which were now laid up in the churches, that they might be produced as evidences against them, if they should afterwards violate or deny that faith which they had professed in their baptism. And we may still observe, that the Epistle seems to be the remains of such a solemnity; for it contains

[37] Exod. xx. [38] Deut. xviii. 15. [39] Exod. xxxii. [40] Gal. iii. 13. [41] Luke xxiv. to ver. 13. [42] 1 Cor. xv.

an exhortation to new-baptized persons, that are *born of God*, to labour to *overcome the world*, which at their baptism they had resolved to do. Both that and the Gospel were used very anciently upon this day: but in all the old books, except the first of king Edward, the Collect for Easter-day was ordered to be repeated; but at the last review, the Collect prescribed in that first book was again inserted on this day; it being the same which was originally appointed for the second communion on Easter-day itself, which was then also used on the Tuesday following.

The Collects, Epistles, and Gospels for the other Sundays after Easter.

§. 2. As for the other *Sundays after Easter*, we have already observed, that they were all spent in joyful commemorations of our Saviour's resurrection, and the promise of the Comforter; and accordingly we find, that both those grand occasions of joy and exultation are the principal subjects of all the Gospels from Easter to Whitsuntide. But, lest our joy should grow presumptuous and luxuriant, (joy being always apt to exceed,) the Epistles for the same time exhort us to the practice of such duties as are answerable to the profession of Christians; admonishing us to *believe in Christ*, to *rise from the death of sin*, to be *penitent*, *loving*, *meek*, *charitable*, &c., having our blessed Lord himself for our example, and the promise of his Spirit for our strength, comfort, and guide.

The Collect for the second Sunday was made new in 1549, and that for the fourth was corrected in the beginning of it* at the last review: but the other Collects are very old, as are all the Epistles and Gospels, which are very suitable to the season; especially the Gospel for the fifth Sunday, which seems to be allotted to that day upon two accounts: first, because it foretells our Saviour's ascension, which the Church commemorates on the Thursday following; and, secondly, because it is applicable to the rogations, which were performed on the three following days, of which therefore we shall subjoin a short account.

SECT. XX.—*Of the Rogation-days.*

Rogation-days, when first observed.

ABOUT the middle of the fifth century, Mamercus, bishop of Vienne, upon the prospect of some particular calamities that threatened his

* The old beginning of it was, "Almighty God, which dost make the minds of all faithful men to be of one will, Grant," &c.

diocese, appointed that extraordinary prayers and supplications should be offered up with fasting to God, for averting those impendent evils, upon the three days immediately preceding the day of our Lord's ascension;[43] from which supplications (which the Greeks call *Litanies*, but the Latins *Rogations*) these days have ever since been called *Rogation-days*. For some few years after, this example was followed by Sidonius, bishop of Clermont, (though he indeed hints that Mamercus was rather the restorer than the inventor of the rogations,[44]) and in the beginning of the sixth century the first Council of Orleans appointed that they should be yearly observed.[45]

And why so called.

§. 2. In these fasts the Church had a regard, not only to prepare our minds to celebrate our Saviour's ascension after a devout manner; but also, by fervent prayer and humiliation to appease God's wrath, and deprecate his displeasure, that so he might avert those judgments which the sins of the nation deserved; that he might be pleased to bless the fruits with which the earth is at this time covered, and not pour upon us those scourges of his wrath, pestilence and war, which ordinarily begin in this season.

The design of their institution.

§. 3. At the Reformation, when all processions were abolished by reason of the abuse of them, yet for retaining the *perambulation of the circuits of parishes*, it was ordered, "That the people shall once a year at the time accustomed, with the Curate and substantial men of the parish, walk about the parishes, as they were accustomed, and at their return to church make their common prayers. Provided that the Curate, in the said common perambulations, used heretofore in the days of rogations, at certain convenient places, shall admonish the people to give thanks to God, in the beholding of God's benefits, for the increase and abundance of his fruits upon the face of the earth, with the saying of the hundred and fourth Psalm, *Benedic, anima mea*, &c. At which time also the same Minister shall inculcate this and such like sentences, *Cursed be he which translateth the bounds and doles of his neighbour*, or such other order of prayer as shall be hereafter appointed."[46] No

Why continued at the Reformation.

[43] Aviti archiepiscopi Vien. A. D. 490. Homil. in Bibliotheca SS. Patrum. Paris. 1575, tom. vii. col. 338. And from him Greg. Turonensis, l. 2, c. 34, apud Histor. Francor. Scriptores, Paris. 1636. tom. i. p. 289, A. [44] Sidon. l. 5, Ep. 14. [45] Concil. Aurel. Can. 27, tom. iv. col. 1408, D. E. [46] Injunction of queen Elizabeth, 18, 19, in bishop Sparrow's Collection, p. 73.

such prayers indeed have been since published; but there is a homily appointed, which is divided into four parts; the three first to be used upon the Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday, and the fourth upon the day when the parish make their procession.

SECT. XXI.—*Of Ascension-day.*

Ascension-day.

FORTY days after his resurrection, our blessed Saviour publicly ascended with our human nature into heaven, and presented it to God, who placed it at his own right hand, and by the reception of those first-fruits sanctified the whole race of mankind. As a thankful acknowledgment of which great and mysterious act of our redemption, the Church hath from the beginning of Christianity set apart this day for its commemoration;[47] and for the greater solemnity of it, our Church in particular hath selected such peculiar offices as are suitable to the occasion; as may be seen by a short view of the particulars.

The Psalms.

§. 2. Instead of the ordinary Psalms for the morning, are appointed the viiith, xvth, xxist; and for the afternoon, the xxivth, xlviith, cviiith. The viiith Psalm was at first designed by David for the magnifying God for his wonderful creation of the world, and for his goodness to mankind, in appointing him to be Lord of so great a work: but in a prophetical sense, it sets forth his more admirable mercy to men, in exalting our human nature above all creatures in the world, which was eminently completed in our Saviour's assumption of the flesh, and ascending with it to heaven, and reigning in it there. The xvth Psalm shews how justly our Saviour *ascended the holy hill*, the highest heavens, of which Mount Sion was a type: since he was the only person that had all the qualifications which that Psalm mentions, and which we must endeavour to attain, if ever we desire to follow him to those blessed mansions. The xxist, or last Psalm for the morning, was plainly fulfilled in our Saviour's ascension, when *he put all his enemies to flight*, and was *exalted in his own strength*, when he entered into everlasting felicity, and had *a crown of pure gold set upon his head.*

The first Psalm for the evening service is the xxivth, composed by David upon the bringing the ark into the house which he had prepared for it in Mount Sion. And as that

[47] St. Chrysos. in Diem, Orat. 87, tom. v. p. 595. Const. Apost. l. 5, c. 18.

was a type of Christ's ascension into heaven, so is this Psalm a prophecy of that exaltation likewise, and alludes so very plainly to it, that Theodore says, it was actually sung at his ascension by a choir of angels that attended him.[48] The next is the xlviith, which was an exhortation to the Jews to bless God for his power and mercy in subduing the heathen nations about them; but is mystically applied to the Christian Church, which it exhorts to rejoice and sing praise, because *God is gone up with a merry noise, and the Lord with the sound of the trump:* who being now *very high exalted, defends his Church as with a shield; subduing his enemies, and joining the princes of the people to his inheritance.* In the cviiith Psalm, the prophet awakens himself and his instruments of music to *give thanks to God among the people, for setting himself above the heavens, and his glory above all the earth;* which was most literally fulfilled this day in his ascension into heaven, and sitting down at the right hand of God.

The Lessons.

§. 3. In the first Lesson for the morning[49] is recorded Moses's going up to the mount to receive the law from God to deliver it to the Jews, which was the type of our Saviour's ascension into heaven, to send down a new law, the law of faith. The first Lesson at evening[50] contains the history of Elijah's being taken up into heaven, and of his conferring at that time a double portion of his spirit on Elisha; which exactly prefigured our Saviour, who, after he was ascended, sent down the fulness of his Spirit upon his Apostles and disciples. The second Lessons[51] are plainly suitable to the day; as are also the Collect, Epistle, and Gospel, which are the same as we meet with in the oldest offices.

Collect, Epistle, and Gospel.

SECT. XXII.—*Of the Sunday after Ascension-day.*

Expectation-week, why so called.

DURING this week the Apostles continued in earnest prayer and expectation of the Comforter, whom our Saviour had promised to send them, from whence it is sometimes called *Expectation-week.* The Collect for this day was a little altered at the Reformation, but the Epistle and Gospel are the same that were used of old. The Gospel contains the promise of the Comforter, who is the Spirit of

The Collect, Epistle, and Gospel.

[48] In Psalm xxiv. [49] Deut. x. [50] 2 Kings ii.
[51] Luke xxiv. 44, and Eph. iv. to ver. 17.

truth; and the Epistle exhorts every one to make such use of those gifts which the Holy Spirit shall bestow upon them, as becomes good stewards of the manifold grace of God.

SECT. XXIII.—*Of Whit-Sunday.*

Whit-Sunday an ancient festival.

THE feast of Pentecost was of great eminency among the Jews, in memory of the Law's being delivered on Mount Sinai at that time; and of no less note among the Christians, for the Holy Ghost's descending the very same day upon the Apostles and other Christians in the visible appearance of fiery tongues, and of those miraculous powers that were then conferred upon them. It was observed with the same respect to Easter, as the Jewish Pentecost was to their Passover, viz. (as the word imports) just fifty days afterwards. Some conclude, from St. Paul's earnest desire of being at Jerusalem at this time,[52] that the observation of it as a Christian festival is as old as the Apostles: but whatever St. Paul's design was, we are assured that it hath been universally observed from the very first ages of Christianity.[53]

Why so called.

§. 2. It was styled *Whit-Sunday*, partly because of those vast diffusions of light and knowledge which were then shed upon the Apostles in order to the enlightening of the world; but principally from the white garments, which they that were baptized at this time put on, of which we have already given a particular account.[54] Though Mr. Hamon L'Estrange conjectures that it is derived from the French word *huict*, which signifies *eight*, and then Whit-Sunday will be *Huict-Sunday*, i. e. the *Eighth Sunday*, viz. from Easter: and to make his opinion the more probable, he observes, that the octave of any feast is in the Latin called *utas*, which he derives from the French word *huictas*.[55] In a Latin letter I have by me of the famous Gerard Langbain, I find another account of the original of this word, which he says he met with accidentally in a Bodleian Manuscript. He observes from thence, that it was a custom among our ancestors upon this day, to give all the milk of their ewes and kine to the poor for the love of God, in order to qualify themselves to receive the gift of the Holy Ghost: which milk being then

[52] Acts xx. 16. [53] Vid. Just. Mart. Quæst. et Respons. ad Orthodox. 115. Tert. de Idol. c. 14, p. 94, B. De Coron. Mil. c. 3, p. 102, A. Orig. adv. Cels. l. 8, par. 2, p. 522, L. in Numer. 31. Hom. 25, par. 1, p. 169, A. [54] Sect. xviii. §. 2, and sect. xix. §. 1.
[55] See his Annotations upon Whit-Sunday, in his Alliance of Divine Offices.

(as it is still in some counties) called *white meat*, &c., therefore this day from that custom took the name of Whit-Sunday.*

The Psalms.

§. 3. The proper Psalms for the morning service are Psalms xlviii. lxviii. The xlviiith is an hymn in honour of Jerusalem, as particularly chosen for the place of God's worship, and for that reason defended by his more immediate care from all invasions of enemies. It is also a form of thanksgiving to God for his mercy, in permitting men to meet in his solemn service, and so in the mystical sense is an acknowledgment of his glorious mercies afforded to the Church of Christians under the Gospel, and consequently very suitable to this day, whereon we commemorate the greatest mercy that ever was vouchsafed to any Church in the world, viz. the immediate inspiration of the Apostles by the Holy Ghost, at which *all that saw it marvelled;* and though *many that were astonished were cast down*, yet through the assistance of the same Spirit the Church was that very day augmented by the access of three thousand souls.[56] The other Psalm for the morning is the lxviiith, sung at first in commemoration of the great deliverance afforded to the Israelites, and of the judgments inflicted on their enemies; and contains a prophetical description of the ascension of Christ, who *went up on high, and led captivity captive, and received gifts for men;* which benefits he soon after, as on this day, poured upon the Apostles, at which time

* The letter I have is in manuscript, but seems to be a transcript of a printed letter of Langbain, dated from Oxford on Whitsun-eve, 1650, and writ in answer to a friend that had inquired of him the original of the word Whitsuntide; in which, after he had hinted at some other opinions, he gives the above-mentioned account in the following words: "Sed cum ex variantibus Vulgi Sermonibus nihil certi hac in re pronunciari possit, necesse est μένωμεν ὅπερ ἐσμέν; atque adhuc liberum cuivis conjectandi relinquatur arbitrium. Licebit ideo quod (dum in *Bodleianâ* nostrâ omne genus Manuscriptos Codices pervolvo) casu mihi obvenerit, hic subjicere. Extat illic MS. hoc titulo, de *Solennitatibus Sanctorum feriandis*. Author est anonymus, qui de Festo Pentecostes agens, hæc habet: 'Judæi quatuor præcipua celebrant Solemnia; Pascha, Pentecosten, Scenopegiam, Encænia. Nos autem duo de illis celebramus, Pascha et Pentecosten, sed aliâ ratione. Illi celebrant Pentecosten, quia tunc Legem perceperunt: nos autem ideo, quia tunc Spiritus Sanctus missus est Discipulis. Illi susceperunt Tabulis lapideis extrinsecus scripta ad designandam eorum duritiem, quoniam usque spiritualem intellectum literæ non pertingebant: Sed Spiritus Sanctus datus est septuaginta duobus Discipulis in corde, digito Dei spiritualem intellectum intus dedicante. Ideoque Dies intellectus dicitur *Witsonenday*, vel item *Vitsonenday;* quia Prædecessores nostri omne Lac Ovium et Vaccarum suarum solebant dare pauperibus illo die, pro Dei amore, ut puriores efficerentur ad recipiendum donum Spiritûs Sancti.' Quorum, fere ad Verbum, consentit Manuscriptus alter hoc titulo, *Doctrina quomodo Curatus possit Sanctorum vitas per annum populo denunciare.* Et certe quod de Lacte Vaccarum refert, illud percognitum habeo in agro *Hamtoniensi* (an et alibi nescio) decimas Lacticiniorum venire vulgo sub hoc nomine, *The Whites of Kine;* apud *Leicestrenses* etiam Lacticinia vulgariter dicuntur *Whitemeat*."

[56] Acts ii. 41.

the earth shook, and the heavens dropped at the presence of God; who sent (as it were) *a gracious rain upon his inheritance, and refreshed it when it was weary; and when the Lord gave the word, great was the company of the preachers.*

The Psalms for the evening are Psalms civ. cxlv. The civth is an elegant and pious meditation on the power and wisdom of God, in making and preserving all the creatures of the world. It is used on this day, because some verses are very applicable to the subject of it: for we herein celebrate the miraculous works of the Holy Ghost, who made the *clouds his chariot, and walked upon the wings of the wind: the earth*, at first, *trembled at the look of him;* but it was afterwards *renewed by his breath, and filled with the fruits of his works.* The cxlvth Psalm is a form of solemn thanksgiving to God, descanting on all his glorious attributes, very proper for this day, whereon we *declare the power* of the third Person of the glorious Trinity, and *talk of his worship, his glory, his praise and wondrous works; we speak of the might of his marvellous acts, and tell of his greatness.*

The Lessons, Epistle, and Gospel.

§. 4. The first Lesson for the morning[57] contains the law of the Jewish Pentecost, or *Feast of Weeks*, which was a type of ours: for as the law was at this time given to the Jews from Mount Sinai, so also the Christians upon this day received the new evangelical law from heaven, by the administration of the Holy Ghost. The first Lesson for the evening[58] is a prophecy of the conversion of the Gentiles to the kingdom of Christ, through the inspiration of the Apostles by the Spirit of God; the completion of which prophecy is recorded in both the second Lessons,[59] but especially in the portion of Scripture for the Epistle, which contains a particular description of the first wonderful descent of the Holy Ghost upon the Apostles, who were *assembled together in one place*, in expectation of that blessed Spirit, according to the promise of our Saviour mentioned in the Gospel, which, together with the Collect and Epistle, were taken from the old Liturgies.

SECT. XXIV.—*Of the Monday and Tuesday in Whitsun-week.*

Whitsun-week, how formerly observed.

THE Whitsun-week was not entirely festival like that of Easter; the Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday being observed as fasts, and days of

[57] Deut. xvi. to ver. 18. [58] Isaiah xi. [59] Acts x. ver. 34, and chap. xix. to ver. 21.

humiliation and supplication for a blessing upon the work of ordination, (which was usually on the next Sunday,) in imitation of the apostolical practice mentioned Acts xiii. 3.[60] But the Monday and Tuesday were observed after the same manner and for the same reasons as in the Easter-week:* so that what has been said concerning the observation of them, may suffice for these; wherefore I shall forbear all repetitions, and proceed immediately to their proper services.

The Collects, Epistles, and Gospels.

§. 2. The Collects, Epistles, and Gospels for both these days are ancient: both the Epistles are concerning the baptism of converts, (this being, as we have already noted, one of the more solemn times appointed for baptism,) and concerning their receiving of the Holy Ghost by the hands of the Apostles, (this being also a time for confirmation, which was always performed by the imposition of hands.) The Gospel for Monday seems to have been allotted for the instruction of the new-baptized; teaching them to believe in Christ, and to become the children of light. The Gospel for Tuesday seems to be appointed, as it is one of the ember or ordination weeks; the design of it being to put a difference between those who are lawfully appointed and ordained to the ministry, and those who without any commission arrogate to themselves that sacred office.

The Lessons.

§. 3. The first Lesson for Monday morning[62] is a history of the confusion of tongues at Babel, whereby the Church reminds us, that as the confusion of tongues spread idolatry through the world, and made men lose the knowledge of God and true religion; so God provided by the gift of tongues to repair the knowledge of himself, and lay the foundation of a new religion. In the first Lesson for Monday evening[63] is recorded the resting of God's Spirit upon the seventy elders of Israel, to enable them to ease Moses of part of his burden in governing that numerous people; which exactly prefigured the descent of the same Holy Spirit at this time upon the Apostles and others, to the same end, viz. that the care of all the churches might not lie upon one single person: and accordingly the second Lessons for this day[64] instruct us that these spiritual gifts, of whatever sort they be, are all given to profit withal, and therefore must

* The Wednesday was also observed formerly in England as a festival.[61]

[60] Athanas. Apolog. de Fugâ suâ, §. 6, tom. i. p. 323, C. Concil. Gerund. Can. 2, tom. iv. col. 1568, A. [61] See Mr. Johnson, as cited in pages 195, 225. [62] Gen. xi. to ver. 10. [63] Numb. xi. ver. 16. [64] 1 Cor. xii. and chap. xiv. 26.

be all made use of to edification, as to their true and proper end.

The first Lesson for Tuesday morning[65] contains the inspiration of Saul and his messengers by the Spirit of God; and that at evening[66] is a prophecy of Moses, how God would in after-times deal with the Jews upon their repentance. The morning second Lesson[67] forbids us to *quench the Spirit* of God, or to *despise the prophecies*, uttered by it: but because there are *many false prophets gone into the world*, the second Lesson for the afternoon[68] warns us not to believe all teachers who boast of the Spirit, but to try them by the rules of the catholic faith.

SECT. XXV.—*Of Trinity Sunday.*

Of how ancient date.

IN all the ancient Liturgies we find that this day was looked upon only as an octave of Pentecost; the observation of it as the feast of the Trinity being of a later date: for since the praises of the Trinity were every day celebrated in the doxology, hymns, and creeds; therefore the Church thought there was no need to set apart one particular day for that which was done on each.[69] But afterwards when the Arians, and such like heretics, were spread over the world, and had vented their blasphemies against this divine mystery, the wisdom of the Church thought it convenient, that though the blessed Trinity was daily commemorated in its public offices of devotion, yet it should be the more solemn subject of one particular day's meditation. So that from the time of pope Alexander III., if not before, the festival of the holy Trinity was observed in some Churches on the Sunday after Pentecost, in others on the Sunday next before Advent. Until in the year 1305, it was made an established feast, as it stands in our present calendar, by Benedict XIII.[70]

Why observed the Sunday after Whit-Sunday.

§. 2. The reason why this day was chosen as most seasonable for this solemnity, was because our Lord had no sooner ascended into heaven, and the Holy Ghost descended upon the Church, but there ensued the full knowledge of the glorious and incomprehensible Trinity, which before that time was not so clearly known.

[65] 1 Sam. xix. ver. 18. [66] Deut. xxx. [67] 1 Thess. v. ver. 12, to ver. 24.
[68] 1 John iv. to ver. 14. [69] Decretal. Greg. ix. l. 2, tit. 9, c. 2, col. 596. Paris. 1601.
[70] See Alexander's Decretal. l. 2, tit. 9, c. 2, as cited by Mr. Johnson in his Ecclesiastical Laws, A. D. 1268, 35. Though I suppose for 1305, Mr. Johnson meant 1405, for Benedict XIII. was not chosen pope till 1394.

The Church therefore having dedicated the foregoing solemn festivals to the honour of each several person by himself, thereby celebrating the *Unity in Trinity;* it was thought highly seasonable to conclude those solemnities, by adding to them one festival more to the honour and glory of the whole Trinity together, therein celebrating the *Trinity in Unity.* But in the Greek Church, the Monday in Whitsun-week is set apart for this purpose, the Sunday following being with them the festival of All-Saints.[71]

The Lessons.

§. 3. This mystery was not clearly delivered to the Jews, because they, being always surrounded by idolatrous nations, would have easily mistaken it for a doctrine of plurality of Gods: but yet it was not so much hidden in those times, but that any one with a spiritual eye might have discerned some glimmerings of it dispersed through the Old Testament. The first chapter in the Bible seems to set forth three Persons in the Godhead; for besides the *Spirit of God* which *moved upon the waters*, ver. 2, we find the great Creator, (at the 26th verse) consulting with others about the greatest work of his creation, the making of man, of which we may be assured the Word or Son of God was one, since *all things were made by him, and without him was not any thing made that was made.*[72] So that those two verses fully pointing out to us the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, make this a very proper Lesson for the solemnity of the day. The reason of the choice of the other first Lesson is as obvious:[73] it records the appearance of the great JEHOVAH to Abraham, whom the patriarch acknowledges to be the *Judge of all the earth;* and who therefore, by vouchsafing to appear with two others in his company, might design to represent to him the *Trinity of Persons.* But this sacred mystery is no where so plainly manifested as in the second Lesson for the morning,[74] which at one and the same time relates the baptism of the Son, the voice of the Father, and the descent of the Holy Ghost: which though they are (as appears from this chapter) three distinct Persons in number, yet the second Lesson at evening[75] shews they are but one in essence.

Epistle and Gospel.

§. 4. The Epistle and Gospel are the same that in ancient services were assigned for the octave of Whit-Sunday: the Gospel especially seems to be very proper to the season, as being the last day of the

[71] Smith's Account of the Greek Church, p. 34. [72] John i. 3. [73] Genesis xviii [74] Matthew iii. [75] 1 John v.

more solemn time of baptism; though they are neither of them improper to the day, as it is Trinity Sunday: for in both the Epistle and Gospel are mentioned the three Persons of the blessed Trinity; and that noted hymn of the angels in heaven, mentioned in the portion of Scripture appointed for the Epistle, *Holy, holy, holy, Lord God Almighty*, seems of itself to be a sufficient manifestation of three Persons, and but one God. The Collect is plainly adapted to this day, as it is Trinity Sunday; though this too is the same as in the office of Sarum.

SECT. XXVI.—*Of the Sundays from Trinity Sunday to Advent.*

The Gospels for the Sundays after Trinity.

IN the annual course of the Gospels for Sundays and holy-days, the chief matter and substance of the four Evangelists is collected in such order as the Church thinks most convenient to make the deepest impression upon the congregation. The whole time from Advent to Trinity Sunday is chiefly taken up in commemorating the principal acts of Providence in the great work of our redemption; and therefore such portions of Scripture are appointed to be read, as are thought most suitable to the several solemnities, and most likely to enlighten our understanding, and confirm our faith in the mysteries we celebrate. But from Trinity Sunday to Advent, the Gospels are not chosen as peculiarly proper to this or that Sunday, (for that could only be observed in the greater festivals,) but such passages are selected out of the Evangelists as are proper for our meditation at all times, and may singularly conduce to the making us good Christians: such as are the holy doctrine, deeds, and miracles of the blessed Jesus, who always went about doing good, and whom the Church always proposes to our imitation.

The Epistles for the Sundays after Trinity in general.

§. 2. The Epistles tend to the same end, being frequent exhortations to an uninterrupted practice of all Christian virtues: they are all of them taken out of St. Paul's Epistles, and observe the very order both of Epistles and chapters in which they stand in the New Testament, except those for the five first Sundays, that for the eighteenth, and the last for the twenty-fifth.

For the five first Sundays.

Those for the five first Sundays are all (except that for the fourth) taken out of St. John and St. Peter; for which reason they are placed first, that they might not afterwards interrupt the order of those taken out of St. Paul.

For the eighteenth Sunday.

For the variation of the Epistle for the eighteenth Sunday another reason may be given, which is this: It was an ancient custom of the Church in the Ember-weeks, to have proper services on the Wednesdays and Fridays, but especially on the Saturdays; when, after a long continuance in prayer and fasting, they performed the solemnities of the Ordination either late on Saturday evening, (which was then always looked upon as part of the Lord's day,) or else early on the morning following; for which reason, and because they might be wearied with their prayers and fasting on the Saturdays, the Sundays following had no public services, but were called *Dominicæ vacantes*, i. e. *vacant Sundays*. But afterwards, when they thought it not convenient to let a Sunday pass without any solemn service, they despatched the Ordination sooner on Saturdays, and performed the solemn service of the Church as at other times on the Sundays. But these Sundays, having no particular service of their own, for some time borrowed of some other days, till they had proper ones fixed pertinent to the occasion. So that this eighteenth Sunday after Trinity, often happening to be one of these vacant Sundays, had at the same time a particular Epistle and Gospel allotted to it, in some measure suitable to the solemnity of the time. For the Epistle hints at the necessity there is of spiritual teachers, and mentions such qualifications as are specially requisite to those that are ordained, as the being *enriched with all utterance, and in all knowledge*, and being *behind in no good gift*. The Gospel treats of our Saviour's silencing the most learned of the Jews by his questions and answers; thereby also shewing how his ministers ought to be qualified, viz. able to speak a word in due season, to give a reason of their faith, and to convince, or at least to confute, all those that are of heterodox opinions.

Vacant Sundays, whence so called.

For the twenty-fifth Sunday.

The last Sunday, whose Epistle varies from the order of the rest, is the twenty-fifth, for which the reason is manifest: for this Sunday being looked upon as a kind of preparation or forerunner to Advent, as Advent is to Christmas, an Epistle was chosen, not according to the former method, but such a one as so clearly foretold the coming of our Saviour, that it was afterwards applied to him by the common people, as appears by an instance mentioned in the Gospel for the same day; for when they saw the miracle that Jesus did, they said, *This is of a truth that Pro-*

phet that should come into the world. And it was probably for the sake of this text, that this portion of Scripture (which has before been appointed for the Gospel on the fourth Sunday in Lent) is here repeated; viz. because they thought this inference of the multitude a fit preparation for the approaching season of Advent: for which reason, in the rubric following this Gospel, we see it is ordered, (according to an old rule of Micrologus, an ancient ritualist,) that *if there are either more or fewer Sundays between Trinity Sunday and Advent, the services must be so ordered, that this last Collect, Epistle, and Gospel be always used upon the Sunday next before Advent;** i. e. if there be fewer Sundays, the overplus is to be omitted: but if there be more, the service of some of those Sundays, that were omitted after the Epiphany, are to be taken in to supply so many as are wanting; but which of those services the rubric does not say. And for that reason there is generally a diversity in the practice: some reading on those occasions the services next in course to what had been used at the Epiphany before; and others, at the same time, reading the last, or two last, accordingly as one or both of them are wanting. The last of these practices I think to be preferable: partly upon the account, that when there is an overplus of Sundays after Trinity one year, there is generally a pretty full number after Epiphany the next; so that if any of the services for the early Sundays after Epiphany are taken in to supply those that are wanting after Trinity, the same services will come in turn to be read again pretty soon: but the chief reason why I think the latter services should be used, is, because the service that is appointed for the last Sunday after Epiphany, is a more suitable preparation for the season that is approaching, and makes way for the service for the last Sunday after Trinity, as that does for the services appointed for Advent.

§. 3. All the Collects for these Sundays, together with the Epistles and Gospels, are taken

The Collects.

* There was nothing of this rubric in the Common Prayer Book of 1549. And in all the other old books, except the Scotch, it was only this: "If there be any more Sundays before Advent Sunday, to supply the same shall be taken the service of some of those Sundays that were omitted between the Epiphany and Septuagesima." To this, in the Scotch Liturgy, was added further as follows: "but the same shall follow the twenty-fourth Sunday after Trinity. And if there be fewer Sundays than twenty-five before Advent, then shall the twenty-third or twenty-fourth, or both, be omitted: so that the twenty-fifth shall never either alter or be left out, but be always used immediately before Advent-Sunday, to which the Epistle and Gospel of that do expressly relate."

out of the Sacramentary of St. Gregory, excepting that some of the Collects were a little corrected and smoothed at the last review. I do not think it necessary to trouble the reader with the variations that only amend the expression: but those that make any alteration in the sense, he may perhaps desire to have in the margin.*

SECT. XXVII.—*Of the Immovable Feasts in general.*

Why placed by themselves in the Common Prayer Book.

THESE festivals are all of them fixed to set days, and so could not be conveniently placed among those we have already treated of, because (they having all of them, except those from Christmas-day to Epiphany, a dependence upon Easter, which varies every year) they happen sometimes sooner, and sometimes later. So that if the movable and immovable had been placed together, it must of necessity have caused a confusion of the order which they ought to be placed in; for prevention of which, the fixed holy-days are placed by themselves, in the same order in which they stand in the calendar.

To what end appointed.

§. 2. They are most of them set apart in commemoration of the Apostles and first martyrs; concerning the reason and manner of which solemnity, I have already spoken in general, page 189, &c., which may suffice without descending to particulars: so that now I shall only make a few observations on some of them, which may not perhaps seem wholly impertinent.

* In all former Common Prayer Books, the Collects for the following Sundays were expressed as follows.

For the second Sunday: "Lord, make us to have a perpetual fear and love of thy holy name: for thou never failest to help and govern them whom thou dost bring up in thy stedfast love: Grant this," &c.

In that for the third, the words, "and comforted in all danger and adversities," were added in the last review.

The Collect for the eighth began thus: "God, whose providence is never deceived, we humbly beseech thee," &c., as in our present Liturgy.

In that for the ninth, "that we, which cannot be without thee, may by thee be able to live," &c.

In that for the eleventh, "Give unto us abundantly thy grace, that we running to thy promises, may be made partakers," &c.

On the twelfth it ended thus: "and giving us that, that our prayer dare not presume to ask, through Jesus Christ our Lord."

In the Collect for the fifteenth, the words, "from all things hurtful," were added in 1661.

In the sixteenth, the word "Congregation" was changed for "Church."

The beginning of the eighteenth was thus: "Lord, we beseech thee, grant thy people grace to avoid the infections of the Devil, and with pure hearts," &c.

In the nineteenth, "Grant that the working of thy mercy may in all things," &c.

In the twentieth, instead of "may cheerfully" it was formerly "may with free hearts," &c. And

In the twenty-fourth, instead of "absolve" it was formerly "assoil."

SECT. XXVIII.—*Particular Observations on some of the Immovable Feasts.*

CONCERNING St. Andrew we may observe, that as he was the first that found the Messiah,[76] and the first that brought others to him,[77] so the Church, for his greater honour, commemorates him first in her anniversary course of holy-days, and places his festival at the beginning of Advent, as the most proper to bring the news of our Saviour's coming.

St. Andrew's day, why observed first.

§. 2. St. Thomas's day seems to be placed next, not because he was the second that believed Jesus to be the Messiah, but the last that believed his resurrection: which though he was at first the most doubtful, yet he had afterwards the greatest evidence of its truth; which the Church recommends to our meditation at this season, as a fit preparative to our Lord's Nativity. For unless we believe with St. Thomas, that the same Jesus, whose birth we immediately afterwards commemorate, is the very Christ, *our Lord and our God;* neither his birth, death, nor resurrection will avail us any thing.

St. Thomas, why commemorated next.

§. 3. St. Paul is not commemorated as the other Apostles are, by his death or martyrdom; but by his conversion; because as it was wonderful in itself, so it was highly beneficial to the Church of Christ. For while other Apostles had their particular provinces, he had *the care of all the churches;* and by his indefatigable labours contributed very much to the propagation of the Gospel throughout the world.

St. Paul, why commemorated by his conversion.

§. 4. Whereas some churches keep four holy-days in memory of the blessed Virgin, viz. the Nativity, the Annunciation, the Purification, and the Assumption; our Church keeps only two, viz. the Annunciation and Purification; which, though they may have some relation to the blessed Virgin, do yet more peculiarly belong to our Saviour. The Annunciation hath a peculiar respect to his Incarnation, who being the eternal Word of the Father, was at this time made flesh: the Purification is principally observed in memory of our Lord's being made manifest in the flesh, when he was presented in the temple.

The Purification and Annunciation.

On the Purification the ancient Christians used abundance

[76] John i. 38. [77] Verse 42.

Candlemas-day, whence so called.

of lights both in their churches and processions, in remembrance (as it is supposed) of our blessed Saviour's being this day declared by old Simeon to be *a light to lighten the Gentiles*, &c., which portion of Scripture is for that reason appointed for the Gospel for the day. A practice continued with us in England till the second year of king Edward VI., when bishop Cranmer forbad it by order of the Privy Council.[78] And from this custom I suppose it was, that this day first took the name of Candlemas-day.

St. Matthias's day, on what day to be observed in leap-year.

§. 5. St. Matthias's day being generally differently observed in leap-years, viz. by some on the twenty-fourth, and by others on the twenty-fifth of February; I think it not amiss to state the case in as few words as I can. And to do it clearly, I must begin with the ancient Julian year, which is known to have consisted of three hundred sixty-five days and almost six hours: but because of the inconvenience of inserting six hours at the end of every year, they were ordered to be reserved to the end of four years, when they came to a whole day, and then to be inserted at the twenty-fourth of February. For the old Roman year ended at February the twenty-third, and the old intercalary month was always inserted at that time.* And because the intercalary days (according to the method of the Egyptians) were never accounted any part of the month or year, but only an appendix to them,[80] therefore the Romans in the Julian year accounted the twenty-third day of February, i. e. the sixth of the calends of March, two days together, which is the reason that in our calendar, leap-year is called *Bissextile*, or the year in which the sixth of the calends of March came twice over. Now we in England having been very anciently subjects of the Roman empire, received the Julian account; and agreeable to the method of the Romans, our parliament, in the twenty-first year of king Henry III., A. D. 1236, passed an act, that in every leap-year the additional day, and the day next going before, should be accounted but for

Leap-year, whence called Bissextile.

* This shews Mr. Johnson's mistake in correcting Dr. Wallis for affirming the twenty-fourth to be the intercalary day. For certainly the day which follows the twenty-third, if counted for any day, must be called the twenty-fourth.[79]

[78] Collier's History, vol. ii. page 241. [79] Addenda to the Clergyman's Vade Mecum, at the end of his two cases, pages 108, 109. [80] Cato in Tit. Dig. §. 98, expressly says of the practice of the Romans, Mensem intercalarem addititium esse, omnesque ejus dies pro momento temporis observandos.

one day. Now the additional day being inserted, as I have observed, between the sixth and seventh of the calends of March, i. e. between the twenty-fourth and twenty-third day of February;* it follows, that, according to the Roman way of reckoning, (who reckoned the calends backwards from the first day of the month,) the day which, in our way of reckoning, was in ordinary years the twenty-fourth of February, would in leap-years be the twenty-fifth. And consequently St. Matthias being fixed on that day, which in ordinary years was the twenty-fourth, must in every leap-year be observed upon what in our account we call the twenty-fifth; though in the Roman way of reckoning both in common years and leap-years, it is kept the same day, viz. the sixth day inclusive before the first day of March. And this is according to the known rule, as old as Durand's time at least.

Bissextum Sextæ Martis tenuere Calendæ:
Posteriore Die celebrantur Festa Mathiæ.

And agreeable to this rule stood the rubric in relation to the intercalary day, in all the Missals, Breviaries, &c. to the Reformation, directing also that in leap-years, St. Matthias's day should be always kept upon the twenty-fifth of February, which is still the order and practice in the Church of Rome. But in both the Common Prayer Books of king Edward VI. that old rubric was altered, and the following one put in its room.

* Here again Mr. Johnson endeavours to correct Dr. Wallis, when he himself is mistaken. His words are these: "Dr. Wallis says, that the intercalary day is between the sixth and seventh calends of March. He certainly meant between the sixth and fifth. It is absurd to suppose that the first six calends, which is February the twenty-fourth, should be *Bissextus*, and the twenty-fifth simply *Sextus*. *Primo Sextus* must of necessity precede *Bissextus*. And *Bissextus* is but another word for the intercalary day. The mistake seems to have arisen from the Doctor's forgetting that the computation of the calends is retrogradous."[81] I desire Mr. Johnson to think again, and then to recollect who it is that is forgetful of this retrograde computation. He rightly indeed observes that *Primo Sextus* must of necessity precede *Bissextus:* but which, I would ask, is the *Primo Sextus?* that which stands next to the fifth of the calends, or that which stands a day further off? Now the fifth calend of March being February the twenty-fifth, and the calends being to be computed in a backward order, (as Mr. Johnson well observes,) I would ask again, whether February the twenty-fourth is not the *Primo Sextus?* and consequently whether the day before that (i. e. in order of time) be not the *Bissextus* or intercalary day; and whether the intercalary day be not (as Dr. Wallis asserts) between the sixth and seventh calends of March, or between the twenty-fourth and twenty-third of February, though indeed, as we now reckon, it cannot be called any other than the twenty-fourth? So that queen Elizabeth's reformers were not mistaken in thinking the twenty-fourth the intercalary day, as Mr. Johnson asserts. And therefore he himself must lay claim to the excuse he has made in the same page for Dr. Wallis, who now, it seems, has no need of it, viz. that "the happiest memories, with the greatest knowledge, cannot secure men against such lapses."

[81] Addenda to the Clergyman's Vade Mecum, at the end of his two cases, pages 108, 109.

This is also to be noted, concerning the leap-years, that the twenty-fifth day of February, which in leap-years is counted for two days, shall in those two days alter neither Psalm nor Lesson: but the same Psalms and Lessons which be said the first day shall serve also for the second day.

This Dr. Nichols and others think to be a mistake in our reformers; and that they were not apprized which was properly the intercalary day: but I cannot imagine so many great men to be ignorant both of the rubrics and practice of their own Church. I therefore suppose that this alteration was made with design, that there might be no confusion in the observation of the holy-day; but that it should be kept on the twenty-fourth in leap-years as well as others. However, when queen Elizabeth's Common Prayer was compiled, it was thought proper to return to the old practice and rule; and accordingly in that book the rubric was thus altered.

When the years of our Lord (i. e. when the number of years from the birth of Christ) *may be divided into four even parts, which is every fourth year, then the Sunday letter leapeth;* and that year the Psalms and Lessons, which serve for the twenty-third day of February, shall be read again the day following, except it be Sunday, which hath proper Lessons from the Old Testament appointed in the table to serve to that purpose.*

Now according to this rubric St. Matthias's day must again be kept in leap-years, as it used to be, viz. not on the twenty-fourth day of February, which was looked upon in this rubric to be the intercalary day; but on the day following, which we call the twenty-fifth. For if the Lessons for the twenty-third were also to be read upon the twenty-fourth in leap-years, then that day could not be St. Matthias. For the first Lessons appointed for St. Matthias were Wisdom xix. and Ecclus. i., whereas the first Lessons for the twenty-third of February were at that time the ivth and vth of Deuteronomy. And thus stood the rubric till the restoration of king Charles; when the revisers of our Liturgy observing, I suppose, that the twenty-ninth of February was in our civil computation generally looked upon as the intercalary day; they thought that it would be more uniform, and that it would prevent more mistakes in the reading of the Common Prayer, to make it so also in the ecclesiastical computation. For which reason the afore-

* Hence every such fourth year receives the name of Leap-year.

said rubric was then left out, and a twenty-ninth day added to February, which has Lessons of its own appointed, and till which day the Sunday or Dominical letter is not changed: but whereas F used to be doubled at the twenty-fourth and twenty-fifth days, C, which is the Dominical letter for the twenty-eighth day, or else D, which is that for the first of March, is now supposed to be repeated on the twenty-ninth, notwithstanding Mr. Johnson, without giving any reason, animadverts upon me for saying so:[82] though he himself had formerly asserted February the twenty-ninth to be the modern intercalary day;[83] and that, as I take it, upon better grounds than he now shews for retracting his opinion. So that there being now no other variation of the days, than that a day is added at the end of the month, St. Matthias's day must consequently be always observed on the twenty-fourth day, i. e. as well in leap-years as others. But notwithstanding the case is so clear in itself, yet some almanack-makers, still following the old custom of placing St. Matthias's day in leap-years on the twenty-fifth, and not on the twenty-fourth of February, are the occasion of that day's being still variously observed in such years. For which reason, on February the fifth, A. D. 1683, archbishop Sancroft (who was himself one of the reviewers of the Liturgy, and was principally concerned in revising the calendar, and whose knowledge in that sort of learning excelled[84]) published an injunction or order, *requiring all Parsons, Vicars, and Curates, to take notice, that the feast of St. Matthias is to be celebrated (not upon the twenty-fifth of February, as the common almanacks boldly and erroneously set it, but) upon the twenty-fourth of February for ever, whether it be leap-year or not, as the Calendar in the Liturgy, confirmed by Act of Uniformity, appoints and enjoins.*

Dr. Wallis indeed informs us, that "the archbishop (upon seeing a letter drawn up by him upon the subject, and upon discourse with others to the same purpose) seemed well satisfied that it was his mistake; and presumes that if he had continued archbishop to another leap-year, and in good circumstances, he would have reversed his former orders, and directed the almanacks to be printed as formerly." But this I conceive to be only a mere presumption of the doctor's.[85] The

[82] Addenda, ut supra. [83] Clergyman's Vade Mecum, vol. i. p. 207. [84] See Mr. Walton's Life of Bishop Sanderson. [85] Advertisement to his Treatise concerning St. Matthias's day, &c., page 2.

archbishop perhaps might think he had deviated from the ancient rule: though indeed from Micrologus,[86] who lived about the year 1080, (two hundred years before Durand, who is the first that I can find to mention the contrary practice,) it appears, the ancient custom was to keep St. Matthias, as our present Liturgy now enjoins, even in leap-years, upon the twenty-fourth. However, let the ancient custom have been what it will, since the archbishop's leaving out the rubric and altering the calendar was confirmed by the king, both in convocation and parliament, it was not in his power to make any alteration without the consent of the same authority.

St. Philip and St. James.

§. 6. Upon the day of St. Philip and St. James, till the last review, the Church read the eighth chapter of the Acts for the morning second Lesson, therein commemorating St. Philip the deacon; but now in the room of that she appoints part of the first chapter of St. John, and commemorates only St. Philip the Apostle, and St. James the brother of our Lord, the first bishop of Jerusalem, who wrote the Epistle that bears that name, part of which is appointed for the Epistle for the day. The other St. James, the son of Zebedee, for distinction sake surnamed the Great, (either by reason of his age or stature,) hath another day peculiar to himself in July.

St. John the Baptist's Nativity, why celebrated.

§. 7. St. John Baptist's Nativity is celebrated by reason of the wonderful circumstances of it, and on account of the great joy it brought to all those who expected the Messiah. There was formerly another day (viz. August 29) set apart in commemoration of his beheading. But now the Church celebrates both his nativity and death on one and the same day; whereon though his mysterious birth is principally solemnized, yet the chief passages of his life and death are severally recorded in the portions of Scripture appointed for the day.

A remark upon the Gospel for St. Bartholomew's day.

§. 8. I would observe upon the Gospel appointed for the festival of St. Bartholomew,[87] that the parallel place to it in St. Matthew is appointed to be read on St. James's day: and then indeed more properly, it being occasioned by the request of Zebedee's children, of which James was one. With submission,

[86] In Bissextili Anno Nativitatem S. Matthiæ Apostoli columus in illâ Die, quæ Vigiliam ejus proxime sequitur, non in alterâ, quæ propter Bissextum eo Anno in eodem Calendario iteratur. Microlog. de Ecclesiast. Observat. c. 47, apud Bibliothec. Patrum, tom. x. p. 159. Paris. 1654. [87] Luke xxii. 24—31.

therefore, I should think, that a more suitable Gospel for the festival of St. Bartholomew would be John i. 43, to the end, which is the history of Nathanael's coming to our Saviour, who is generally allowed to be the same with Bartholomew. The occasion why that passage in St. Luke was affixed to this day was a conceit that St. Bartholomew's noble descent was the occasion of the strife that is there recorded.[88] But if this relate to the same dispute which is mentioned by two other of the evangelists, viz. St. Matthew and St. Mark, it is plain that it was owing to another cause.

St. Michael and All-Angels.

§. 9. One day in the year the Church sets apart to express her thankfulness to God for the many benefits it hath received by the ministry of holy angels. And because St. Michael is recorded in Scripture as an angel of great power and dignity, and as presiding and watching over the Church of God with a particular vigilance and application,[89] and triumphing over the devil,[90] it therefore bears his name.

All-Saints day.

§. 10. The feast of All-Saints is not of very great antiquity in the Church. About the year of our Lord 610, the pantheon, or temple dedicated to all the gods, at the desire of Boniface IV., bishop of Rome, was taken from the heathens by Phocas the emperor, and dedicated to the honour of all martyrs. Hence came the original of All Saints, which was then celebrated upon the first of May: afterwards, by an order of Gregory IV., it was removed to the first of November, A. D. 834, where it hath stood ever since. And our reformers having laid aside the celebration of a great many martyrs' days, which had grown too numerous and cumbersome to the Church, thought fit to retain this day, whereon the Church, by a general commemoration, returns her thanks to God for them all.

The Lessons, Collects, Epistles, and Gospels.

§. 11. The Lessons, Collects, Epistles, and Gospels * for all these and the other holy-days, are either such as bear a particular relation to the subject of the festival, or are at least suitable to the season, as containing excellent instructions for holy and exemplary lives, it being (as I have already noted, page 189, &c.) the design

* In all the old Common Prayer Books, the Epistle for the Purification was ordered to be "the same that was appointed for the Sunday," and the Gospel for the same day ended in the middle of the twenty-seventh verse of the chapter, whereas now it is continued to the end of the fortieth.

[88] Petrus de Natalibus in Catalogo Sanctorum, l. 7, c. 103. [89] Dan. x. 13. [90] Jude 9. Rev. xii. 7.

of the Church to excite us to emulate those blessed saints, by setting their examples so often before us. They are most of them taken from ancient Liturgies, but some were (for good reasons) altered and changed at the Reformation.*

It would not have been foreign to the design of these sheets, to have added in this place a short account of the lives of the Apostles and other saints, commemorated by our Church: but considering that this is done in several other books already published, I shall waive the doing it in this, being not willing to swell the bulk of it with any thing that is better supplied by other hands. If the reader be as yet destitute of any thing of this nature, he cannot better provide himself than with the late learned and most excellent Mr. Nelson's *Companion for the Festivals and Fasts:* in which he may not only satisfy his curiosity as to the remains we have in history concerning those blessed saints, whose virtues we commemorate; but he will also be supplied with proper meditations and devotions for each day: a book which, next to the *Bible* and *Common Prayer*, and the *Whole Duty of Man*, I would heartily recommend as the most useful one I know, to all sincere members of the Church of England.

CHAPTER VI.

OF THE ORDER FOR THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE LORD'S SUPPER,† OR HOLY COMMUNION.

THE INTRODUCTION.

The virtue of the Eucharist.

WHATEVER benefits we now enjoy, or hope hereafter to receive from Almighty God, they are all purchased by the death, and must be obtained

* The present Collect for St. Andrew's day was first inserted in the second book of king Edward VI. That which was in his first book was this that follows: "Almighty God, which hast given such grace to thy Apostle St. Andrew, that he counted the sharp and painful death of the cross to be an high honour and great glory; grant us to take and esteem all troubles and adversities which shall come unto us for thy sake, as things profitable for us towards the obtaining of everlasting life, through Jesus Christ our Lord."

The Collect for the Conversion of St. Paul in all the old books was this: "God, which hast taught all the world through the preaching of thy blessed Apostle, St. Paul, grant, we beseech thee, that we, which have his wonderful conversion in remembrance, may follow and fulfil the holy doctrine that he taught, through Jesus Christ our Lord."

In the Collect for the festival of St. Philip and St. James, after "the way, the truth, and the life," in the same books followed, "as thou hast taught St. Philip and other the Apostles, through Jesus Christ our Lord."

† The title of this Office in the first book of king Edward was, "The Supper of the Lord, and the Holy Communion, commonly called the Mass."

through the intercession of the holy JESUS. We are therefore not only taught to mention his name continually in our prayers; but are also commanded, by visible signs, to represent and set forth to his heavenly Father his all-sufficient and meritorious death and sacrifice, as a more powerful way of interceding and obtaining the divine acceptance. So that what we more compendiously express in that general conclusion of our prayers *through Jesus Christ our Lord*, we more fully and forcibly represent in the celebration of the holy eucharist: wherein we intercede on earth, in conjunction with the great intercession of our High Priest in heaven, and plead in the virtue and merits of the same sacrifice here which he is continually urging for us there. And because of this near alliance between praying and communicating, we find the eucharist was always, in the purest ages of the Church, a daily part of the Common Prayer. And therefore, though the shameful neglect of religion with us has made the imitation of this example to be rather wished for than expected; yet it shews us, what excellent reason our Church had to annex so much of this office to the usual service on all solemn days.

The primitive forms of administration different and various.

§. 2. As to the primitive and original form of administration, since it does not appear that our Saviour prescribed any particular method, most Churches took the liberty to compose Liturgies for themselves; which perhaps being only the forms used by the founders of each Church, a little altered and enlarged, were, in honour of those founders, distinguished by their names. For thus the Liturgies of Jerusalem, Alexandria, and Rome, have been always called St. James's, St. Mark's, and St. Clement's. But, however, none of these being received as of divine institution; therefore St. Basil and St. Chrysostom, St. Ambrose and St. Gregory, in after-ages, each of them composed a Liturgy of their own. And so the excellent compilers of our Common Prayer, following their example, no otherwise confined themselves to the Liturgies that were before them, than out of them all to extract an office for themselves: and which indeed they performed with so exact a judgment and happy success, that it is hard to determine whether they more endeavoured the advancement of devotion, or the imitation of pure antiquity.

But Bucer being called in (as I have observed elsewhere) to give his opinion of it, this momentous and principal office

of our Liturgy had the misfortune to suffer very great alterations. Some amendment in the method it might possibly have borne; but the practice of foreign churches, and not primitive Liturgies, being always with him the standard of reformation, the most ancient forms and primitive rites were forced to give way to modern fancies. It is true, some of these were again restored at the last review; but it is still much lamented by learned men, that some other additions were not made at that time, that so every thing might have been restored which was proper or decent, as well as every thing left out that was superstitious or offensive.

The Communion Office designed to be used at a different time from morning prayer.

§. 3. What these particulars are, shall be shewn hereafter in their proper places. In the mean time I shall here observe, that the office originally was designed to be distinct, and to be introduced with the Litany, as I have observed before,[1] and consequently to be used at a different time from morning prayer: for in all the Common Prayer Books before the last, *so many as intended to be partakers of the holy Communion, were to signify their names to the Curate overnight, or else in the morning before the beginning of morning prayer or immediately after.* The design of which rubric was partly that the Minister (by this means knowing the number of his communicants) might the better judge how to provide the elements of bread and wine sufficient for the occasion; but chiefly (as appears from the following rubrics) that he might have time to inform himself of the parties who intended to receive, that so if there were any among them not duly qualified, he might persuade them to abstain of their own accords; or, if they obstinately offered themselves, absolutely reject them. Now the rubric supposing, that this might be done immediately after morning prayer, as well as before it began, we must necessarily infer, that there was sufficient time designed to be allowed between the two services, for the Curate not only to provide the elements, but also to confer with and advise his communicants. I know indeed that Alesse, in his translation of the Liturgy for the use of Bucer, applies the word *after* to the *beginning of morning prayer*, translating the rubric (though without either reason or authority) after this manner: *Quotquot cupiunt participes fieri sacræ Communionis, indicabunt nomina sua*

[1] See pages 165, 166.

Pastori pridie, aut mane, priusquam inchoentur Matutinæ, vel immediate post principium: which another Latin translation, published in queen Elizabeth's time, expresses plainer, *vel immediate post principium matutinarum precum.* But how is it possible that the Curate could either take their names, or confer with those that came, whilst he was otherwise employed in reading morning prayers? The words *immediately after*, therefore, must plainly refer to the *ending* of morning prayers; after which, those who had not offered themselves before, were required to come and *signify their names*, that so the Curate might know what sort of persons he should have to communicate with him, before he proceeded to the Communion Office. This rubric indeed was altered at the last review; so that now all that intend to communicate are required to signify their names *at least some time the day before.* But then the design of this alteration was not that both offices should be united in one, but that the Curate might have a more competent time to inquire of, and consult with, those that offered themselves to communicate.[2] The offices are still as distinct as ever, and ought still to be read at different times. A custom which bishop Overal says was observed in his time in York and Chichester;[3] and the same practice, Mr. Johnson tells us, prevailed at Canterbury long since the Restoration, as it did very lately, if it does not still, at the cathedral of Worcester.[4] It is certain that the Communion Office still every where retains the old name of the *Second Service:* and bishop Overal, just now mentioned, imputes it to the negligence of Ministers, and the carelessness of people, that they are ever huddled together into one office.

SECT. I.—*Of the Rubrics before the Communion Office.*

FROM what has been said just now above, the design of the first rubric sufficiently appears, viz. That the Curate, by knowing, *at least some time the day before, the names of all that intend to be partakers of the holy Communion*, may judge what quantity of bread and wine will be sufficient, and also may have time enough to learn, whether those that offer themselves to the Communion are fit to receive. For,

Rubric 1. The ministers to be judges of the fitness of their communicants.

[2] See the account of all the Proceedings of the Commissioners, 1661, p. 15, and the Papers that passed between the Commissioners, p. 129. [3] See Dr. Nichols's additional Notes, p. 36. [4] Clergyman's Vade Mecum, p. 12, third edition.

Rubric 2, 3. And have power to repel scandalous offenders.

§. 2. *If any of those be an open or notorious evil liver, or have done any wrong to his neighbours by word or deed, so that the congregation be thereby offended; the Curate, having knowledge thereof, shall call him and advertise him, that in any wise he presume not to come to the Lord's table until he hath openly declared himself to have truly repented, and amended his former naughty life, that the congregation may thereby be satisfied, which before were offended; and that he hath recompensed the parties to whom he hath done wrong, or at least declare himself to be in full purpose so to do, as soon as he conveniently may.*

The same order shall the Curate use with those between whom he perceiveth malice and hatred to reign; not suffering them to be partakers of the Lord's table, until he know them to be reconciled. And if any one of the parties so at variance be content to forgive, from the bottom of his heart, all that the other hath trespassed against him, and to make amends for that he himself hath offended; and the other party will not be persuaded to a godly unity, but remain still in his frowardness and malice; the Minister in that case ought to admit the penitent person to the holy Communion, and not him that is obstinate.

Now here we must distinguish between absolutely repelling and shutting out any one from the Communion, as by a judicial act, and only suspending him for a time, till the Minister has opportunity to send his case to the Ordinary. The first of these is what the rubric cannot be understood to imply: for by the laws of the land, both ecclesiastical and civil, none are to be shut out from this Sacrament, but such as are notorious delinquents, and none are *notorious* but such as the sentence of the law hath, either upon their own confession, or full conviction, declared so to be. And this is conformable both to the Imperial Edict, and the practice of the Church, as long ago as St. Austin. The first hath this established law: "We prohibit all, both bishops and presbyters, from shutting out any one from the Communion, before some just cause be shewn for which the holy canons require it to be done."[5] And as to the ancient usage, St. Austin speaks very plain; "We cannot," saith he, "repel any man from the Communion, unless he has freely confessed his offence, or hath been ac-

[5] Novel. 123, c. 11, Collat. 9, Tit. 15, c. 11.

cused and convicted in some ecclesiastical consistory or secular court."

But now all this plainly refers to the power of secluding from the Communion *judicially* and with *authority*: whereas the design of this rubric is only to enable the Curate to refuse to administer to any of his congregation (of whose ill life and behaviour he has received sudden notice) till he can have opportunity of laying his case before the Ordinary. For by a clause, added at the last review, it is *provided, That every Minister, so repelling any, as is specified in this, or the next precedent paragraph of this rubric, shall be obliged to give an account of the same to the Ordinary, within fourteen days after at the farthest, and the Ordinary is to proceed against the offending person according to the canon.* The hundred and ninth canon, I suppose, is meant, which requires the Ordinary *to punish all such notorious offenders by the severity of the laws, and not to admit them to the Communion till they be reformed.*

But here I know it may be objected, that the persons, whom the Curate is by this rubric empowered to repel, are declared to be such as are *notorious evil livers*, and that I have already allowed that none are *notorious* but such as the *sentence of the law* has declared so to be. But to this I answer, that *notoriety* in this place is taken in a lower degree; the rubric using the words *open* and *notorious* for the same thing, and explaining those to be *notorious* by whom *the congregation is offended.* That it cannot mean those whom the *law* has declared to be notorious, is plain, because such are supposed to be already shut out from the Communion, and consequently the Curate must himself have received notice from his Ordinary not to admit them: whereas the persons, whom the rubric provides against, are such as the Ordinary is supposed not yet to have heard of, whom therefore it requires the Curate to send him notice of, in order that he may proceed against them according to law; and whom, in the mean while, the Curate is empowered by this rubric (which is itself a law, being established by the *Act of Uniformity*) to refuse the Communion, if, after due admonition to keep away, he obstinately offers himself to receive: insomuch that no damage from any prior law can accrue to him from a conscientious execution of the latter. And that this is no novel or unnecessary power is plain from the practice of the ancient Church; in which though

all open offenders, as soon as known, were put under censure, yet if before censure they offered themselves at the Communion, they were repelled. This is evident from St. Chrysostom,[6] who does not more earnestly press the duty, than he does plainly assert the authority of the sacerdotal power to effect it. "Let no Judas," saith he, "no lover of money be present at this table; he that is not Christ's disciple, let him depart from it. Let no inhuman, no cruel person, no uncompassionate man, or unchaste, come hither. I speak this to *you that administer*, as well as to those that partake: for it is necessary I speak these things to you, that you may take great care, and use your utmost diligence to distribute these offerings aright. For no small punishment hangeth over your heads, if knowing any man to be wicked, you suffer him to be partaker of this table; for his blood shall be required at your hands. Wherefore, if he be a general, or a provincial governor, or the emperor himself, that cometh unworthily, forbid him and keep him off; thy power is greater than his. If any such get to the table, reject him without fear. If thou darest not remove him, tell it me; I will not suffer it, I will yield my life rather than the Lord's body to any unworthy person: and suffer my own blood to be shed, before I will grant that sacred blood to any but to him that is worthy."

But here again it has been objected, that "all persons, before they are admitted into any office, are obliged by our laws to receive the sacrament as a *qualification*; and consequently that the Minister is obliged by the same laws, to admit any person that offers himself upon this occasion, to the holy Communion, however unfit he may have rendered himself by his life and actions." But in answer to this, it must be considered, that the power which Christ himself invested his Church with, of admitting persons into her communion, and excluding them from it, is what no human laws can deprive her of. And therefore when the laws require men to receive this holy Sacrament to qualify themselves for offices, they always suppose that they must first qualify themselves according to the holy laws of the Church, which are founded on those of the Gospel. So that it would be a very great injury to our legislators (as being a very uncharitable opinion of them) to imagine, that if an unbaptized, or excommunicate person, a deist, or notorious sinner, should happen to obtain an office,

[6] Chrysost. Hom. 83, in Matt. xxvi.

that they intend to oblige the Church to admit persons, under these bad dispositions, to be partakers of the blessed Eucharist.

The primitive Church was so cautious in this respect, that even persons in the highest stations were rejected, if they offered themselves unworthily. Of which we have a remarkable instance in the case of the emperor Theodosius, whom St. Ambrose boldly and openly refused, upon the commission of a barbarous crime. The story being worth the reader's notice, I shall therefore give it in a few words. There being a sedition among the people of Thessalonica, the emperor ordered the guard to fall on them in heat, who in that hurry and confusion destroyed several thousands of these poor wretches. Soon after which, he coming to Milan, was going to offer himself at St. Ambrose's church to receive the Communion. But the good bishop (when he heard of it) met him courageously at the church doors, and obliged him to return, and first repent himself of his crime. "With what eyes," saith he, "can you behold the temple of him who is the common Lord of all? With what feet can you tread this holy place? How can you put out those hands to receive the blessed elements, which are yet reeking with innocent blood? How can you take the precious blood into that mouth, which gave out such barbarous and bloody orders? Depart therefore, and take heed that you do not increase your first crime by a second. Submit yourself to the bond which the Lord of the world has been pleased to bind you with, which is only medicinal, and intended to work your cure."[7] This repulse the emperor acquiesced in, and offered himself no more to those holy rites, till he had in tears repented of the sad effects of his hasty anger. I have chosen to give this instance, because it is what the Church of England has thought fit to record in her Homilies, and to mention with marks of approbation and applause.[8]

Other persons disqualified from communicating, are, schismatics;

But besides persons excommunicated, and those above mentioned, there are other persons, by the laws of our Church, disabled from communicating: such as are of course all schismatics, to whom no. *Minister, when he celebrateth the Communion, is wittingly to administer the same, under pain of suspension.*[9] But of these too, unless they have been legally convicted, *the Minister who repels them is obliged upon complaint, or being*

[7] Theod. Hist. Eccl. l. 5. [8] In the second part of the Homily of the Right Use of the Church. [9] Can. 27.

required by the Ordinary, to signify the cause thereof unto him, and therein to obey his order and direction.[10] And further, by a rubric at the end of the Order of Confirmation, *none are to be admitted to the holy Communion, until such time as he be confirmed, or be ready and desirous to be confirmed.* The like provision is made by our Provincial Constitutions, which allow none to communicate (unless at the point of death) but such as are confirmed, or at least have a reasonable impediment for not being confirmed:[11] and the Glossary allows no impediment to be reasonable, but the want of a bishop near the place. And lastly, all strangers from other parishes; the Minister is by the canons[12] required to *forbid and to remit such home to their own parish churches and ministers, there to receive the Communion with the rest of their neighbours.*

persons not confirmed;

and strangers from other parishes.

§. 3. The last rubric concerning the *covering* and *situation* of the Communion table, was first added in the second Common Prayer Book of king Edward VI., there being no other rubric in his first book than this, *The priest, standing humbly afore the middes of the altar, shall saie the Lord's Prayer*, &c.* For *altar* was the name by which the holy board was constantly distinguished for the first three hundred years after Christ; during all which time it does not appear that it was above once called *table*, and that was in a letter of Dionysius of Alexandria to Xystus of Rome. And when in the fourth century Athanasius called it a *table*, he thought himself obliged to explain the word, and to let the reader know that by *table*

Rubric 4. Concerning the situation of the Communion table.

* In the first book of king Edward also, before this rubric, there was another inserted in relation to the habits which the Ministers were to wear at the Communion, which I have already given in page 99, &c., to which was annexed this that follows, "Then shall the Clerks sing in English for the Office or Introit (as they call it) a Psalm appointed for that day." The Introits also I have already spoke to in page 204. Though I do not know how to reconcile this order for singing it before the Minister begins the office, with another rubric which stands in the same book immediately after the prayer, "Almighty God, unto whom all hearts be open," &c., which orders, "that the Priest then shall say a Psalm appointed for the Introit: which Psalm ended, the Priest" was also then "to say, or else the Clerks were to sing, III Lord have mercy upon us, III Christ have mercy upon us, III Lord have mercy upon us."

Then the Priest standing at God's board was to begin, "Glory be to God on high."

The Clerks, "And in earth peace, good-will towards men:" and so on to the end of the hymn in our present Post-Communion-office.

Then the Priest was to turn him to the people, and say, "The Lord be with you."

Answer. "And with thy spirit."

The Priest. "Let us pray."

And then came the Collect for the day, and one of the Collects for the king.

[10] Can. 27. [11] Prov. Linw. cap. de sacr. Unct. [12] Can. 28.

he meant *altar*, that being then the constant and familiar name.[13] Afterwards indeed both names came to be promiscuously used; the one having respect to the *oblation* of the eucharist, the other to the *participation*: but it was always placed altar-wise in the most sacred part of the Church, and fenced in with rails to secure it from irreverence and disrespect.

But at the beginning of the Reformation, an unhappy dispute arose, viz. whether those tables of the altar-fashion, which had been used in the popish times, and on which masses had been celebrated, should still be continued: this point was first started by bishop Hooper, who, in a sermon before the king in the fourth year of his reign, declared, "That it would do well, that it might please the magistrate, to turn *altars* into *tables*, according to the first institution of Christ; to take away the false persuasion of the people, which they have of sacrifice, to be done upon the altars; for as long (says he) as *altars* remain, both the ignorant people and the ignorant and evil persuaded priest will always dream of *sacrifice*."[14] This occasioned not only a couple of letters from the king and council, one of which was sent to all the bishops, and the other to Ridley, bishop of London; (in both which they were required to pull down the altars;) but also that, when the Liturgy was reviewed in 1551, the abovesaid rubric was altered, and in the room of it the present one was inserted, viz. *The table having at the Communion time a fair white linen cloth upon it, shall stand in the body of the church, or in the chancel, where morning and evening prayer are appointed to be said. And the priest standing at the north side of the table, shall say the Lord's Prayer with the Collect following.* But this did not put an end to the controversy; another dispute arising, viz. whether the table placed in the room of the altar ought to stand *altar-wise*, i. e. in the same place and situation as the altar formerly stood? This was the occasion that in some churches the tables were placed in the middle of the chancels, in others at the east part thereof next to the wall; some again placing it endwise, and others placing it at length.[15] Bishop Ridley endeavoured to compromise this matter, and therefore, in St. Paul's cathedral, suffered the table to stand in the place of the old altar; but beating down the wainscot partition behind, laid all the choir open to the

[13] See all this proved in Mr. Johnson's Unbloody Sacrifice, &c., chap. ii. sect. 3, vol. i. p. 300, &c. [14] See Heylin's Antidot. Lincoln. page 105. [15] Huggard's Display of Protestants, p. 81, printed anno 1556, as cited in Heylin's Antidot. Lincoln. p. 50.

east, leaving the table then to stand in the middle of the chancel,[16] which indeed was more agreeable to the primitive custom.[17] Under this diversity of usage, things went on till the death of king Edward; when queen Mary coming to the throne, altars were again restored wherever they had been demolished: but her reign proving short, and queen Elizabeth succeeding her, the people, (just got free again from the tyranny of popery,) through a mistaken zeal, fell in a tumultuous manner to the pulling down of altars: though indeed this happened for the generality only in private churches, they not being meddled with in any of the queen's palaces, and in but very few of the cathedrals. And as soon as the queen was sensible of what had happened in other places, she put out an injunction[18] to restrain the fury of the people, declaring it to be *no matter of great moment, whether there were altars or tables, so that the Sacrament was duly and reverently administered*; but ordering, that where an altar was taken down, *a holy table should be decently made, and set in the place where the altar stood, and there commonly covered as thereto belonged, and as should be appointed by the visitor, and so to stand, saving when the communion of the Sacrament was to be distributed; at which time the same was to be placed in good sort within the chancel, as thereby the Minister might be more conveniently heard of the communicants in his prayer and ministration, and the communicants also more conveniently and in more number communicate with the said Minister. And after the Communion done, from time to time the same holy table was to be placed where it stood before.* Now it is plain from this injunction, as well as from the eighty-second canon of the Church, (which is almost verbatim the same,) that there is no obligation arising from this rubric to move the table at the time of the Communion, unless the people cannot otherwise conveniently hear and communicate. The injunction declares, that the *holy table is to be set in the same place where the altar stood*, which every one knows was at the east end of the chancel. And when both the injunction and canon speak of its being moved at the time of the Communion, it supposes that the Minister could not otherwise be heard: the interposition of a belfry between the chancel and body of the church (as I have already observed,

[16] Acts and Monuments, part ii. p. 700. [17] See Bingham's Antiquities, l. 8, c. 6, §. 11. [18] See the Injunction in Bishop Sparrow's Collection, p. 84.

p. 108, &c.) hindering the Minister in some churches from being heard by the people, if he continued in the chancel. So that we are not under any obligation to move the table, unless necessity requires. But whenever the churches are built so as *the Minister can be heard, and conveniently administer the Sacrament* at the place where the table usually stands, he is rather obliged to administer in the chancel, as appears from the rubric before the *Commandments*, as also from that before the *Absolution*, by both which rubrics the Priest is directed to *turn himself to the people*. From whence I argue, that if the table be *in the middle of the church*, and the people consequently round about the Minister, the Minister cannot turn himself to the people any more at one time than another. Whereas if the table be close to the east wall, the Minister stands on the north side, and looks southward, and consequently, by looking westward, *turns himself to the people*.

The priest, why to stand at the north side of the table.

§. 4. Wherever it be placed, the Priest is obliged to *stand at the north side, (or end thereof,* as the Scotch Liturgy expresses it; which also orders, that it *shall stand at the uppermost part of the chancel or church,*) the design of which is, that the Priest may be the better seen and heard; which, as our altars are now placed, he cannot be but at the north or south side. And therefore the north side being the right hand or upper side of the altar, is certainly the most proper for the *officiating* Priest, that so the *assisting* Minister (if there be one) may not be obliged to stand above him. And bishop Beveridge has shewn that wherever, in the ancient Liturgies, the Minister is directed to stand *before* the altar, the north side of it is always meant.[19]

The table to be covered with a linen cloth.

§. 5. The covering of the altar *with a fair white linen cloth*, at the time of the celebration of the Lord's Supper, was a primitive practice,[20] enjoined at first, and retained ever since for its decency. In the Sacramentary of St. Gregory,[21] this covering is called *palla altaris*, the pall of the altar; to distinguish it, I suppose, from the *corporis palla*, or the cloth that was thrown over the consecrated elements. And the Scotch Liturgy orders, that *the holy table at the Communion time should have a carpet, and a fair white linen cloth upon it, with other decent furni-*

[19] Bev. Pandect. vol. ii. p. 76, §. 15. See also Renaudotius's Liturgies, tom. ii. p. 24. [20] Optat. Milev. l. 6, p. 113. Hieron. in Ep. ad Nepotianum. [21] In Ord. Diac.

ture, meet for the high mysteries there to be celebrated. And by our own canons,[22] at all other times, when divine service is performed, it is to be *covered with a carpet of silk, or rather decent stuff, thought meet by the Ordinary of the place, if any question be made of it; which was originally designed for the clean keeping of the said* [white linen] *cloth:*[23] though the chief use of it now is for ornament and decency.

SECT. II.—*Of the Lord's Prayer.*

Why used at the beginning of the office.

THERE can be no fitter beginning for this sacred ordinance, which so peculiarly challengeth Christ for its author, than that divine prayer which owes its original to the same person, and which St. Jerome tells us,[24] Christ taught his Apostles, on purpose that they should use it at the holy Communion. To which the primitive Fathers thought it so peculiarly adapted, that they generally expounded that petition, *Give us this day our daily bread*, of the body of Christ, the bread of life, which in those times they daily received for the nourishment of their souls.[25]

SECT. III.—*Of the Collect for Purity.*

Why used before the Commandments.

As the people were to be purified before the first publication of the law,[26] so must we have *clean hearts* before we be fit to hear it; lest, if our minds be impure *sin take occasion by the commandment* to stir up concupiscence:[27] for prevention of which, when the Commandments were added in the second book of king Edward, it was thought proper that this form should immediately precede them: not but that the form itself was in our first Liturgy, and, as far as appears, in the oldest offices of the Western Church.

SECT. IV.—*Of the Ten Commandments.*

How aptly placed here.

THESE divine precepts of the moral law as much oblige Christians as they did the Jews: we vowed to keep them at our baptism, and we renew that vow at every Communion: and therefore it is very fit we should hear them often, and especially at those times when we are going to make fresh engagements to observe them. Upon

[22] Can. 82. [23] See an order of queen Elizabeth, A. D. 1561, in Heylin's Antidot. Lincoln. p. 45. [24] Hieron. adv. Pelag. l. 3, c. 5, tom. ii. p. 596, C. [25] Tert. de Orat. Dom. c. 6, p. 131, D. 132, A. Cyprian. in Orat. Dom. p. 146, 147. [26] Exod. xix. 14. [27] Rom. vii. 8.

which account, since we are to confess all our sins before we come to this blessed Sacrament of pardon, the Church prudently directs the Minister, now standing in the most holy place, to *turn himself to the people*,* and from thence, like another Moses from Mount Sinai, to convey God's laws to them, *by rehearsing distinctly all the Ten Commandments*; by which, as in a glass, they may discover all their offences, and, *still kneeling*, may, *after every Commandment, ask God mercy for their transgression thereof* (i. e. as the Scotch Liturgy expresses it, *of every duty therein, either according to the letter, or to the mystical importance of the said Commandment*) *for the time past, and grace to keep the same for the time to come.*†

SECT. V.—*Of the two Collects for the King.*

The Collects for the king.

ST. PAUL seems to command that we should pray for kings in all our prayers:[28] and in the primitive Church they always supplicated for their princes at the time of the celebration of the holy Eucharist;[29] where, by virtue of the sacrifice of Christ's death commemorated, those great requests might be likely to prevail.

Why placed next after the Commandments.

§. 2. In our Liturgy these prayers do not (as in the Roman Missal) disturb the prayer of Consecration, but, as the office is now compiled, are more conveniently placed here: the king is *custos utriusque tabulæ*, defender of both tables of the law, and therefore we properly pray for him just after the Commandments. Nor do our prayers for him less aptly precede the daily Collect: since when we have prayed for outward prosperity to the Church, the consequent of the king's welfare, we may very seasonably in the Collect pray for inward grace, to make it completely happy.‡ For variety here are two prayers, but they both tend to the same end, and only differ a little in the form.

SECT. VI.—*Of the Collect, Epistle, and Gospel.*

Of the Collect, &c.

IT is evident, that long before the dividing the Bible into chapters and verses, it was the custom

* This direction of "turning to the people" was first added in the Scotch Liturgy.

† These latter words, "for the time past," &c., were added at the last review: though indeed no part of the rubric, nor of the Commandments themselves, were in the first book of king Edward VI., nor, as far as I can find, in any ancient Liturgy.

‡ In all the former Common Prayer Books, except the Scotch, it seems as if the Collect for the day was used before that for the king. For the old rubric was this: "Then shall follow the Collect for the day, with one of these two Collects following for the king."

[28] 1 Tim. ii. 1, 2. [29] Liturg. S. Jacob. S. Chrys. S. Bas. Vide Euseb. de Vita Constant. l. 4, c. 45, p. 549.

both of the Greek and Latin Churches to read some select portions of the plainest and most practical parts of the New Testament, first for the Epistle, and then for the Gospel, at the celebration of the holy Eucharist,[30] in imitation perhaps of the Jewish mode of reading the history of the Passover before the eating of the paschal lamb.[31]

Why the Epistle is read first.

§. 2. As for the antiquity, matter, and suitableness of the several Collects, Epistles, and Gospels, I have already spoken at large. I shall only make this one remark more, that as our Saviour's disciples *went before his face to every city and place, whither he himself would come*;[32] so here the Epistle, as the word of the servant, is read first, that it may be as a harbinger to the Gospel, to which the last place and greatest honour is reserved, as being the word of their great Master. And for this reason I suppose it was ordered by the advertisements published in the seventh year of queen Elizabeth,[33] and by the twenty-fourth of our present canons, that the principal Minister, at the celebration of the Communion, should be *assisted with a Gospeler and Epistler agreeably*: i. e. with one Minister to read the Epistle and another to read the Gospel, as is still generally the custom in cathedral churches; which was also provided for by the rubrics in king Edward's first book, which orders that *the priest, or he that is appointed, shall read the Epistle in a place assigned for that purpose*, (which from the modern practice I take to be on the south side of the table;) and that *immediately after the Epistle ended, the priest, or one appointed*, (which, as appears from the next rubric, might be a deacon,) *shall read the Gospel.*

Epistler and Gospeler, why appointed.

The custom of saying, Glory be to thee, O Lord, &c., of what antiquity.

§. 3. The custom of saying *Glory be to thee, O Lord*, when the Minister was about to read the holy Gospel, and of singing *Hallelujah*, or saying, *Thanks be to God for his holy Gospel*, when he had concluded it, is as old as St. Chrysostom;[34] but we have no authority for it in our present Liturgy. The first indeed was enjoined by king Edward's first Common Prayer Book, and so the custom has continued ever since; and I do not find how it came to be left out of the rubric afterwards. It certainly could have nothing objected against it, and therefore it is restored in the Scotch Liturgy; which also

[30] Just. Mart. Ap. 1, Clem. Const. Apost. lib. 2, c. 56, 57. [31] Buxtorf. Lex. Chald.
[32] Luke x. 1. [33] In Bishop Sparrow's Collection, page 124, 125. [34] Liturg. S. Chrys.

ordered, that, when the Presbyter shall say, *So endeth the holy Gospel*, the people shall answer, *Thanks be to thee, O Lord.* In our own Common Prayer Book the Priest has no direction to say, *The Gospel is ended;* the reason of which some imagine to be, because it is still continued in the Creed that followeth.

Standing up at the Gospel, why commanded.

§. 4. In St. Augustine's time the people always stood when the Lessons were read, to shew their reverence to God's holy word:[35] but afterwards, when this was thought too great a burden, they were allowed to sit down at the Lessons, and were only obliged to *stand* (as our present order, which was first inserted in the Scotch Common Prayer Book, now enjoins us) at the reading of the Gospel,[36] which always contains something that our Lord did, spoke, or suffered in his own person. By which gesture they shewed they had a greater respect to the Son of God himself, than they had to any other inspired person, though speaking the word of God, and by God's authority.

SECT. VII.—*Of the Nicene Creed.*

Why placed after the Epistle and Gospel.

As the Apostles' Creed is placed immediately after the daily Lessons, so is this after the Epistle and Gospel: both of them being founded upon the doctrine of Christ and his Apostles. As therefore in the foregoing portions of Scripture *we believe with our heart to righteousness*, so in the Creed that follows, *we confess with our mouth to salvation.*

An account of it.

§. 2. This is commonly called the *Nicene Creed*, as being, for the greatest part, the Creed that was drawn up by the first general Council of Nice, in the year 325, but enlarged by a fuller explication of some articles about the year 381, especially in relation to the divinity and procession of the Holy Ghost, in order to a more particular confutation and suppression of the Arian and Macedonian heresy. For which reason it was enjoined by the third Council of Toledo to be recited by all the people in Spain before the Sacrament, to shew that they were all free from heresy, and in the strictest league of union with the catholic Church.[37] And since in this sacrament we are to renew our baptismal vow, (one branch of which was, that we would *believe all the*

[35] Augustin. Serm. 300, in Append. ad tom. v. col. 504, B. Niceph. l. 9, c. 18. Isid. Pelus. l. 1, Ep. 136. Soz. l. 7, c. 19.

[36] Const. Ap. l. 2, c. 56.

[37] Can. 2, tom. v. col. 1009, E.

Articles of the Christian faith,) it is very requisite that, before we be admitted, we should declare that we stand firm in the belief of those articles.

SECT. VIII.—*Of the Rubric after the Nicene Creed.*

The rubric of directions.

AFTER the Creed follows a *rubric of directions*, instructing the Priest what he is to publish, or make known to the people. I do not find any such rubric in the first Common Prayer Book of king Edward VI.; and in all the rest, quite down to the Restoration, a declaration of the *holy-days only* was ordered to be made after the Sermon or Homily was ended.

Why the Curate is to bid holy-days.

§. 2. This is the first thing our rubric mentions now, viz. that *the Curate shall declare unto the people what holy-days or fasting-days are in the week following to be observed.* The first reason of which was, lest the people should observe any such days as had been formerly kept, but were laid aside at the Reformation: and therefore the Bishops inquired in their visitations, *whether any of their Curates bid any other days than were appointed by the new calendar.*[38] This danger is now pretty well over; there being no great fear of the people's observing superstitious holy-days. But there is still as much reason for keeping up the rubric, since now they are run into a contrary extreme, and, instead of observing too many holy-days, regard none; which makes it fit that the Curate should discharge his duty, by telling them beforehand, what holy-days will happen, and then leaving it upon his people to answer for the neglect, if they are passed over without due regard.

When to give notice of the Communion.

§. 3. *And then also* (*if occasion be*) *shall notice be given of the Communion:* though by another rubric, just before the first exhortation, this is supposed to be done after sermon. For there it is ordered, that *when the Minister giveth warning for the celebration of the holy Communion,* (*which he shall always do upon the Sunday, or some holy-day immediately preceding,*) *after the Sermon or Homily ended, he shall read the exhortation following.* The occasion of this difference was the placing of *this rubric of directions*, at the last review, before the rubric concerning the Sermon or Homily. For by all the old Common Prayer Books, immediately after the Nicene Creed, the Sermon

[38] Archbishop Grindal, Art. VIII., 1576, for the whole province.

was ordered; and then after that *the Curate was to declare unto the people, whether there were any holy-days or fasting-days in the week following, and earnestly to exhort them to remember the poor, by reading one or more of the sentences, as he thought most convenient by his discretion.* This was the whole of that rubric then. All the remaining part was added at the Restoration, as was also the rubric above cited just before the exhortation. Now it is plain by that rubric, that the warning to the Communion was intended to be given after the Sermon; and therefore I should have imagined that there was no design to have changed the places of the two rubrics here, but only to have added some other directions concerning the proclaiming or publishing things in the church: and that consequently the placing of them in the order they now stand, might have been owing to the printer's, or some other mistake; but that I observe in the next rubric the priest is ordered to *return to the Lord's table*, which supposes that he has been in the pulpit since he was at the table before; and therefore inclines me to believe that the rubrics were transposed with design; and that the intent of the revisers was, that when there was nothing in the Sermon itself preparatory to the Communion, both this and the other rubric should be complied with, viz. by giving warning in this place, that there will be a Communion on such a day, and then reading the exhortation after Sermon is ended.

What things to be published, and what not.

§. 4. At this time also *briefs, citations, and excommunications are to be read. But nothing is to be proclaimed or published in the church, during the time of divine service, but by the Minister: nor by him any thing but what is prescribed in the rules of the Common Prayer Book, or enjoined by the King, or by the Ordinary of the place.* All this was undoubtedly added, to prevent the custom, that still too much prevails in some country churches, of publishing the most frivolous, unbefitting, and even ridiculous things in the face of the congregation.

SECT. IX.—*Of the Sermon.*

The antiquity and design of it.

SERMONS have been appointed from the beginning of Christianity,[39] to be used upon all Sundays and holy-days, but especially when the

[39] Const. Ap. l. 8, c. 5. Augustin. de Civ. Dei, l. 22, c. 8. Concil. Vasense 1, Can. 9, tom. iii. col. 1459, A. Concil. 6, Constant. Can. 19, tom. vi. col. 1151, C.

Lord's Supper was to be administered. For by a pious and practical discourse suited to the holy Communion, the minds of the hearers are put into a devout frame, and made much fitter for the succeeding mysteries.

Formerly performed by bishops.

§. 2. This province indeed, in ancient times, was generally undertaken by the bishops, who at first voluntarily, and afterwards by injunction, preached every Sunday, unless hindered by sickness:[40] but however, in the absence of the bishop, this duty was performed by presbyters, and by his permission in his presence.[41]

Why ordered here.

§. 3. The reason of its being ordered here, is because the first design of them was to explain some part of the foregoing Epistle and Gospel,[42] in imitation of that practice of the Jews mentioned in Nehemiah viii. 8. For which reason they were formerly called *Postillis*, (*quasi post illa*, *sc. Evangelia*,) because they followed the Gospel.

Of the Homilies.

§. 4. The Homilies mentioned in the rubric, are two books of plain sermons, (for so the word signifies,) set out by public authority, one whereof is to be read upon any Sunday or holy-day, when there is no sermon. The first volume of them was set out in the beginning of king Edward VI.'s reign, having been composed (as it is thought) by archbishop Cranmer, bishop Ridley, and Latimer, at the beginning of the Reformation, when a competent number of Ministers, of sufficient abilities to preach in a public congregation, was not to be found. The second volume was set out in queen Elizabeth's time, by order of Convocation, A. D. 1563. And that this is not at all contrary to the practice of the ancient Church, is evident from the testimony of Sixtus Sinensis, who, in the fourth book of his Library, saith, "That our countryman Alcuinus collected and reduced into order, by the command of Charles the Great, the homilies of the most famous doctors of the Church upon the Gospels, which were read in churches all the year round." He says they were all in number 209: but where that work lies hid, is not known.

Bidding of prayers enjoined by the Church.

§. 5. I designed in this place to have added a paragraph concerning the form of *Bidding of Prayers*, which the Church enjoins, by the fifty-

[40] Can. 19, Trull. Mogun. cap. 25. [41] Possid. in Vit. August. [42] Vid. August. Sermones de Temp.

fifth canon, to be used by every Minister *before his Sermon, Lecture, or Homily:* and from thence to have taken occasion to have hinted at the irregularity and ill consequences of the *Petitionary Form*, which is now the general practice. But finding it necessary to be more particular than I at first foresaw, if I proposed to give any tolerable satisfaction; the design immediately swelled into too large a compass to be inserted in a work of so general a nature. For this reason I have chosen to publish it in a little treatise by itself: by which means too I hope it will be more known, than if it had only been treated of in a few pages here. For the sake of those who may be desirous to look into the question, I have inserted the title at the bottom of the page,[43] not without hopes that my sincere endeavours may contribute a little to put a stop to the custom of praying in the pulpit, which the reader will there see has once been attended with fatal consequences, and which has been discountenanced and prohibited almost in every reign, since the Reformation, by our governors and superiors both in Church and State.

SECT. X.—*Of the Offertory, or Sentences, and the Rubrics that follow.*

Almsgiving, a necessary duty.

AFTER the confession of our faith in the Nicene Creed, or else after the improvement of it in the Sermon or Homily, follows the exercise of our charity, without which our *faith would be dead.*[44] The first way of expressing which, is by dedicating some part of what God has given us to his use and service, which is frequently and strictly commanded in the Gospel, hath the best examples for it, and the largest rewards promised to it; being instead of all the vast oblations and costly sacrifices which the Jews did always join with their prayers, and the only chargeable duty to which Christians are obliged. It is, in a word, so necessary to recommend our prayers, that St. Paul prescribes,[45] and the ancient Church, in Justin Martyr's time, used to have collections every Sunday.[46]

However, when we receive the Sacrament, it is by no means

[43] Bidding of Prayer before Sermon, no mark of disaffection to the present government: or, an historical vindication of the fifty-fifth canon. Shewing that the form of Bidding Prayers has been prescribed and enjoined ever since the Reformation, and constantly practised by the greatest divines of our Church; and that it has been lately enforced both by his present Majesty, and our right reverend diocesan the lord bishop of London. By Charles Wheatly, M. A., Lecturer of Saint Mildred's in the Poultry. London: printed for A. Bettesworth, at the Red Lion, and M. Smith, at Bishop Beveridge's Head in Pater-noster Row. Price 1*s*.

[44] James ii. 17.

[45] 1 Cor. xvi. 1, 2.

[46] Just. Martyr. Apol. 1, c. 88, p. 132.

to be omitted. When the Jews came before the Lord at the solemn feasts, *they were not allowed to appear empty; but every man was required to give as he was able, according to the blessing of the Lord, which he had given him.*[47] And our Saviour (with respect, no doubt, to the holy table, as Mr. Mede excellently proves[48]) supposes that we should never come to the altar *without a gift*,[49] but always imitate his practice, whose custom of giving alms at the passover made his disciples mistake his words to him that bare the bag.[50] And it is very probable that at the time of receiving the Sacrament were all those large donations of houses, lands, and money made.[51] For when those first converts were all united to Christ and one another in this feast of love, their very souls were mingled; they cheerfully renounced their property, and easily distributed their goods among those to whom they had given their hearts before. None (of ability) were allowed to receive without giving something;[52] and to reject any man's offering, was to deny him a share in the benefit of those comfortable mysteries.[53]

The design of the Sentences.

§. 2. Wherefore, to stir us up more effectually to imitate their pious example, as soon as the Sermon or Homily is ended, the Priest is directed to *return to the Lord's Table, and begin the Offertory, saying one or more of the sentences following, as he thinketh most convenient in his discretion*, i. e. *according to the length or shortness of the time that the people are offering*, as it was worded in king Edward's first Common Prayer, and from thence in the Scotch one.* These are in the place of the antiphona or anthem which we find in the old Liturgies after the Gospel, and which, from their being sung whilst the people made their oblations at the altar, were called *offertory*.[54] The sentences which our Church has here selected for that purpose are such as contain instructions, injunctions, and exhortations to this great duty; setting before us the necessity of performing it,

Why called offertory.

* In the Scotch Liturgy, Matt. v. 16. Matt. vii. 12. Luke xix. 8. Galat. vi. 10. 1 Tim. vi. 7. 1 John iii. 17. with all that follows in our book, are omitted: and Gen. iv. 3, to the middle of the 5th verse, Exod. xxv. 2. Deut. xvi. 16, 17. 1 Chron. xxix. 10, 11, and part of the 12th, 14th, and the 17th verses; Psalm xcvi. 8. Matt. xii. 41, 42, 43, 44, are added.

[47] Deut. xvi. 16, 17. [48] Mr. Mede of the Altar or holy Table, sect. 2, p. 390. [49] Matt. v. 23, 24. [50] John xiii. 29. [51] Acts ii. 44, 45, 46. [52] Cyprian. de Oper. et Eleemos. p. 203, &c. [53] Concil. Elib. Can. 28, tom. i. col. 973, E. Concil. Carthag. 4, Can. 93, 94, tom. ii. col. 1207, B. [54] Vide Menard. in Greg. Sacrament. p. 582, Paris. 1642. Vide et Mabillon de Liturgia Gallicana, p. 8, Paris. 1685.

and the manner of doing it. Some of them (viz. those from the sixth to the tenth inclusively, unless the ninth be excepted) respect the clergy. And it was with an eye, I suppose, to this difference, that in the last review there was a distinction made in the rubric that follows these sentences, between *the alms for the poor*, and *the other devotions of the people*. In the old Common Prayer there was only mention made of the latter of these, viz. *the devotions of the people*, by which alms for the poor were then meant, as appears from its being then ordered to be *put into the poor man's box*. But then the clergy were included in other words, which ordered, that *upon the offering-days appointed, every man and woman should pay to the Curate the due and accustomed offerings*. But of this I shall have occasion to say more, when I come to treat of the rubrics at the end of this office. I shall only observe further here, that the words *alms for the poor* being added at the last review, by which undoubtedly must be understood all that is given for their relief; it is plain, that by *the other devotions of the people* is now intended something distinct from the said alms. And if so, then the offerings for the clergy, or their share in the collections, must certainly be meant, as is plain from the design of the above-mentioned sentences, which have a direct and immediate regard to them. It is well known, that in the primitive times the clergy had a liberal maintenance out of what the people offered upon these occasions.[55] Now, indeed, whilst they have a stated and legal income, the money collected at these times is generally appropriated to the poor: not but that where the stated income of a parish is not sufficient to maintain the clergy belonging to the Church, they have still a right to claim their share in these offerings.

Alms and other devotions, how distinguished.

II. *Whilst these sentences are in reading, the deacons, church-wardens, or other fit persons, are to receive the alms for the poor, and other devotions of the people.*[56] The deacons are the most proper persons for this business, it being the very office for which their order was instituted.[57] And for this reason the Scotch Liturgy does not allow the church-wardens to do it, but at such times *when there are no deacons present.** It is now indeed grown

By whom to be collected.

And in what manner.

* Whilst the presbyter distinctly pronounceth some or all of these sentences for the

[55] Cypr. Ep. 34, 36. [56] Rubric after the Sentences. [57] Acts vi.

a custom with us for the church-wardens to perform this office, viz. to gather the alms and devotions of the congregation, which, by all the books before the Scotch Liturgy, they were ordered, as I have observed, *to put into the poor man's box;* not, I presume, into that fixed in the church, but into a little box which the church-wardens or some other proper persons carried about with them in their hands, as is still the custom at the Temple church in London. Now indeed they are ordered to make use of a *decent basin to be provided by the priest for that purpose.* With which, in most places, especially here in town, they go to the several seats and pews of the congregation. Though in other places they collect at the entrance into the chancel, where the people make their offerings as they draw towards the altar. This last way seems the most conformable to the practice of the primitive Church, which, in pursuance of a text delivered by our Saviour,[58] ordered that the people should come up to the rails of the altar, and there make their offerings to the priest.[59]

And with an eye, I suppose, to this practice, the deacons, or church-wardens, or whosoever they be that collect the alms and other devotions of the people, are ordered by the present rubric to *bring it reverently to the priest* (as in their name) *who is humbly to present and place it upon the holy table;** in conformity to the practice of the ancient Jews, who, when they brought their gifts and sacrifices to the temple, offered them to God by the hands of the priest.

The bread and wine, when and by whom to be placed on the table.

III. *And if there be a Communion, the priest is then also to place upon the table so much bread and wine as he shall think sufficient.* Which rubric being added to our own Liturgy at the same time with the word *oblations*, in the prayer following, (i. e. at the last review,) it is clearly evident, as bishop Patrick has observed,[60] that by that word are to be understood the elements of bread and wine, which the priest is to offer solemnly to God, as an acknowledgment of his sovereignty over his creatures, and that from thence-

offertory, the deacon, or (if no such be present) one of the church-wardens, shall receive the devotions of the people there present in a basin provided for that purpose. *Scotch Liturgy.*

* In the Scotch Liturgy, "And when all have offered, he shall reverently bring the basin with the oblations therein, and deliver it to the presbyter, who shall humbly present it before the Lord, and set it upon the holy table."

[58] Matt. v. 23. [59] Greg. Naz. in Laud. Basilii, Orat. 20, tom. i. Theodoret. de Theodosio. [60] Christian Sacrifice, p. 77.

forth they might become properly and peculiarly his. For in all the Jewish sacrifices, of which the people were partakers, the viands or materials of the feast were first made God's by a solemn oblation, and then afterwards eaten by the communicants, not as man's, but as God's provision; who, by thus entertaining them at his own table, declared himself reconciled and again in covenant with them. And therefore our blessed Saviour, when he instituted the new sacrifice of his own body and blood, first *gave thanks and blessed the elements*, i. e. offered them up to God as Lord of the creatures, as the most ancient Fathers expound that passage: who, for that reason, whenever they celebrated the holy eucharist, always offered the bread and wine for the Communion to God, upon the altar, by this, or some such short ejaculation, *Lord, we offer thee thy own, out of what thou hast bountifully given us*.[61] After which they received them, as it were, from him again, in order to convert them into the sacred banquet of the body and blood of his dear Son.[62] In the ancient Church, they had generally a side-table near the altar, upon which the elements were laid till the first part of the Communion service was over, at which the catechumens were allowed to be present; but when they were gone, the elements were removed and placed upon the holy altar itself, with a solemn prayer.[63] Now though we have no side-table authorized by our Church, yet in the first Common Prayer of king Edward VI. the priest himself was ordered in this place to set both the bread and wine upon the altar:* but at the review in 1551, this and several other such ancient usages were thrown out, I suppose, at the instance of Bucer and Martyr. After which the Scotch Liturgy was the first wherein we find it restored: but there the presbyter is directed *to offer up and place the bread and wine prepared for the Sacrament upon the Lord's table, that it may be ready for that service.* And Mr. Mede, having observed our own Liturgy to be defective in this particular,[64] was probably the occasion, that, in

* The whole rubric in king Edward's first book was this: "Then shall the Minister take so much bread and wine as shall suffice for the persons appointed to receive the holy Communion, laying the bread upon the corporas, or else in the paten, or in some other comely thing prepared for that purpose: and putting the wine into the chalice, or else in some fair and convenient cup, prepared for that use, (if the chalice will not serve,) putting thereto a little pure and clean water; and setting both the bread and wine upon the altar," &c.

[61] See St. Chrysostom's and other Liturgies. [62] See this proved in Mr. Mede's Christian Sacrifice, c. 8, p. 372, &c. [63] Lit. Chrys. [64] Mr. Mede, as above, p. 375, 376.

the review of it after the Restoration, this primitive practice was restored, and the bread and wine ordered by the rubric to be set solemnly upon the table by the Priest himself. From whence it appears, that the placing the elements upon the Lord's table, before the beginning of morning prayer, by the hands of a clerk or sexton, (as is now the general practice,) is a profane and shameful breach of the aforesaid rubric ; and consequently that it is the duty of every Minister to prevent it for the future, and reverently to place the bread and wine himself upon the table, immediately after he has placed on the alms.

Mixing water with the wine, a primitive practice, but not essential to the Sacrament.

IV. In the rubric I have given, out of king Edward's first Liturgy, the Minister, when he put the wine into the chalice, was directed by the rubric *to put thereto a little pure and clean water*. This was ordered in conformity to a very ancient and primitive practice, and with an eye perhaps to our Saviour's institution. For the wine among the Jews being very strong, it was generally their custom, as at their ordinary meals, so also at the passover, to qualify it with water :[65] and therefore, since the cup which our Saviour blessed was probably one of those which were prepared for that feast,[66] some have concluded that, at the time of the institution, he made use of wine in which water had been mixed. But of this they can produce no certainty of proof. For though it is allowed that the Jews *often* mingled their wine, yet it does not appear that they *always* did so, or thought it necessary. For Dr. Lightfoot observes, that he that *drank pure wine performed his duty* ;[67] and Buxtorf adds further, that it was indifferent whether it was mixed or not, and that they drank it sometimes one way and sometimes the other :[68] so that we must not affirm that our Saviour's cup was certainly mixed, before we are assured whether the wine which he had prepared for his last passover was so. Our Saviour intimates, that what he had delivered to his Apostles was the *fruit of the vine* ;[69] and Dr. Lightfoot observes, from the Babylonish Talmud, that this was a term which the Jews used in their blessing for wine mixed with water, to distinguish it from pure wine, which they called

[65] R. Ob. de Bartenora, et Maimonides in Mishnam, de Benedict. cap. 7. sect. 5.
[66] Dr. Lightfoot's Temple-Service, vol. i. p. 966, and bishop Hooper of Lent, part 2, chap. 3. [67] Lightfoot, ut supra, p. 691, et Hor. Hebr. in Matt. xxvi. 27, vol. ii. p. 160.
[68] De Primæ Cœnæ Ritibus et Forma, sect. 20, as cited by Mr. Drake in his Latin Sermon. [69] Matt. xxvi. 29.

the fruit of the tree.[70] But now, not to insist upon the absurdity of calling it *the fruit of the vine*, from its being mixed with water, which makes it less the fruit of the vine than it was in its purity; it is plain that this expression, wherever we meet with it in other places of Scripture, is used to denote the pure product of the tree.[71] From whence we may be assured, that in the time of our Saviour, no such distinction as this had obtained: nor indeed does the Mishna itself allow of it: for the determination of the wise men is, that wine is to be called *the fruit of the vine*, as well before the mixture as after it.[72] And the reason why they give it a particular blessing, calling it *the fruit of the vine*, instead of *the fruit of the tree*, is not upon the account of its being mixed with water, but because the vine is more excellent than any tree besides.[73] And if this distinction fail, I do not know that there is so much as a hint given in Scripture, from whence we may judge whether the wine used by our Saviour was mixed or not; which yet we might reasonably expect to have found, if our Lord had designed the mixture as essential. Though were it ever so clear, that the cup was mixed; yet if it does not also appear that it was mixed with design, our Saviour's practice would no more oblige us to mix it now, than it would that we should consecrate unleavened bread. For it is certain that our Saviour, at the time of institution, used unleavened bread:[74] and yet since the reason of his doing so was, because there was no other at that time in the house; our Church thinks it sufficient, in her present rubric, to prescribe *such bread as is usual to be eaten.* Consequently since he made use of wine that was mixed, only because he found it ready prepared, or at most because the strength of the wine used in that country required it; therefore our Church thinks it not necessary to mix it with us, because we ordinarily drink it pure. But I say this upon supposition that it could be clearly proved that the cup which our Saviour used was mixed; whereas I have shewn that there is no intimation in Scripture about it. Nor do any of the first Fathers assert or mention it. Origen (who is the first that speaks either one way or the other) says, that our Saviour administered in wine unmixed,[75] which he would not sure have

[70] Hor. Hebr. ut supra. [71] Isa. xxxii. 12. Hab. iii. 17. Zech. viii. 12. secundum LXX. Mark xii. 2. Luke xx. 10. Vide et Vorstium de Hebraismis N. T. c. 23.
[72] Tract. de Benedict. cap. 7, sect. 5, vid. et R. Ob. de Bartenora, ac Maimon. in locum.
[73] Ibid. cap. 6, vide et Surenhus. et R. Ob. de Bart. in locum. [74] Exod. xii. 15, 19. Matt. xxvi. 17. Mark xvi. 12. Luke xxii. 7. [75] Hom. 12, in Hieremiam.

done, had there been any certain tradition, or so much as a general opinion, to the contrary. We do not indeed deny, but that, before his time, the mixture was the general practice of the Church:[76] but then it is no where said, that this was done in conformity to our Saviour's institution; but since the same wine, perhaps, that was prepared for the Communion, served also for the love-feasts, (which, in the first ages of the Church, were always held at the same time,[77]) water might be mixed with it, for what we know, to prevent those disorders, which, even in the Apostles' time, were apt to arise from their drinking of it to excess:[78] or possibly it might be instituted as an emblem of the indissoluble union between Christ and his Church, as St. Cyprian explains it;[79] or, lastly, (as is asserted by some other of the ancients,) to be more expressive and significant of that blood and water which flowed from our Saviour's side, when he was pierced upon the cross.[80] St. Cyprian indeed pleads strenuously for the mixture, and urges it from the practice and example of our Lord;[81] but then it is to be observed, that he is arguing against those who used water alone, (for fear the heathens should discover them by the smell of the wine,) and therefore might insist upon the mixture as necessary, because otherwise the wine was the part that was wanting; which he plainly enough allows to be the only essential in the cup, when he asserts that wine alone would be better than pure water.[82] For if both of them were essential, neither of them could be said to be better than the other. And for the same reason it is, that some other Fathers and Councils enjoin the mixture so strictly, viz. because the Encratites and others, who looked upon wine and flesh to be forbidden, would administer the cup in the sacrament of the eucharist, with pure water alone.[83] Though it is true the Armenians, who administered in pure wine alone, are equally condemned by the Council in Trullo,[84] who produce the authority of St. James's and St. Basil's Liturgies against them: to which may be added, the Liturgies under the name of St.

[76] Just. Mart. Apol. 1, cap. 85, p. 125, 128. Iren. l. 4, cap. 57, p. 357, et l. 5, cap. 2, p. 397. Clem. Alex. Pædag. l. 2, cap. 2. [77] 1 Cor. xi. Jude 12. Ignat. ad Smyrn. §. 8. p. 5. Clem. Alex. Pædag. l. 2, cap. 1. Tertull. Apol. cap. 39. Const. Ap. l. 2, cap. 28. [78] 1 Cor. xi. [79] Ad Cæcil. Ep. 63, p. 148, &c. [80] Ambros. de Sacr. l. 5, cap. 1. Gennad. de Eccles. Dogm. c. 75. Theophylact. in Johan. xix. 34. Martin Bracar. Collect. Canon. cap. 55. [81] Cypr. ut supra. [82] Sacramentum rei illius admonere et instruere nos debet, ut in sacrificiis Dominicis Vinum POTIUS offeramus. Ibid.
[83] Epiphan. Hær. 46, tom. i. p. 392. Aug. de Hæres. cap. 64. Theodoret. de Fabulis Hæreticor. l. 1, c. 20, tom. 4, p. 208. [84] Can. 32, tom. 6, col. 1156, 1157.

Mark and St. Chrysostom, and that which is contained in the eighth book of the Constitution.[85] And indeed it must be confessed, that the mixture has, in all ages, been the general practice, and for that reason was enjoined, as has been noted above, to be continued in our own Church, by the first reformers. And though in the next review the order for it was omitted, yet the practice of it was continued in the king's chapel royal, all the time that bishop Andrews was dean of it;[86] who also in the form that he drew up for the consecration of a church, &c., expressly directs and orders it to be used.[87] How it came to be neglected in the review of our Liturgy in king Edward's reign, I have not yet been able to discover. I am apt to suspect that it was thrown out upon some objection of Calvin or Bucer, who were no friends to any practice for its being ancient and catholic, if it did not happen to suit with their fancy or humour. But whatever may have been the cause of laying it aside, since there is no reason to believe it essential; and since every Church has liberty to determine for herself in things not essential; it must be an argument sure of a very indiscreet and over-hasty zeal, to urge the omission of it as a ground for separation.

SECT. XI.—*Of the Prayer for the whole State of Christ's Church.*

THE alms, and devotions, and oblations of the people being now presented to God, and placed before him upon the holy table; it is a proper time to proceed to the exercise of another branch of our charity, I mean that of intercession. Our alms perhaps are confined to a few indigent neighbours; but our prayers may extend to all mankind, by recommending them all to the mercies of God, who is able to supply and relieve them all. Nor can we at any time hope to intercede more effectually for the whole Church of God, than just when we are about to represent and shew forth to the divine Majesty that meritorious sacrifice, by virtue whereof our great High Priest did once redeem us, and for ever continues to intercede for us in heaven. For which reason we find that the ancient and primitive Christians, whenever they celebrated these holy mysteries, used a form of intercession for the whole catholic

How properly used here.

[85] Cap. 12. [86] See the primitive Rule of Reformation, according to the first Liturgy of king Edward VI., page 20, printed in quarto, 1688. [87] Sparrow's Collection, 395, 396.

Church.[88] But there is this difference between our practice and theirs, that whereas we use it immediately after the placing the elements upon the table; it is in all the ancient Liturgies, except in St. Mark's and the Ethiopian, deferred till after the consecration.

Prayers for the dead an ancient and catholic practice.

§. 2. In the primitive Church too their prayers were more extensive, and took in the dead as well as the living: not that they had any notion of the Romish purgatory, or so much as imagined that those whom they prayed for were racked or tormented with any temporary pain. There were some of the ancients, it is true, who believed (and it seems to have been the current opinion from Origen downwards) that the trial we shall undergo at the last great day will be a state of purgation; which they imagined to consist of a probational fire, through which all must pass, (even the prophets and apostles, and the Virgin Mary herself not excepted,) and which shall differently affect us, as we shall be differently prepared:[89] and upon this perhaps some of them might found the prayers they used for the departed saints. Others again believed that Christ should reign a thousand years upon earth, before the final day of judgment; and also supposed that the saints should rise to enjoy and partake of this happy state, before the general resurrection of the dead:[90] and therefore they prayed for the souls of the deceased, that they might not only rest in peace for the present, but also obtain part in the first resurrection.[91] However they all agreed in this, that the interval between death and the end of the world is a state of expectation and imperfect bliss, in which the souls of the righteous wait for the completion and perfection of their happiness at the consummation of all things: and therefore, whilst they were praying for the catholic Church, they thought it not improper

[88] Chrys. Liturg. et Hom. 52, in Eustath. et Hom. 26, in Mat. et Hom. 37, in Act. et de Sacerdot. l. 6, c. 4. Cyril. Catech. Mystag. 5, n. 6. Const. Apost. l. 8, c. 12.

[89] Origen. in Exod. xv. Hom. 6, et in Psalm xxxvi. Hom. 3. Lactant. Institut. l. 7, c. 21, p. 653. Basil. in Isa. iv. 4, tom. i. p. 932. Greg. Nyss. de Mortuis Orat. tom. iii. p. 638. Greg. Naz. Orat. 39, tom. i. p. 636. Ambros. Enarrat. in Psalm xxxvi. §. 26, tom. i. col. 789, 790, et in Psalm cxviii. Serm. 3, §. 14—17, tom. i. col. 997, 998, et Serm. 20, col. 1225, 1226, edit. Benedict. Paris. 1686. Hieron. in Mal. iii. tom. iii. col. 1825, et l. 1, adv. Pelag. tom. iv. col. 502, edit. Benedict. Paris. 1704. Aug. Respons. ad Quæst. 1. Dulcit. tom. vi. col. 121, 126, 128, et Enchirid. de Fide, Spe, et Charitate, cap. 67, 68, 69, in tom. eod. col. 221, 222, et de Civ. Dei, l. 20, c. 25, tom. vii. col. 609, edit. Benedict. Paris. 1685. Consule etiam Estium in 1 Cor. iii. 13.

[90] St. Barnabas, c. 15. Just. Mart. Trypho, p. 306, &c. Irenæus, l. 5, c. 30, 31, 32, &c. Tertull. adv. Marcion. l. 3, c. 24. Lactant. Institut. l. 7, c. 14, 15, 24, &c.

[91] Tertull. de Monogam. c. 10. Ambros. de Obitu Valentin. ad finem, et in Psalm i.

to add a petition in behalf of that larger and better part of it which had gone before them, that they might all together attain a blessed and glorious resurrection, and be brought at last to a perfect fruition of happiness in heaven.[92] By this means they testified their love and respect to the dead, declared their belief in the communion of saints, and kept up in themselves a lively sense of the soul's immortality. And with this intent a petition for the deceased was continued by our reformers, in this very prayer of which we are now discoursing, in the first Common Prayer Book of king Edward VI. But this, with a larger thanksgiving for the examples of the saints,* than what we now use, was left out of the second book, upon the exceptions of Bucer[93] and Calvin,[94] and the words, *militant here on earth*, were added to the exhortation, *Let us pray for the whole state of Christ's Church*, in order to limit the prayer to the living only. The substance of the thanksgiving indeed was added again afterwards, first to the Scotch Liturgy, and then to our own at the last review: though that in the Scotch Liturgy † keeps closest to the words in the first

* In the Common Prayer of 1549, the words, "all Christian Kings, Princes, and Governors," were not inserted, nor the words, "and especially to this Congregation here present." But after the petition for those that are "in trouble, sorrow, need, sickness, or any other adversity," the prayer went on thus: "And especially we commend unto thy merciful goodness, the Congregation which is here assembled in thy name, to celebrate the commemoration of the most glorious death of thy Son. And here we do give unto thee most high praise and hearty thanks, for the wonderful grace and virtue declared in all thy Saints, from the beginning of the world, and chiefly in the glorious and most blessed Virgin Mary, Mother of thy Son Jesus Christ our Lord and God, and in the holy Patriarchs, Prophets, Apostles, and Martyrs, whose examples (O Lord) and stedfastness in thy faith, and keeping thy holy Commandments, grant us to follow. We commend unto thy mercy, O Lord, all other thy servants which are departed hence from us, with the sign of faith, and now do rest in the sleep of peace: Grant unto them, we beseech thee, thy mercy and everlasting peace, and that at the day of the general Resurrection, we and all they which be of the mystical body of thy Son, may altogether be set on his right hand, and hear that his most joyful voice, Come unto me, O ye that be blessed of my Father, and possess the kingdom which is prepared for you from the beginning of the world. Grant this, O Father, for Jesus Christ's sake, our only Mediator and Advocate."

† "And to all thy people give thy heavenly grace, that with meek heart and due reverence, they may hear and receive thy holy word, truly serving thee in holiness and righteousness all the days of their life. [And we commend especially unto thy merciful goodness the congregation which is here assembled in thy name, to celebrate the commemoration of the most precious death of thy Son, and our Saviour Jesus Christ.]" Then the petition for all in adversity: after which as follows: "And we also bless thy holy name for all those thy servants, who having finished their course in faith do now rest from

When there is no Communion, these words thus enclosed [ ] are to be left out.

[92] Tertull. ut supra, et de Coron. Mil. c. 3, 4, et Exhortat. ad Castitat. c. 11. Cypr. Ep. 1, et 55. Euseb. in Vit. Constant. l. 4, c. 71. Arnob. adv. Gentes sub fine, l. 4. Cyril. Catech. Mystag. 5. Ambros. ut supra. Epiphan. Hær. 75. Aerian. n. 7. Chrysost. de Sacerdot. lib. 6, cap. 4, et in Moral. Hom. 3, in Ep. ad Philip. et Hom. 41, in 1 Cor. Aug. de Cura pro Mortuis gerenda, c. 4, et Confess. l. 9, c. 13, et Const. Apost. l. 8, c. 41, 42, 43. [93] Script. Anglican. p. 467, 468. [94] Epistola ad Bucerum, as cited in A Coal from the Altar, page 38.

book of king Edward. And though the direct petition for the *faithful departed* is still discontinued, yet, were it not for the restriction of the words, *militant here on earth*, they might be supposed to be implied in our present form, when we beg of God that *we* WITH THEM *may be partakers of his heavenly kingdom.*

SECT. XII.—*Of the Exhortations on the Sunday or Holy-day before the Communion.*

Due preparation necessary to the receiving the Sacrament.

GREAT mysteries ought to be ushered in with the solemnities of a great preparation: God gave the Israelites three days' warning of his design to publish the Law,[95] and ordered their festivals to be proclaimed by the sound of a trumpet some time before.[96] The Paschal Lamb (the type of Christ in this sacrament) was to be chosen and kept by them four days, to put them in mind of preparing for the celebration of the passover:[97] and Christians, having more and higher duties to do in order to this holy feast, ought not to have less time or shorter warning. Wherefore, as good Hezekiah published, by particular expresses, his intended passover long before;[98] so hath our Church prudently ordered timely notice to be given, that none might pretend to stay away out of ignorance of the time, or unfitness for the duty, but that all might come, and with due preparation.

Why there were no Exhortations in the primitive Church.

§. 2. The ancient Church indeed had no such exhortations: for their daily, or at least weekly communions, made it known that there was then no solemn assembly of Christians without it; and every one (not under censure) was expected to communicate. But now, when the time is somewhat uncertain, and our long omissions have made some of us ignorant, and others forgetful of this duty; most of us unwilling, and all of us more or less indisposed for it; it was thought both prudent and necessary to provide these exhortations, to be read *when the Minister gives warning of the Communion, which he is always*

their labours. And we yield unto thee most high praise and hearty thanks for the wonderful grace and virtue declared in all thy servants, who have been the choice vessels of thy grace, and the lights of the world in their several generations: most humbly beseeching thee, that we may have grace to follow the example of their stedfastness in thy faith, and obedience to thy holy Commandments, that at the day of the general Resurrection, we, and all they which are of the mystical body of thy Son, may be set on his right hand, and hear that his most joyful voice, Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world. Grant this, O Father, for Jesus Christ's sake, our only Mediator and Advocate. Amen."

[95] Exod. xix. 15. [96] Lev. xxv. 9. Numb. x. 2. [97] Exod. xii. 3, 6. [98] 2 Chron. xxx.

to do, upon the Sunday or some Holy-day immediately preceding.

§. 3. As to the composures themselves, they are so extraordinary suitable, that if every communicant would duly weigh and consider them, they would be no small help towards a due preparation. The first contains proper exhortations and instructions how to prepare ourselves: the latter is more urgent, and applicable to those who generally turn their backs upon those holy mysteries, and shews the danger of those vain and frivolous excuses which men frequently make for their staying away. For which reason it is appointed by the rubric to be used instead of the former, whenever the Minister shall observe that the people *are negligent to come.**

The usefulness of these composures.

* In the Common Prayer of 1549, only the first of these exhortations was inserted, and that pretty different from our present one in words, though much the same in sense: it was a little enlarged towards the conclusion in relation to auricular and secret confessions, which I shall have another occasion to take notice of hereafter.[99] And in that book it was designed, as now, to be read on some day before the Communion to which the people were to be exhorted. The second exhortation was not added till 1552. And then it was appointed to be used at the Communion-time (immediately after the prayer for the whole state of Christ's Church) "at certain times when the Curate should see the people negligent to come to the holy Communion." And therefore it began, "We be come together at this time (dearly beloved brethren) to feed at the Lord's Supper; unto the which, in God's behalf, I bid you all that are here present," and so on as in the present form, till after the words—"how severe punishment hangeth over your heads for the same"—it went on thus, to reprove a custom, which it seems then prevailed, of some people's standing gazing in the church (whilst others communicated) without receiving. "And whereas ye offend God so sore in refusing this holy banquet, I admonish, exhort, and beseech you, that unto this unkindness ye will not add any more. Which thing ye shall do, if ye stand by as gazers and lookers on them that communicate, and be not partakers of the same yourselves. For what thing can this be accounted else, than a further contempt and unkindness unto God? Truly it is a great unthankfulness to say, Nay, when ye be called; but the fault is much greater when men stand by, and yet will neither eat nor drink the holy Communion with others. I pray you, what can this be else, but even to have the mysteries of Christ in derision? It is said unto all, Take ye and eat; take and drink ye all of this; do this in remembrance of me. With what face then, or with what countenance shall ye hear these words? What will this be else but a neglecting, a despising and mocking of the testament of Christ? Wherefore rather than ye should do so, depart ye hence, and give place to them that be godly disposed. But when you depart, I beseech you, ponder with yourselves from whence ye depart. Ye depart from the Lord's table, ye depart from your brethren, and from the banquet of most heavenly food. These things if ye earnestly consider, ye shall by God's grace return to a better mind; for the obtaining whereof we shall make our humble petitions while we shall receive the holy Communion." And thus stood this form till the restoration of king Charles II., during all which time that which is in our present book the first exhortation, stood the second in the old books, as being "sometimes also to be said at the discretion of the Curate." But in 1662, they were both somewhat altered and transposed, and adapted to be used upon a Sunday or Holy-day before the Communion, which occasioned the first sentence to that which is at present our first exhortation to be then added. Though indeed they are now all of them so altered in the expression, and transposed in their order, that the more curious reader, that thinks the difference worth examining, must look into the originals; there being no way of giving him an exact account of them here, but by transcribing them at length, which will take up more room than I know how to allow.

[99] Chap. xi. Sect. iv. v.

How this rubric is to be reconciled with that after the Nicene Creed.

§. 4. How the rubric that orders these exhortations to be read *after the Sermon or Homily is ended*, may be reconciled to the rubric that orders the Minister *to give notice of the Communion before Sermon*, I have already shewed upon that place.

SECT. XIII.—*Of the Exhortation at the Communion.*

The design of it.

THE former exhortations are designed to increase the numbers of the communicants, and this to rectify their dispositions; that so they may be not only many but good. In the ancient Greek Church, besides all other preparatory matters, when the congregation were all placed in order to receive the Sacrament; the Priest, even then standing on the steps to be seen of all, stretched out his hand, and lifted up his voice in the midst of that profound silence, inviting the worthy, and warning the unworthy to forbear.*[100] Which if it were necessary in those blessed days, how much more requisite is it in our looser age, wherein men have learned to trample upon Church discipline, and to come out of fashion at set times, whether they be prepared or not! Every one hopes to pass in the crowd; but *knowing the terror of the Lord*, though the people have been exhorted before, and though they are now come with a purpose of communicating, and are even *conveniently placed for the receiving of the holy Sacrament*, yet the Priest again exhorts them in the words of St. Paul, *diligently to try and examine themselves before they presume to eat of that bread, and drink of that cup*, &c.†

* Agreeably to which the clause in the first of our present exhortations, "Therefore if any of you be a blasphemer of God," &c., to the words, "body and soul," was in all the former books inserted in this exhortation, between the words "sundry kinds of death," and—"judge therefore yourselves," &c. And in the first English Communion Office published in the year 1547, the same clause was still more aptly appointed to be said after this exhortation, "to them which were ready to take the Sacrament. After which the Priest was to pause a while to see if any man would withdraw himself: (and if he perceived any so to do, he was then to commune with him privately at convenient leisure, and see whether he could with good exhortation bring him to grace.) After a little pause, the Priest was to say, Ye that do truly," &c.[1]

† In all the books between the first of king Edward and our present one, this exhortation was to be added to one of the others, which, as I have shewed in the preceding note, were, during all that time, appointed to be used upon the day of Communion. But in king Edward's first book the rubric ordered this immediately to follow the Sermon or Homily, i. e. "if the people were not exhorted" in the said Sermon or Homily itself "to the worthy receiving of the holy Sacrament:" and that too only where Communions were not frequent: for by the rubric that immediately follows the exhortation in the same book, it is allowed, that "in cathedral churches or other places where there is daily Communion, it shall be sufficient to read this exhortation above written once in a month: and that in parish churches, upon the week-days, it may be left unsaid."

[100] Chrysost. Hom. 27, in ix. ad Hebr. tom. iv. p. 524, 529. [1] Sparrow's Collection, p. 22.

§. 2. The ordering that the *communicants shall be conveniently placed for the receiving of the holy Sacrament*, before the Minister reads the exhortation, seems to have an eye to an old custom, still retained in some country churches, where the communicants kneel down in rows one behind another, and there continue till the Minister comes to them. In the first Common Prayer of king Edward, it is thus ordered, just after the Offertory or Sentences: *Then so many as shall be partakers of the holy Communion shall tarry still in the choir, the men on the one side, and the women on the other side*; where it may be remarked, that the separating the men from the women, and allotting to each sex a distinct place, was what was very strictly observed in the primitive Church.[2]

The Communicants when and how to be conveniently placed.

SECT. XIV.—*Of the Invitation.*

THE feast being now ready, and the guests prepared with due instruction, the Priest (who is the steward of those mysteries) invites them to *draw near*; thereby putting them in mind, that they are now invited into Christ's more special presence, to sit down with him at his own table: (and therefore I think it would be more proper if all the communicants were, at these words, to come from the more remote parts of the Church as near to the Lord's table as they could.) But then he adviseth them, in the words of the primitive Liturgies,[3] (i. e. according to our present book,) to draw near *with faith*, without which all their bodily approaches will avail them nothing, it being only by faith that they can really draw near to Christ, *and take this holy Sacrament to their comfort*. But seeing they cannot exercise their faith as they ought, until they have heartily confessed and repented of their sins; therefore he further calls upon them to *make their humble confession to Almighty God, meekly kneeling upon their knees.**

The design of it.

SECT. XV.—*Of the Confession.*

BESIDES the private confession of the closet, and that made to the Priest in cases of great doubt, there was anciently a general prayer for forgiveness and mercy in the public service of the Church, used

The suitableness of it in this place.

* In king Edward's first book, it was—"to Almighty God, and to his holy Church here gathered together in his name, meekly kneeling," &c. In all the other old ones—"to Almighty God, before the congregation here gathered together in his holy name," &c.

[2] Const. Apost. l. 2, c. 57. Chrys. et S. Jacob.

[3] Μετὰ φόβου καὶ πίστεως προσέλθετε. Liturg. S.

by all the communicants when they were come to the altar.[4] And since Christ's sufferings are here commemorated, it is very reasonable we should confess our sins which were the causes of them: and since we hope to have our pardon sealed, we ought first with shame and sorrow to own our transgressions, for his honour who so freely forgives them: which the congregation here does in words so apposite and pathetical, that if their repentance be answerable to the form, it is impossible it should ever be more hearty and sincere.*

SECT. XVI.—*Of the Absolution.*

The necessity of it before the Sacrament.

WHEN the discipline of the ancient Church was in force, no notorious offender could escape the censures that his sin deserved: nor was he admitted to the Sacrament without a public and solemn absolution upon his repentance. But this godly discipline being now every where laid aside, (to the great detriment of the Church,) it is so much the more necessary to supply it by a general Confession and Absolution: of which see more upon the morning and evening service.

Why used in this place.

§. 2. As to this particular form, it shall suffice to note, that it is in imitation of that ancient form of blessing recorded, Numb. vi. 24, &c. And since it is certain that there is such a power vested in the Ministers of the Gospel, as to support the spirit of a dejected penitent, by assuring him of a pardon in the name of God; there can be no fitter opportunity to exercise it than now, viz. when so many humbled sinners are kneeling before him, and begging forgiveness at his hands: which therefore thus coming accordingly from a person commissionated by Christ for this end, ought to be received with faith and gratitude, since it is the only way to quiet people's consciences, now revelations are ceased.

SECT. XVII.—*Of the Sentences of Scripture.*

The advantage of them in this place.

IT is so necessary for every one that would receive comfort and benefit by this blessed Sacrament, to have a lively faith, and a mind freed

* In all the Common Prayer Books "this general Confession was to be made in the name of all those that were minded to receive the Holy Communion, either by one of them, or by one of the Ministers, or by the Priest himself:" but by the Scotch Liturgy it was confined "to the Presbyter himself, or the Deacon," and from thence by our own (upon the exception of the Presbyterians at the last review) "to one of the Ministers, both he and all the people humbly kneeling upon their knees."

[4] Chrys. Hom. 18. in 2 Cor. viii. tom. iii. p. 647, lin. 12, &c.

from unreasonable fears; that the Church, lest any should doubt of the validity of the foregoing Absolution, hath subjoined these Sentences; which are the very promises on which it is grounded, and so overflowing with sweet and powerful comforts, that if duly considered they will satisfy the most fearful souls, heal the most broken hearts, and utterly banish the blackest clouds of sorrow and despair.

SECT. XVIII.—*Of the Lauds and Anthem.*

AFTER we have exercised our charity, repentance, and faith, the next part of the office is thanksgiving, which is so considerable a part of our present duty, that it hath given name to the whole, and caused it to be called the *Eucharist* or *Sacrifice of Praise*. And here we begin with the Lauds and Anthem, which, together with most of the remaining part of the office, are purely primitive, near as old as Christianity itself, being to be found almost verbatim amongst the ancient writers.[5] Having therefore exercised our faith upon the foregoing sentences, and so got above this world, we are now ready to go into the other, and to join with the glorified saints and angels, in praising and adoring that God who hath done so great things for us. In order to this, the Minister calls upon us to *lift up our hearts*, viz. by a most quick and lively faith in the most high God, the supreme Governor of the whole world, which being ready to do, we immediately answer, *We lift them up unto the Lord;* and so casting off all thoughts of the world, turn our minds to God alone.

The antiquity of them.

Pr. Lift up your hearts.

Ans. We lift them up, &c.

§. 2. And our hearts being now all elevated together, and in a right posture to celebrate the praises of God, the Minister invites us all to join with him in doing it, saying, *Let us give thanks unto our Lord God:* which the people having consented to and approved of, by saying, *It is meet and right so to do;* he turns himself to the Lord's table, and acknowledgeth to the divine Majesty there specially present, that *It is very meet, right, and our bounden duty, that we should at all times, and in all places, give thanks*, &c.

Pr. Let us give thanks, &c.

Ans. It is meet and right, &c.

Pr. It is very meet, &c.

[5] Const. Apost. l. 8, 12. Liturg. S. Jacob. S. Chrysost. S. Basil.—Cyril. Catech. Mystag. 5.

A large thanksgiving always used in the primitive Church.

§. 3. But this, in the primitive Church, was only the introduction to the *εὐχαριστία*, properly so called, which was a great and long thanksgiving to God for all his mercies of creation, providence, and redemption, from whence the whole service took the name of *eucharist* or *thanksgiving*. For in all the ancient Liturgies, as soon as ever the aforesaid words were pronounced, there was immediately subjoined a commemoration of all that God had done for man from the foundation of the world, and more particularly in the great and wonderful mystery of our redemption. And in some part or other of this solemn glorification, was always included the *trisagion* or seraphical hymn that follows next in our own Liturgy; which was sung, as with us, by the Minister and whole congregation jointly,* after which the Minister again went on alone to finish the thanksgiving. We have no where else indeed so long a thanksgiving as that in the Constitutions;[6] but the length of this is no argument against its antiquity. For Justin Martyr, when he describes the Christian rites and mysteries, says, that "as soon as the common prayers were ended, and they had saluted one another with a kiss, bread and wine was brought to him who presided over the brethren, who receiving them, gave praise and glory to the Father of all things, through the name of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, and make *εὐχαριστίαν ἐπὶ πολὺ, a very long thanksgiving*, for the blessings which he bestowed upon them."[7] Afterwards indeed, as devotion grew cold, this long doxology was contracted; but still so that the two greatest blessings of God, i. e. the creation and redemption by Christ, together with the words of institution, were always set forth, and thanks given to God for these things. And this is supposed to have been according to our Saviour's own example. For the Jews at the Passover constantly commemorated their redemption from Egypt, their settlement in the good land which they then possessed, and all the other blessings which God had bestowed upon them:[8] and therefore it is not to be doubted but that as our Saviour imitated the ceremonies of the Jews in so many other

* This is only to be understood of the latter part of it, where it begins with *Holy, holy, holy*, &c., where the chorus came in; the former part of it being only pronounced by the Minister himself; and so it was used in our own Church during the time of king Edward's first Liturgy.

[6] L. 8, c. 12.

[7] Just. Mart. Apol. 1, c. 86, p. 125, 126. Vide et Cyril. Catech. Mystag. 5, n. 5.

[8] Vide Fagium in Deut. viii.

particulars of this holy Sacrament; so also, when he *gave thanks*,[9] he used a form to the same purpose; only adding a thanksgiving for the redemption of the world by his sufferings and death, which was probably what he ordered his Apostles to perform, when he commanded them to *do this in remembrance of him*, and *to shew forth his death till he come*.[10] And accordingly we find, that all the ancient Liturgies have an eucharistical prayer, agreeable in all points to that described by Justin Martyr, (excepting in its length, to which that in the Constitutions only comes up,) setting forth the mercies of God in our creation and redemption, and particularly in the death and resurrection of his Son. The Roman Missal, I believe, was the first that omitted it; and the omission of it there might perhaps be the occasion of its not being taken notice of when our own Liturgy was compiled. For the more solemn festivals indeed there are some short prefaces provided to commemorate the particular mercies of each season: but upon ordinary occasions (as our Liturgy stands now) we have no other thanksgiving than what these lauds contain.

SECT. XIX.—*Of the Trisagium.*

Therefore with angels and archangels.

THE Minister now looking upon himself and the rest of the congregation as Communicants with the Church triumphant; and all of us apprehending ourselves, by faith, as in the midst of that blessed society; we join with them in singing forth the praises of the most high God, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, saying, *Therefore with angels, and archangels, and with all the company of heaven, we laud and magnify thy glorious name, evermore praising thee, and saying, Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Hosts, heaven and earth are full of thy glory,* [*Hosanna in the highest, blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord,**] *Glory be to thee, O Lord most high.*

Angels thought to be present at the performance of divine mysteries.

§. 2. That the angels were present at the performance of divine mysteries, hath been the opinion of both Heathens and Christians;[11] and that they are especially present at the Lord's Supper, is generally received.[12] For since Jesus

* The words thus enclosed [ ] were only in the first book of king Edward.

[9] Matt. xxvi. 26. Mark xiv. 23. Luke xxii. 19. 1 Cor. xi. 24. [10] Luke xxii. 19. 1 Cor. xi. 25. [11] *Δαίμονας ἐπισκόπους θείων ἱερῶν, καὶ μυστηρίων ὑργιαστὰς*, esse dicit Plutarch. lib. de Orac. Angelo Orationis adhuc adstante. Tertull. de Orat. c. 12, p. 134, B. [12] Chrys. in Ephes. i. Hom. 3, tom. iii. p. 778, l. 30, 31.

by his death hath united heaven and earth, it is fit that, in this commemoration of his passion, we should begin to unite our voices with the heavenly choir, with whom we hope to praise him to all eternity. For which end the Christians of the very first ages took this hymn into their office for the Sacrament,[13] being of divine original,[14] and from the word *holy* thrice repeated in it, called by the Greeks Τρισάγιον, the *Trisagium*, or *Thrice Holy*.

SECT. XX.—*Of the proper Prefaces.*

Why to be repeated eight days together.

ON the greater festivals there are proper prefaces appointed, which are also to be repeated, in case there be a Communion, for seven days after the festivals themselves,* (excepting that for Whit-Sunday, which is to be repeated only six days after, because Trinity-Sunday, which is the seventh, hath a preface peculiar to itself;) to the end that the mercies may be the better remembered by often repetition, and also that all the people (who in most places cannot communicate all in one day) may have other opportunities, within those eight days, to join in praising God for such great blessings.

Christian festivals, why lengthened out for several days.

§. 2. The reason of the Church's lengthening out these high feasts for several days, is plain: the subject-matter of them is of so high a nature, and so nearly concerns our salvation, that one day would be too little to meditate upon them, and praise God for them as we ought. A *bodily* deliverance may justly require *one* day of thanksgiving and joy: but the deliverance of the *soul* by the blessings commemorated on those times, deserves a much *longer* time of praise and acknowledgment. Since therefore it would be injurious to Christians to have their joy and thankfulness for such mercies confined to one day; the Church, upon the times when these unspeakable blessings were wrought for us, invites us, by her most seasonable commands and counsels, to fill our hearts with joy and thankfulness, and let them overflow eight days together.

Why fixed to eight days.

§. 3. The reason of their being fixed to eight days, is taken from the practice of the Jews, who by God's appointment observed their greater festivals, some of them for seven, and one, viz. the feast of

* In king Edward's first book they were only appointed for the days themselves.

[13] See the note in page 291. [14] Isa. vi. 3.

Tabernacles, for eight days.[15] And therefore the primitive Church, thinking that the observation of Christian festivals (of which the Jewish feasts were only types and shadows) ought not to come short of them, lengthened out their higher feasts to eight days.

Though others give a quite different and mystical reason, viz. that as the octave or eighth day signifies Eternity, (our whole lives being but the repetition or revolution of seven days;) so the Church, by commanding us to observe these great feasts for eight days, (upon the last of which especially, great part of the solemnity is repeated which was used upon the first,) seems to hint to us, that if we continue the seven days of this mortal life in a due and constant service and worship of God; we shall, upon the eighth day of eternity, return to the first happy state we were created in.

§. 4. But whatever the rise of this custom was, we are assured that the whole eight days were very solemnly observed: on which they had always some proper preface relating to the peculiar mercy of the feast they celebrated; to the end that all, who received at any of those times, should, besides the general praises offered up for all God's mercies, make a special memorial proper to the festival.

The design of the Prefaces.

§. 5. In the Roman Church they had ten of them,[16] but our reformers have only retained five of the most ancient; all which (except that for Trinity-Sunday, retained by reason of the great mystery it celebrates) are concerning the principal acts of our Redemption, viz. the Nativity, Resurrection, and Ascension of our Saviour, and of his sending the Holy Ghost to comfort us.

The subjects of them.

SECT. XXI.—*Of the Address.*

THE nearer we approach to these holy mysteries, the greater reverence we ought to express; for since it is out of God's mere grace and goodness, that we have the honour to approach his table; it is at least our duty to acknowledge it to be a free and undeserved favour, agreeing rather to the mercy of the giver, than to the

The propriety of it in this place.

[15] Leviticus xxiii. 36. [16] Viz. For Low-Sunday, for Ascension-day, for Pentecost, for Christmas-day, for the Apparition of our Lord, for the Apostles, for the Holy Trinity, for the Cross, for the Lent-Fast, and for the Blessed Virgin. Johnson's Ecclesiastical Laws, A. D. 1175, 14. Though I do not know what should be meant by the Apparition of our Lord, except it be his Epiphany, or else his Transfiguration.

deserts of the receivers. And therefore, lest our exultations should savour of too much confidence, we now allay them with this act of humility, which the Priest offers up *in the name of all them that receive the Communion;* therein excusing his own and the people's unworthiness, in words taken from the most ancient Liturgies.

The order of the Communion-office in the Scotch Liturgy.

§. 2. In the Scotch Common Prayer this *Address* is ordered to be said just before the Minister receives: and in the same place it stands in the first Liturgy of king Edward. Though the whole Communion-office in king Edward's first book is so very different, as to the order of it, from what it is now, that there can be no shewing how it stood then, but by a particular detail, which I shall therefore give in the margin.* The Scotch Liturgy is something different from this,† though either of them I take to be in a more primitive method than our own.

SECT. XXII.—*Of the Prayer of Consecration.*

THE ancient Greeks and Romans would not taste of their

* The beginning of the Communion-office in king Edward's first book, as far as to the Collect for the king, I have already given in page 262. After which it proceeds in this order. The Epistle; the Gospel; the Nicene Creed; then the Exhortation to be used at the time of the Communion; and after that stands the Exhortation to be used on some day before: then the Sentences; the Lauds, Anthem, and Prefaces; the Prayer for "the whole State of Christ's Church," with the Prayer of Consecration; the Prayer of Oblation, (of which hereafter;) the Lord's Prayer, with this introduction, "As our Saviour Christ hath commanded and taught us, we are bound to say, our Father." After which the Priest was to say, "The peace of the Lord be always with you:" the Clerks, "And with thy spirit." Then the Priest, "Christ our Paschal Lamb is offered for us, once for all, when he bare our sins in his body on the Cross; for he is the very Lamb of God that taketh away the sins of the world: wherefore let us keep a joyful and holy feast with the Lord." Then came the Invitation, the Confession, the Absolution, with the comfortable Sentences out of Scripture: after those the Prayer of Address; immediately after which the Minister received, and distributed to the Congregation. And during the Communion time the Clerks were to sing, beginning as soon as the Priest received, "O Lamb of God, that takest away the sins of the world, Have mercy upon us: O Lamb of God, that takest away the sins of the world, Grant us thy peace." When the Communion was ended, the Clerks were to sing the Post-Communion, which consisted of the following Sentences of Scripture, which were to be "said or sung, every day one," viz. Matt. xvi. 24. xxiv. 13. Luke i. 68, 74, 75. xii. 43, 46, 47. John iv. 23. v. 14. viii. 31, 32. xii. 36. xiv. 21. xv. 7. Rom. viii. 31, 32, 33, 34. xiii. 12. 1 Cor. i. 30, 31. iii. 16, 17. vi. 20. Ephes. v. 1, 2. This done, the Salutation passed between the Minister and the People, "The Lord be with you. And with thy spirit." And then the Minister concluded the office with the second prayer in our present Post-Communion and the blessing. How these several forms, or the rubrics that belong to them, differ from the forms that we use now, I must shew as I am treating upon the several particulars. I only set down the order of them here, to give the reader a general view of the whole.

† In the Scotch Liturgy, after the prayer of Consecration follows immediately a prayer of Oblation, (which is the same with the first prayer that follows the Lord's Prayer in our Post-Communion, beginning, "O Lord and heavenly Father," &c., but introduced with a proper introduction, which shall be given by and by.) After this prayer of Oblation follows the Lord's Prayer; then comes the Address, and then the Priest receives and administers. After all have communicated is said the prayer, "Almighty and everliving God," &c., and so on as in ours.

ordinary meat and drink till they had hallowed it by giving the first parts of it to their gods:[17] the Jews would not eat of their sacrifice till Samuel came to bless it:[18] and the primitive Christians always began their common meals with a solemn prayer for a blessing:[19] a custom so universal, that it is certainly a part of natural religion: how much more then ought we to expect the prayers of the Priest over this mysterious food of our souls, before we eat of it! especially since our Saviour himself did not deliver this bread and wine until he had consecrated them by *blessing them*, and *giving thanks*.[20] So that this prayer is the most ancient and essential part of the whole Communion-office; and there are some who believe that the Apostles themselves, after a suitable introduction, used the latter part of it, from those words, *who in the same night*,[21] &c., and it is certain that no Liturgy in the world hath altered that particular.

The antiquity of it.

§. 2. But besides this, there was always inserted in the primitive forms, a particular petition for the descent of the Holy Ghost upon the Sacramental Elements, which was also continued in the first Liturgy of king Edward VI., in very express and open terms. *Hear us, O merciful Father, we beseech thee, and with thy Holy Spirit and Word vouchsafe to bl+ess and sanc+tify these thy gifts and creatures of Bread and Wine, that they may be unto us the Body and Blood of thy most dearly beloved Son Jesus Christ, who in the same night*, &c. This, upon the scruples of Bucer, (whom I am sorry I have so often occasion to name,) was left out at the review in the fifth of king Edward; and the following sentence, which he was pleased to allow of, inserted in its stead; viz. *Hear us, O merciful Father, we most humbly beseech thee, and grant that we receiving these thy creatures of Bread and Wine, according to thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ's holy Institution, in remembrance of his Death and Passion, may be partakers of his most blessed Body and Blood, who in the same night*, &c. In these words, it is true, the sense of the former is still implied, and consequently by these the Elements are now consecrated, and so become the Body and Blood of our Saviour Christ.

A prayer for the descent of the Holy Ghost always used by the primitive Church.

[17] Alex. ab Alex. Gen. Dier. l. v. c. 21. [18] 1 Samuel ix. 13. [19] Tert. Apol. c. 39, p. 32, B. [20] Matt. xxvi. 26. 1 Cor. xi. 24. [21] Alcuin. de Divin. Offic. c. 39.

To which they attributed the Consecration of the Elements.

In the rubric indeed, after the form of Administration, the Church seems to suppose that the Consecration is made by the words of Institution: for there it says, that *if the consecrated Bread and Wine be all spent before all have communicated, the Priest is to consecrate more according to the form before prescribed; beginning at* [Our Saviour Christ in the same night, &c.] *for the blessing of the Bread; and at* [Likewise after supper, &c.] *for the blessing of the Cup.* This rubric was added in the last review: but to what end, unless to save the Minister some time, does not appear. But what is very remarkable is, that it was taken from the Scotch Liturgy, which expressly calls the words of Institution *the words of Consecration;** though the compilers of it had restored the sentence that had been thrown out of king Edward's second Common Prayer, and united it with the clause in our present Liturgy,† imagining, one would think, that the Elements were not consecrated without them. For though all Churches in the world have, through all ages, used the words of Institution at the time of Consecration; yet none, I believe, except the Church of Rome, ever before attributed the Consecration to the bare pronouncing of those words only: that was always attributed, by the most ancient Fathers, to the prayer of the Church.[22] The Lutherans and Calvinists indeed both agree with the Papists, that the Consecration is made by the bare repeating the words of Institution;[23] the reason perhaps of which is because the words of Institution are the only words recorded by the Evangelists and St. Paul, as spoken by our Saviour when he administered to his disciples.

* "To the end there may be little left, he that officiates is required to consecrate with the least, and then if there be want, the words of Consecration may be repeated again, over more, either Bread or Wine: the Presbyter beginning at these words in the Prayer of Consecration, (Our Saviour in the night that he was betrayed, &c.)" Scotch Liturgy, in the fifth rubric at the end of the Communion-office.

† "Hear us, O merciful Father, we most humbly beseech thee, and of thy Almighty goodness vouchsafe so to bless and sanctify with thy Word and Holy Spirit these thy gifts and creatures of Bread and Wine, that they may be unto us the Body and Blood of thy most dearly beloved Son; so that we receiving them according to thy Son our Saviour's holy Institution, in remembrance of his Death and Passion, may be partakers of the same his most precious Body and Blood; who in the night," &c. *Scotch Liturgy.*

[22] Τὴν δ' εὐχῆς—εὐχαριστηθεῖσαν τροφήν. Just. Mart. Apol. 1, c. 86, p. 129. Προσαγομένους ἄρτους ἐντθίομεν σῶμα γενομένους διὰ τὴν εὐχήν. Orig. contra Cels. lib. 8. See also Constit. Apost. l. 8, c. 12. Cyril. Hieros. Catech. Mystag. 3, p. 289. Optat. adv. Parmen. lib. 6. Basil. de Spir. Sanct. c. 27. Chrysost. Homil. in Cœmeterii Appellationem. August. de Trinitat. l. 3, c. 4. [23] See their Book of Reformation of Doctrine, Administration of their Sacraments, &c. printed at London, by John Day, 1547.

But then it should be considered, that it is plain enough that our Saviour used other words upon the same occasion, though the very words are not recorded: for the Evangelists tell us, that he *gave thanks and blessed* the Bread and Wine: and this sure must have been done in other words than those which he spoke at the delivery of them to his disciples: for blessing and thanksgiving must be performed by some words that are addressed to God, and not by any words directed to men: and therefore the words which our Saviour spake to his disciples could not be the whole Consecration of the Elements, but rather a declaration of the effect which was produced by his consecrating or blessing them. And therefore I humbly presume, that if the Minister should at the Consecration of fresh Elements, after the others are spent, repeat again the whole form of Consecration, or at least from those words, *Hear us, O merciful Father*, &c., he would answer the end of the rubric, which seems only to require the latter part of the form from those words, *who in the same night*, &c. be always used at such Consecration.

And this is certainly a very essential part of the service. For during the repetition of these words, the Priest performs to God the representative sacrifice of the death and passion of his Son. By taking the *bread into his hands*, and *breaking* it, he makes a memorial to him of our Saviour's body, broken upon the cross; and by exhibiting the *wine*, he reminds him of his blood there shed for the sins of the world; and by *laying his hands* upon each of them at the same time that he repeats those words, *Take, eat, this is my body*, &c., and *Drink ye all of this*, &c., he signifies and acknowledges that this commemoration of Christ's sacrifice so made to God, is a means instituted by Christ himself to convey to the communicants the benefits of his death and passion, viz. the pardon of our sins, and God's grace and favour for the time to come.

Breaking the bread a ceremony always used by the ancient Church in consecrating the Eucharist.

For this reason we find, that it was always the practice of the ancients, in consecrating the Eucharist, to break the bread, (after our Saviour's example,) to represent his passion and crucifixion.[24] The Roman Church indeed, instead of breaking the bread for the communicants to partake of it, only breaks a single wafer into three parts, (of which no one par-

[24] See this proved in Mr. Bingham's Antiquities, book 15, chap. 3, vol. vi. page 713, &c.

takes,) for the sake of retaining a shadow at least of the ancient custom. They acknowledge, it is true, that this is an alteration from the primitive practice: but then they urge that they had good reasons for making it, viz. lest in breaking the bread some danger might happen of scattering or losing some of the crumbs or particles;[25] as if Christ himself could not have foreseen what dangers might happen, or have given as prudent orders as the pope, concerning his own institution.

Signing with the Cross, another ceremony that was always used at the same time.

Very judiciously, therefore, did our good reformers (though they ordered *these words before rehearsed to be said, turning still to the altar, without any elevation or shewing the sacrament to the people*,[26] yet) restore these other ceremonies to avoid superstition: and yet this very restoration of them is charged as superstitious by Bucer;[27] who therefore objects to them, and prevails for the leaving them all out, as well as the above-mentioned petition for the descent of the Holy Ghost, together with the crossings that were then also used during the pronunciation of the said petition. The taking of the *Bread and the Cup into the hands*, has indeed since been restored, viz. first to the Scotch Liturgy, and then to our own, even at the request of the Presbyterians, at the last review.[28] But the signing of them with the cross has ever since been discontinued: though I do not know that there is an ancient Liturgy in being, but what shews that this sign was always made use of in some part or other of the office of Communion.[29] Such a number of crossings indeed as the Roman Missal enjoins, renders the service theatrical; and are not to be met with in any other Liturgy: but one or two we always find; so much having been thought proper, on this solemn occasion, to testify that we are not ashamed of the Cross of Christ, and that the solemn service we are then about is performed in honour of a crucified Saviour. And therefore as the Church of England has thought fit to retain this ceremony in the ministration of one of her Sacraments, I see not why she should lay it aside in the ministration of the other. For that may very well be applied to it in the ministration of the Eucharist, which the Church herself has declared of the Cross

[25] Salmero. Tract. 30. in Act. Ap. Chamier. de Euch. l. 7, c. 11, n. 26, p. 384.
[26] Rubric after the prayer of Consecration in the first book of king Edw. VI.
[27] Censur. apud Script. Anglican. p. 472. [28] See the Proceedings of the Commissioners, &c. p. 18, and the Reply, p. 130. [29] Vide et Chrysostom. Demonstrat. Quod Christus sit Deus, c. 9, et Aug. Hom. 118, in Johan.

in Baptism, viz. *That it was held in the primitive Church as well by the Greeks as the Latins, with one consent, and great applause: at what time, if any had opposed themselves against it, they would certainly have been censured as enemies of the name of the Cross, and consequently of Christ's merits, the sign whereof they could no better endure.*[30]

The prayer of Oblation mangled and displaced.

§. 3. But besides this, our Liturgy at that time suffered a more material alteration: the prayer of Oblation, which by the first book of king Edward was ordered to be used after the prayer of Consecration, (and which has since been restored to the Scotch Common Prayer,*) being half laid aside, and the rest of it thrown into an improper place; as being enjoined to be said by our present rubric, in that part of the office which is to be used after the people have communicated; whereas it was always the practice of the primitive Christians to use it during the act of Consecration. For the holy Eucharist was, from the very first institution, esteemed and received as a proper sacrifice, and solemnly offered to God upon the altar, before it was received and partaken of by the communicants.[31] In conformity whereunto, it was bishop Overall's practice to use the first prayer in the Post-Communion office between the Consecration and the Administering,[32] even when it was otherwise ordered by the public Liturgy.

A various reading in this prayer.

§. 4. In the beginning of this prayer, instead of those words, ONE *oblation of himself once offered*, which are now printed in most Common Prayer Books; I have seen some that read OWN *oblation of himself once offered*; and so, among others, does Dr. Nichols give it us, in his edition of it, which he says he corrected from a sealed book; though in several sealed books which

* In the first book of king Edward, and in the Scotch Liturgy, the first prayer in our Post-Communion is ordered immediately to follow the prayer of Consecration with this beginning: "Wherefore, O Lord and heavenly Father, according to the Institution of thy dearly beloved Son our Saviour Jesus Christ, we thy humble servants do celebrate and make here before thy divine Majesty, with these thy holy gifts, the memorial which thy Son hath willed us to make; having in remembrance his blessed Passion, mighty Resurrection, and glorious Ascension, rendering unto thee most hearty thanks for the innumerable benefits procured unto us by the same: entirely desiring thy fatherly goodness," &c., as the first prayer goes on in our Post-Communion. And in king Edward's book, towards the end of the same prayer, after the words, "Our bounden duty and service," it follows thus: "and command these our prayers and supplications, by the ministry of thy holy angels, to be brought up into thy holy tabernacle, before the sight of thy divine Majesty, not weighing our merits," &c.

[30] Can. 30, A. D. 1603. [31] The reader may see the subject exhausted to the utmost satisfaction, by the learned and reverend Mr. Johnson, in his treatise on the Unbloody Sacrifice and Altar. [32] See Dr. Nichols's addit. Notes, p. 49.

I have collated myself, I have always found it *one*, as it is generally in the common books. However, the words, as they are, are not a tautology, (as some object,) but very copious and elegant, and alluding to that portion of Scripture in Hebrews x. where the *one oblation* of Christ is opposed to the *many* kinds of sacrifices under the law, and the *once offered* to the *repetition* of those sacrifices.

The Minister to stand at this prayer, and in the Post-Communion office.

§. 5. Dr. Nichols, in his note upon this prayer, has delivered his opinion, that it ought to be said by the Minister upon his *knees*; and the reason he gives for it is, because it is a prayer. But that reason would hold for kneeling at several other prayers both in this and in other offices, which yet the rubric directs shall be used *standing*. As to this prayer indeed, the rubric does not mention any posture that the Minister shall be in at the saying it: for as to those words, *standing before the table*, I am of opinion, that they only relate to the posture of the Minister whilst he is ordering the elements; though in the Old Common Prayer Book it is very plain that they referred to the posture in which the Minister was to say the prayer; the rubric then being no more than this, *Then the Minister standing up, shall say as followeth.* The rubric in the Scotch Liturgy is something larger, but, as I shall shew in the next paragraph, directly orders the Priest to *stand*. But as the rubric is now enlarged, the construction shews that the word *standing* must refer to another thing. However, since the rubric, before the additions to it, was so very express for the Minister's standing at the Consecration; I think it is very probable, that if they who made those additions had intended any alteration of the posture, they would certainly have expressed it. For Ministers that had been always used to stand when they consecrated, could never imagine that the new rubric directed them to kneel, when there was not one word of kneeling, but an express direction for standing, at the ordering of the elements, without any following prescription for kneeling at this prayer, even in this new rubric. And I take it for granted, that whenever the Church does not direct the Minister to kneel, it supposes him to stand. Though Dr. Nichols will not allow of this; "because," he says, "there is not one rubric which obliges the Minister to kneel in all the Post-Communion service; and yet he does not know any one that has contended for the posture of standing in the perform-

ance of that part of the service." What the doctor has known, I cannot tell: but I can affirm the direct contrary, that I never knew one that contended for the posture of kneeling in the performance of that part of the service. But if any have done so, I am apt to think that they act contrary to the intention of the Church. For that she supposes the Minister to stand during that part of the service, I think is plain from her not ordering him to stand up whilst he gives the blessing, which she certainly would have done, if she had supposed him to have been kneeling before. And indeed in most parts of the whole Communion-office the Priest is directed to *stand*. In the beginning of the office he is ordered to say *the Lord's Prayer, with the Collect following, standing*; and so he is to continue whilst he repeats the Commandments: then follows one of the two *Collects for the king, the Priest standing as before*. Whilst he says the prayer *for the whole state of Christ's Church*, there is no posture mentioned: but since both the *sentences* before it, and the exhortation (at the time of Communion) after it, are without doubt to be said standing, and yet no mention made that there shall be any change of posture during all that time; it seems very evident that the Church designed that prayer to be said standing. At the *general confession* indeed it is very fit that the Minister should *kneel*, and therefore he is there directed to do so. And though any one knows in reason that he should stand at the *absolution*, yet that too is particularly mentioned in the rubric. From thence again to the *address*, before the prayer of Consecration, that being all an act of praise, he is to *stand*: but there again he is directed to *kneel*: but then at the end of it he is ordered to *stand up*, and, after the ordering of the bread and wine, to say the *prayer of consecration*, without any direction to *kneel*. Nor indeed would that be a proper posture for him whilst he is performing an act of authority, as the consecrating the elements must be allowed to be. Nor is he from hence to the end of the office to *kneel* any more, except just during the time of his own receiving. So that through the whole office he is ordered to *kneel* but three times, viz. at the *general confession*, the *prayer of address*, and at his *receiving the elements*: which being three places where there least wants a rubric to direct him to *kneel*, (since, if there was no such rubric, a Minister would of his own accord kneel down at those times,) and yet there being an express direction at each of

those places for him to *kneel*: it is very evident, that where the rubric gives no such direction, the Minister is always to *stand*.

Whether the Priest be to say this prayer standing before the altar.

§. 6. If it be asked whether the Priest is to say this prayer standing before the table, or at the north-end of it; I answer, at the north-end of it: for, according to the rules of grammar, the participle *standing* must refer to the verb *ordered*, and not to the verb *say*. So that whilst the Priest is *ordering the bread and wine*, he is to stand before the table: but when he says the prayer, he is to stand so as *that he may with the more readiness and decency break the bread before the people*, which must be on the north-side. For if he stood *before* the table, his body would hinder the people from seeing: so that he must not stand there: and consequently he must stand on the north-side; there being, in our present rubric, no other place mentioned for performing any part of this office. In the Romish Church indeed they always stand *before* the altar during the time of consecration; in order to prevent the people from being eye-witnesses of their operation in working their pretended miracle: and in the Greek Church they shut the chancel door, or at least draw a veil or curtain before it, I suppose, upon the same account.[33] But our Church, that pretends no such miracle, enjoins, we see, the direct contrary to this, by ordering the Priest so *to order the bread and wine, that he may with the more readiness and decency break the bread, and take the cup into his hands, before the people*. And with this view, it is probable, the Scotch Liturgy ordered, that *during the time of consecration the presbyter should stand at such a part of the holy table, where he may with the more ease and decency use both his hands*.

SECT. XXIII.—*Of the Form of Administration.*

The holy elements to be delivered by the Minister to each communicant.

THE holy symbols being thus consecrated, the communicants must not rudely take every one his own part; because God, who is the master of the feast, hath provided stewards to divide to every one their portion. Some persons indeed have disliked the Minister's delivering the holy elements to each communicant; pretending that it is contrary to the practice of our Saviour, who bid the Apostles *take the cup and di-*

[33] Smith's Account of the Greek Church, p. 135.

vide it among themselves.[34] But one would think that any one that reads the context would perceive that this passage does not relate to the eucharist, but to the paschal supper; since it appears so evidently from the nineteenth and twentieth verses of the same chapter, that the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was not instituted till after that cup was drank. But as to the manner of his delivering the Sacrament, the Scriptures are wholly silent; and consequently we have no other means to judge what it was, but by the practice of the first Christians, who doubtless, as far as was convenient and requisite, imitated our Saviour in this as well as they did in other things: and therefore since it was the general practice among them for the Minister to deliver the elements to each communicant, we have as much authority and reason as can be desired to continue that practice still.

§. 2. The Minister therefore that celebrateth *is first to receive the communion in both kinds himself; then to proceed to deliver the same to the Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, in like manner,* (i. e. in both kinds,) *if any be present, (that they may help the chief Minister,* as the old Common Prayer has it, or *him that celebrateth,* as it is in the Scotch Liturgy,) and *after that to the people also in order.* And this is consonant to the practice of the primitive Church, in which it was always the custom for the clergy to communicate within the rails of the altar, and before the Sacrament was delivered to the people.[35]

First to the clergy.

And then to the people.

§. 3. The rubric further directs, that the Communion must be delivered both to the clergy and laity *into their hands;* which was the most primitive and ancient way of receiving.[36] In St. Cyril's time they received it into the hollow of their right hand, holding their left hand under their right in the form of a cross.[37] And in some few ages afterwards, some indiscreet persons pretending greater reverence to the elements, as if they were defiled with their hands, put themselves to the charges of providing little saucers or plates of gold to receive the bread, until they were forbidden by the sixth general Council.[38] Another abuse the Church of Rome brought in, where the Priest puts it into the people's

Into their hands.

[34] Luke xxii. 17. [35] Const. Apost. l. 8, c. 13. Concil. Laod. Can. 19. Concil. Tolet. 4, Can. 17. [36] Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. 6, c. 43, p. 245, B. Chrys. in Ephes. i. Hom. 3, tom. iii. p. 778, lin. 16. [37] Cyril. Catech. Myst. 5, § 18, p. 300. [38] Can. 101, tom. vi. col. 1186, A.

mouths, lest a crumb should fall aside; which custom was also retained in the first book of king Edward VI., though a different reason was there alleged; the rubric ordering that *although it be read in ancient writers that the people many years past, received at the Priest's hands, the Sacrament of the Body of Christ in their own hands, and no commandment of Christ to the contrary; yet forasmuch as they many times conveyed the same secretly away, kept it with them, and diversely abused it to superstition and wickedness: lest any such thing hereafter should be attempted, and that an uniformity might be used throughout the whole realm, it was thought convenient the people should commonly receive the Sacrament of Christ's Body in their mouths, at the Priest's hand.*[39] But however Bucer censuring it, as savouring too much of an unlawful honour done to the elements,[40] it was discontinued at the next review, when the old primitive way of delivering it into the people's *hands* was ordered in the room of it.

The Apostles probably received in a posture of adoration.

§. 4. The communicants are enjoined, whilst they receive this blessed Sacrament, to be *all meekly kneeling*. What posture the Apostles received it in, is uncertain; but we may probably conjecture that they received it in a posture of adoration. For it is plain that our Saviour blessed and gave thanks both for the bread and wine; and prayers and thanksgivings, we all know, were always offered up to God in a posture of adoration: and therefore we may very safely conclude that our blessed Saviour, who was always remarkable for outward reverence in devotion, gave thanks for the bread and wine in an adoring posture.

Now it is very well known that it was a rule with the Jews to eat of the passover to satiety: and therefore, since they had already satisfied hunger, they cannot be supposed to have eaten or drank so much of the holy eucharist as that they needed repose while they did it: and since, as we have already hinted, they rose from their seats to bless the bread, it cannot be imagined, that, without any reason, they would resolve to sit down again during the moment of eating it; and then, though they rose immediately a second time at the blessing which was performed before the delivery of the cup, that they immediately sat down again to taste the wine, as if

[39] See the last rubric at the end of the Communion-office in king Edward's first book.
[40] Script. Anglican. p. 462.

they could neither eat nor drink the smallest quantity without sitting.

This indeed does not amount to a demonstration, but is yet a very probable conjecture; and shews how groundlessly they argue, who, from the Apostles eating the passover sitting or leaning upon the left side, (which was the table-gesture among those nations,) conclude, that they ate the eucharist in the same posture, because it was celebrated at the same time.

The example of the Apostles does not bind us.

But besides, we may observe that the passover itself was, at the first institution of it, commanded to be eaten *standing* and in *haste*,[41] to express the haste they were in to be delivered out of their slavery and bondage: but afterwards, when they were settled in the Land of Promise, they ate it in a quite contrary posture, viz. *sitting*, or lying down to it, as to a feast, to signify they were then at rest, and in possession of the land. And with this custom (though we do not find any where that it was ever commanded, or so much as warranted by God) did our blessed Saviour comply, and therefore doubtless thought that the alteration of the circumstances was a justifiable reason for changing the ceremonies. But was it ever so certain that a table-gesture was used at the institution of the Eucharist, yet it is very reasonable, since the circumstances of our blessed Saviour are now different from what they were at the institution, that our outward demeanour should also vary. The posture which might then be suitable in the Apostles is not now suitable in us: while he was corporally present with them, and they conversed with him as man, without any awful dread upon them, which was due to him as the Lord of heaven and earth, no wonder if they did use a table-posture: but then *their* familiarity ought to be no precedent for *us*, who worship him in his glory, and converse with him in the Sacrament, as he is spiritually present; and who therefore would be very irreverent to approach him in any other posture than that of adoration.

When kneeling first began.

As to the punctual time when the posture of *kneeling* first began, it is hard to determine; but we are assured that it hath obtained in the Western Church above twelve hundred years; and though anciently they stood in the East,[42] yet it was *with fear and trembling, with silence and downcast eyes, bowing themselves in the posture of worship and adoration.*[43]

[41] Exod. xii, 11. [42] Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. 7, c. 9, p. 255, B.
[43] Cyril. Catech. Mystag. 5, §. 19, p. 301.

How universal a practice.

But it is now the custom of the Greek, Roman, Lutheran, and most Churches in the world, to receive *kneeling*: nor do any scruple it, but they who study pretences to palliate the most unjustifiable separation, or designed neglect of this most sacred ordinance.

The pope receives the Sacrament sitting.

And it is worth observing, that they who at other times cry out so much against the Church of England for retaining several ceremonies, which, though indifferent in themselves, they say become unlawful by being abused by superstition and popery, can, in this more solemn and material ceremony, agree even with the pope himself, (who receives *sitting*,) rather than not differ from the best and purest Church in the world.[44]

Sitting, by whom introduced.

Nor may I pass by unobserved that the posture of *sitting* was first brought into the Church by the Arians; who stubbornly denying the divinity of our Saviour, thought it no robbery to be equal with him, and to sit down with him at his table; for which reason it was justly banished the reformed Church in Poland, by a general synod, A. D. 1583. And it is the pope's opinion of his being St. Peter's successor, and Christ's vicegerent, which prompts him to use such familiarity with his Lord.[45]

The form of words.

§. 5. As for the words of Administration; the first part of them, viz. *The Body*, or *The Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ*, was the only form used in St. Ambrose's time at the delivery of the Bread and Wine,[46] to which the receivers answered, *Amen*,[47] both to express their desire that it might be Christ's body and blood unto them, and their firm belief that it was so. The next words, *preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life*, were added by St. Gregory:[48] and these with the former were all that were to be used at the delivery of the elements, during the first Common Prayer Book of king Edward VI. But these words, I suppose, being thought at that time to savour too much of the *real presence* in the Sacrament, which was a doctrine that then was thought to imply too much of transubstantiation to be believed; they were therefore left out of the second book, and the following words prescribed in the room of them, *Take and eat this*, &c., or *Drink this*, &c., as in the latter part of our present forms. But these on the other side reducing the

[44] Durand. Rational. l. 4, c. 54, numb. 5. [45] Durand. ibid. [46] Ambr. de Sacr. l. 4, c. 5, tom. iv. col. 368, G. [47] Liturg. Clement. Basil. Æthiopic. Cyril. Catech. Mystag. 5, §. 18. [48] Vide Durand. de Rit. Eccles. Cathol. l. 2, c. 55, numb. 16, p. 287.

Sacrament to a bare eating and drinking in remembrance of the death and passion of our Lord; they were in a little time as much disliked as the former. And therefore upon queen Elizabeth's accession to the throne, (whose design and endeavour was to unite the nation as much as she could in one doctrine and faith,) both these forms were enjoined to be used (as we have them still) to please both parties. Though in the Scotch Liturgy the last clause was again thrown out, and the former only (which was prescribed by the first book) retained, with a direction to the receiver to say *Amen:* which is undoubtedly the most agreeable to the primitive practice, and to the true notion of the Eucharist.

Communion in one kind examined.

§. 6. Where there are two or more Ministers present, it is the custom for the chief Minister, or for him that consecrates, to administer only the body, and for another to follow and administer the cup. Agreeable to an old rubric in king Edward's first Liturgy, which orders, that *if there be a Deacon or other Priest, then shall he follow with the chalice: and as the Priest ministereth the Sacrament of the Body, so shall he (for more expedition) minister the Sacrament of the Blood, in form before written.* For our Church does not (with the Roman Church) rob the people of half the Sacrament, but administers to the laity as well as the clergy under *both kinds*. The Romanists indeed pretend that Christ administered under both kinds only to the Apostles, whom he had made priests just before, and gave no command that it should be so received by the laity. But we would ask whether the Apostles were not all that were then present? If they were, in what capacity did they receive it? how did they receive the bread before the *Hoc facite*, (*Do this*,) as priests, or as laymen? It is ridiculous to suppose those words changed their capacity: though if we should allow they did, yet it would only relate to consecrating, and not to receiving. But if Christ only gave it to the Apostles as priests, it must necessarily follow, that the people are not at all concerned in one kind or other; but that each kind was intended only for priests. For if the people are concerned, how came they to be so? Where is there any command, but what refers to the first institution? So that it had been much more plausible, according to this answer, to exclude the people wholly, than to admit them to one kind, and to debar them of the other.

Not so, say they, because Christ himself administered the Sacrament to some of his disciples under one kind only.[49] But to make out this we require, first, that it be proved that Christ did then administer the Sacrament; or, secondly, if he did, that the cup was not implied; since *breaking of bread*, when taken for an ordinary meal in Scripture, does not exclude drinking at it.

When we appeal to the practice of the primitive ages, they leave us: and the most impartial of them will allow that the custom of communicating under one kind only, as is now used in the Church of Rome, was unknown to the world for a thousand years after Christ.[50] In some cases (it is true) they dipped the bread in the wine, as in the case of baptized infants, (to whom they administered the Eucharist in those primitive times,) and of very weak, dying persons, who could not otherwise have swallowed the bread; and also that by this means they might keep the Sacrament at home against all emergent occasions. And this probably might in time make the way easier for introducing the Sacrament under the kind of bread only.

Of the Corporal or Pall.

§. 7. *When all have communicated, the Minister is directed to return to the Lord's Table, and reverently place upon it what remaineth of the consecrated elements, covering the same with a fair linen cloth:* which by the ancient writers and the Scotch Liturgy (in which this rubric first appeared) is called the *Corporal*, from its being spread over the Body or consecrated Bread,[51] and sometimes the *Pall*,[52] I suppose for the same reason. The institution of it is ascribed to Eusebius, bishop of Rome, who lived about the year 300.[53] And that it was of common use in the Church in the fifth century, is evident from the testimony of Isidore Peleusiota, who also observes that the design of using it was to represent the body of our Saviour being wrapped in fine linen by Joseph of Arimathea.[54]

SECT. XXIV.—*Of the Lord's Prayer.*

Of the concluding devotions.

IT is rudeness in manners to depart from a friend's house so soon as the table is removed, and an act of irreligion to rise from our common

[49] Luke xxiv. 30. [50] Secundum antiquam Ecclesiæ consuetudinem, omnes tam corpori quam sanguini communicabant: quod etiam adhuc in quibusdam Ecclesiis servatur. Aquin. in Johan. vi. [51] Alcuin. de Offic. Divin. [52] Rad. Tungr. de Can. Obs. [53] Vid. Gratian. de Const. Dist. 2. [54] Isid. Peleus. Ep. 123.

meals without prayer and thanksgiving: how much more absurd and indecent then would it be for us to depart abruptly from the Lord's Table! Our Saviour himself concluded his last Supper with a hymn,[55] (supposed to be the *Paschal Hallelujah*,) in imitation of which all Churches have finished this feast with solemn forms of prayer and thanksgiving.

§. 2. The *Lord's Prayer* is placed first, and cannot indeed be any where used more properly: for having now received Christ in our hearts, it is fit the first words we speak should be his: as if not only we, but Christ lived and spake in us. We know that *to as many as receive Christ, he gives power to become the sons of God*,[56] so that we may now all with one heart and one voice address ourselves cheerfully to God, and very properly call him, *Our Father*, &c.

The Lord's Prayer, why used first after receiving.

§. 3. The Doxology is here annexed, because all these devotions are designed for an act of praise, for the benefits received in the holy Sacrament.

The Doxology, why added.

SECT. XXV.—*Of the first Prayer after the Lord's Prayer.*

I HAVE already observed, that in the first Common Prayer of king Edward VI. and in that drawn up for the Church of Scotland, this first prayer in the Post-Communion was, with a proper introduction, ordered to be used immediately after the prayer of Consecration: not but that what remains of it is very proper to be used after communicating. For St. Paul *beseeches us, by the mercies of God, to present our bodies a living sacrifice, holy and acceptable to God, as our reasonable service*.[57] And the Fathers esteemed it one great part of this office to dedicate ourselves to God. For since Christ hath put us in mind of his infinite love in giving himself for us, and in this Sacrament hath given himself to us; and since we have chosen him for our Lord, and solemnly vowed to be his servants; it is very just and reasonable, that we should also give up ourselves wholly to him in such a manner as this form directs us.

The design of it.

SECT. XXVI.—*Of the second Prayer after the Lord's Prayer.*

WHEN we communicate often, it may be very grateful, and sometimes very helpful to our de-

The design of it.

[55] Matt. xxvi. 30. [56] John i. 12. [57] Rom. xii. 1.

votions, to vary the form: for which cause the Church hath supplied us with another prayer; which, being more full of praises and acknowledgments, will be most suitable when our minds have a joyful sense of the benefits received in this Sacrament: as the former, consisting chiefly of vows and resolutions, is most proper to be used when we would express our love and duty.

SECT. XXVII.—*Of the Gloria in Excelsis, or the Angelic Hymn.*

Glory be to God on high, &c.

To conclude this office with an hymn, is so direct an imitation of our Saviour's practice,[58] that it hath ever been observed in all Churches and ages. And though the forms may differ, yet this is as ancient as any now extant. The former part of it is of an heavenly original, being sung by angels at our Saviour's nativity;[59] and was from thence transcribed into the oriental Liturgies, especially St. James's, where it is thrice repeated. The latter part of it is ascribed to Telesphorus about the year of Christ 139; and the whole hymn, with very little difference, is to be found in the Apostolical Constitutions,[60] and was established to be used in the Church-service by the fourth Council of Toledo about a thousand years ago.[61] In the present Roman Missal it stands in the beginning of this office, as it does also in the first Common Prayer of king Edward VI., where it immediately follows the *Collect for Purity*; though it is now, I think, placed much more properly at the close of the Communion, when every devout communicant being full of gratitude, and longing for an opportunity to pour out his soul in the praises of God, cannot have a more solemn and compact form of words to do it in than this. In the Greek Church it makes a constant part of the morning devotions, as well upon ordinary days, as upon Sundays and holy-days; only with this difference, that upon ordinary days it is only *read*, whereas upon more solemn times it is appointed to be sung.[62]

SECT. XXVIII.—*Of the final Blessing.*

The peace of God, &c.

THE people were always dismissed from this ordinance by a solemn blessing pronounced by the Bishop if present, or, in his absence, by the

[58] Matt. xxvi. 30. [59] Luke ii. 14. [60] Lib. vii. cap. 48. [61] Can. 13, tom. v. col. 1710, A. [62] Dr. Smith's Account of the Greek Church, p. 224.

Priest:[63] and none were allowed to depart till this was given by the one or the other.[64]

The form here used is taken chiefly from the words of Scripture: the first part of it from Philippians iv. 7, and the latter part being no other than a Christian paraphrase upon Numbers vi. 24, &c.

SECT. XXIX.—*Of the additional Prayers.*

Of the additional prayers.

LEST there should be any thing left unasked in this excellent office, the Church hath added six Collects more to be used at the Minister's discretion: concerning which it will be sufficient to observe, that they are plain and comprehensive, and almost every sentence of them taken out of the Bible, and are as proper to be joined to any other office as this. For which reason the rubric allows them to be said *as often as occasion shall serve, after the Collects either of Morning or Evening Prayer, Communion or Litany, by the discretion of the Minister.*

The rubric before these Collects, how to be reconciled with the first rubric after them.

When they are added to the Communion-office on Sundays and holy-days that have no Communion, they are ordered to be said *after the offertory:* from whence some have imagined that *the Prayer for the Church militant* is part of the offertory; because in the first rubric, at the end of the whole office, that prayer, on such days, is always to be used, and then one or more of these Collects are to follow. But that the offertory only signifies the sentences that are read whilst the alms and other devotions of the people are collecting, I have already had occasion to mention.[65] To reconcile this difference, therefore, the reader must observe, that by the first book of king Edward VI. the prayer for Christ's Church was never to be read but when there was a Communion. So that then if there was no Communion, these Collects were properly ordered to be said *after the offertory*. But the Communion-office being afterwards thrown into a different form, the prayer for the Church militant was added to that part of the service, which was ordered to be read on Sundays and other holy-days that had no Communion, without altering the rubric of which I am now speaking. And this is that which makes the rubrics a little inconsistent. However the differ-

[63] Concil. Agath. Can. 30, tom. iv. col. 1388, B. [64] Conc. Agath. Can. 47, tom. iv. col. 1391, A. [65] See page 274.

ence is not much. For the Collects are still to be said *after* the offertory, though not *immediately after*, as formerly, the prayer for the Church militant coming in between.

SECT. XXX.—*Of the Rubrics after the Communion.*

Daily Communions in the primitive Church.

IN the primitive Church, while Christians continued in their strength of faith and devotion, those who were qualified generally communicated once every day;[66] which custom continued till after St. Augustine's time:[67] but afterward, when charity grew cold, and devotion faint, this custom was broke off; and they fell from every day to Sundays and holy-days only, and thence at Antioch to once a year and no more.[68]

Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide, why prescribed times of communicating.

In regard of this neglect, canons were made by several Councils to oblige men to receive three times a year at least, viz. at Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide, (probably in conformity to the ancient Jews, who were commanded by God himself to appear before the Lord at the three great feasts that correspond to these; viz. *in the feast of unleavened Bread, and in the feast of Weeks, and in the feast of Tabernacles*;[69]) and those that neglected to communicate at those seasons were censured and anathematized.[70]

The care of the Church about frequent Communion.

At the Reformation our Church took all the care she could to reconcile her members to frequent Communion. And therefore in the first Common Prayer Book of king Edward VI. it was ordered that *upon Wednesdays and Fridays, though there were none to communicate with the Priest, yet (after the Litany ended) the Priest should put upon him a plain alb or surplice, with a cope, and say all things at the altar, (appointed to be said at the celebration of the Lord's Supper,) until after the offertory.—And the same order was to be used all other days, whensoever the people were accustomably assembled to pray in the Church, and none were disposed to communicate with the Priest.* From whence it appears they took it for granted, that there would always be a sufficient number of communicants upon every Sunday and holy-day at the least; so that they

[66] Cypr. de Orat. Dom. p. 147. Basil. Epist. 289, tom. iii. p. 279, A. B. [67] Aug. Ep. 98, tom. ii. col. 267, E. Ep. 54, tom. ii. col. 124, C. [68] Ambr. de Sacram. l. 5, c. 4, tom. iv. col. 371, K. But see this and the foregoing particulars proved at large in Mr. Bingham's Antiquities, book xv. c. 9. [69] Deut. xvi. 26. [70] Concil. Agath. Can. 18, tom. iv. col. 1386, C. But see more in Mr. Bingham, as before.

could not so much as suppose there would be no Communion upon any of those days. But it seems they feared that upon other days there might sometimes be none to communicate with the Priest, and so no Communion: and therefore they ordered, that if it should so happen for a whole week together, yet nevertheless upon Wednesdays and Fridays in every week so much should be used of the Communion-service as is before limited. But afterwards, as piety grew colder and colder, the Sacrament began to be more and more neglected, and by degrees quite laid aside on the ordinary week-days. And then the Church did not think it convenient to appoint any of this service upon any other days than Sundays and holy-days. But upon those days she still requires that (*although there be no Communion, yet*) *all shall be said that is appointed at the Communion, until the end of the general prayer*, [for the whole state of Christ's Church militant here on earth,] *together with one or more of the Collects at the end of the Communion-office, concluding with the blessing.**

Rubric 1. Part of the Communion-office to be read on every Sunday and holy-day, though there be no Communion.

One reason of which order seems to be, that the Church may still shew her readiness to administer the Sacrament upon these days; and so that it is not hers nor the Minister's, but the people's fault, if it be not administered. For the Minister, in obedience to the Church's order, goes up to the Lord's table, and there begins the service appointed for the Communion; and goes on as far as he can, till he come to the actual celebration of it: and if he stop there, it is only because there are none, or not a sufficient number of persons, to communicate with him. For if there were, he is there ready to consecrate and administer it to them. And therefore if there be no Communion on any Sunday or holy-day in the year, the people only are to be blamed. The Church hath done her part in ordering it, and the Minister his in observing that order; and if the people would do theirs too, the holy Communion would be constantly celebrated in

The reasons of it.

* In all the books between king Edward's first and our present one, it was said only, "upon the holy-days, if there be no Communion," &c., which supposed that upon the Sundays there would be a Communion. Upon the holy-days too this office is to be said "to the end of the Homily concluding with the prayer (for the whole state, &c.) and one or more of the Collects before rehearsed, as occasion should serve." Which shews that it was then the design of the Church, that upon all holy-days there should be a Homily at least, if not a Sermon. And though that direction be left out now, yet still it may be implied; since the rubric that enjoins the Homily or Sermon comes within that part of the service which is here ordered to be used.

every parish church in England, on every Sunday and holy-day throughout the year. But though this may hold in some places, yet I cannot say it will in all; especially in populous towns and cities; where my charity obliges me to believe, that if the Ministers would but make the experiment, they would find that they should never want a sufficient number of communicants, whenever they themselves should be ready to administer the Sacrament. And even in other places it were to be wished, that the Elements were placed ready upon the table on all Sundays and holy-days: for then the people could not help being put in mind of what the Church looks upon as their duty at those times; and I persuade myself, that the Minister would generally find a number sufficient ready to communicate with him.

But another reason why so much of this service is ordered to be read, though there be no Communion, is because there are several particular things in that part of it, which ought to be read as well to those who do not communicate, as to those who do. As, first, the Decalogue, or Ten Commandments, of Almighty God, the supreme Lawgiver of the world, which it is requisite the people should often hear and be put in mind of, especially upon those days which are immediately dedicated to his service. Secondly, the Collects, Epistles, and Gospels, proper to all Sundays and holy-days, without which those festivals could not be distinguished either from one another, or even from ordinary days, nor consequently celebrated so as to answer the end of their institution. Thirdly, the Nicene Creed, wherein the divinity of our blessed Saviour is asserted and declared, and therefore very proper to be used on those days which are kept in memory of him and of his holy Apostles, by whom that doctrine, together with our whole religion grounded upon it, was planted and propagated in the world. Fourthly, the offertory, or select sentences of Scripture, one or more of which are to be read, to stir up the congregation to offer unto God something of what he hath given them, as an acknowledgment that they receive from him all they have; which, howsoever it be now neglected, the people ought to be put in mind of at least every Lord's day.[71] Fifthly, the prayer for the *whole state of Christ's Church militant here on earth*, in which we should all join as fellow members of the same body, especially upon the great festivals of the

[71] 1 Cor. xvi. 2.

year, which are generally celebrated by the whole Church we pray for. Most of these things made up the *Missa Catechumenorum* of the ancient Church, i. e. that part of the service at which the catechumens, who were not admitted to the reception of the Eucharist, were allowed to be present.[72] And in our own congregations, when there is a Communion, those who do not communicate never depart till the end of the Nicene Creed, for the abovesaid reasons: which shews, that there is nothing in that part of the service but what may very properly be used upon any Sunday and holy-day when there is no Communion. Nor is this a practice of our own Church alone, but such as is warranted both by Greeks and Latins. Socrates tells us,[73] that in Alexandria, upon Wednesdays and Fridays, the Scriptures were read and expounded by their teachers, and all things were done in the Communion, but only consecrating the mysteries. And as for the Latin Church, Durandus gives direction how the Communion-service might be read without any Communion.[74]

This part of the Office to be said at the altar, though there be no Communion.

§. 2. I have supposed in one of the former paragraphs, that this part of the Communion-office (though there be no Communion) is yet always read at the Communion-table or altar. I know indeed it is very frequently performed in the desk. But I think the very reason why the Church appoints so much of this office upon the Sundays and other holy-days, though there be no Communion, is also a reason why it should be said at the altar. For the Minister's reading the office till he can go no further for want of communicants, I have observed, was designed in order to draw communicants to the table. And therefore is it not fit that the Minister himself should be ready at the place, whither he himself is inviting others? For this reason, in the first book of king Edward, the rubric above cited ordered expressly that it should be said *at the altar*. Bucer indeed thought this tended too much towards creating in people's minds superstitious notions of the Mass;[75] and in the second book of king Edward, which was modelled according to his directions, those words were left out. Though it is not improbable that as the word *altar* was thrown out every where else in this office, so it might be left out of this rubric upon dislike of the name; without any intention to alter the

[72] See Mr. Bingham's Antiquities, l. 14. [73] Socrat. Hist. l. 5, c. 21. [74] Durand. Rational. l. 4, c. 1, num. 23, fol. 90. [75] Buceri Censura, p. 458.

place where this part of the service on such days should be said. And indeed I cannot understand how this alteration could give any authority for the using any part of this office at any other place than the Lord's table; so long as there was another rubric at the beginning of it, which still ordered that *the Priest should stand at the north side of the table*, and there say the Lord's Prayer with what follows, without any allowance or permission to say it any where else when there was no Communion. It is certain that our bishops still apprehended, that it was to be said there; since several of them, in their visitations, enjoined the Ministers to read it at the holy table; and there, Mr. Hooker tells us, it was in his time commonly read.[76] And that the Episcopal Commissioners appointed to review the Liturgy at the Restoration of king Charles II. supposed and intended it should continue to be performed there, appears from *the Account of the Proceedings of the Commissioners of both persuasions*. The Puritans had desired, "That the Ministers should not be required to rehearse any part of the Liturgy at the Communion table, save only those parts which properly belong to the Lord's Supper; and that at such times only when the said holy Supper is administered."[77] How this was received by the Episcopal Ministers, may be gathered from the Puritans' reply. "You grant not," say they, "that the Communion-service be read in the desk when there is no Communion: but in the late form, (i. e. I suppose some occasional form that was then published,) instead thereof it is enjoined to be done at the table, (though there be no rubric in the Common Prayer Book requiring it.")[78] Now from hence I think it is plain, that they, who were commissioned to review the Liturgy, designed that this office should be always read at the altar, though they did not add any new rubric to order it, because, I suppose, they thought the general rubric above mentioned sufficient.

The care of our Church about frequent Communion.

§. 3. But to return to the care of our Church in relation to frequency of Communions: how zealous she is still to bring her members to communicate oftener than she can obtain, is apparent from her enjoining, that *in Cathedral and Collegiate Churches and Colleges, where there are many Priests*

Rubric 4.

[76] Ecclesiastical Polity, l. 5, §. 30. [77] See the Exceptions against the Book of Common Prayer, page 6. [78] See the Preface to the Papers that passed between the Commissioners.

and Deacons, they shall all receive the Communion with the Priest every Sunday at least, except they have a reasonable cause to the contrary; and from her further requiring *every Parishioner* in general *to communicate at the least three times in the year, of which Easter to be one;** because at that time Christ our Passover was sacrificed for us, and by his death (which we commemorate in this Sacrament) obtained for us everlasting life. Rubric 8.

§. 4. Every one may communicate as much oftener as he pleases: the Church only puts in this precaution, that *there shall be no celebration of the Lord's Supper, except there be a convenient number to communicate with the Priest, according to his discretion. And if there be not above twenty persons in the Parish of discretion to receive the Communion, yet there shall be no Communion, except four (or three at the least) communicate with the Priest.* And this is to prevent the solitary masses which had been introduced by the Church of Rome, where the Priest says mass, and receives the Sacrament himself, though there be none to communicate with him: which our Church disallows, not permitting the Priest to consecrate the elements, unless he has *three at least* to communicate with him, because our Saviour seems to require *three* to make up a congregation.[79] Rubric 2, 3. Solitary Masses not allowed of.

§. 5. The fifth rubric is designed to take away all those scruples which over-conscientious people used to make about the Bread and Wine. As to the Bread, some made it essential to the Sacrament to have *leavened*, others *unleavened;* each side, in that, as well as in other matters of as small moment, superstitiously making an indifferent thing a matter of conscience. Rubric 5. The Bread, whether to be leavened or unleavened.

* The rubric that related to the frequency of Communion in king Edward's first book was this: "Also that the receiving the Sacrament of the blessed Body and Blood of Christ, may be most agreeable to the institution thereof, and to the usage of the primitive Church; in all cathedral and collegiate churches, there shall always some communicate with the Priest that ministereth. And that the same may be also observed every where abroad in the country; some one at the least of that house in every parish, to which by course, after the ordinance herein made, it appertaineth to offer for the charges of the Communion, or some other, which they shall provide to offer for them, shall receive the holy Communion with the Priest: the which may be the better done, for that they know before when their course cometh, and may therefore dispose themselves to the worthy receiving of the Sacrament. And with him or them who doth so offer the charges of the Communion, all other who be then godly disposed thereunto, shall likewise receive the Communion. And by this means the Minister, having always some to communicate with him, may accordingly solemnize so high and holy mysteries, with all the suffrages and due order appointed for the same. And the Priest on the week-days shall forbear to celebrate the Communion, except he have some that will communicate with him."

[79] Matt. xviii. 20.

Our Saviour doubtless used such bread as was ready at hand: and therefore this Sacrament being instituted immediately after the celebration of the passover, at which they were neither to eat *leavened* bread, nor so much as to have any in their houses, upon pain of being cut off from Israel,[80] does perfectly demonstrate that he used that which was *unleavened.* But this perhaps was only upon the account of the passover, when no other but unleavened bread could be used by the Jews. After his resurrection he probably celebrated (if he celebrated at all) in leavened bread, and such as was in common use at all other times, except the time of the passover. And that the primitive Church always used common bread, appears, in that the elements for the holy Eucharist were always taken out of the people's oblations of Bread and Wine, which doubtless were such as they themselves used upon other occasions. But when these oblations began to be left off about the eleventh or twelfth century, the Clergy were forced to provide the elements themselves; and they, under pretence of decency and respect, brought it from *leavened* to *unleavened*, and from a loaf of common bread, that might be broken, to a nice wafer, formed in the figure of a *denarius*, or penny, to represent, as some imagine, the thirty pence for which our Saviour was sold. And then also the people, instead of offering a loaf, as formerly, were ordered to offer a penny; which was either to be given to the poor, or to be expended upon something belonging to the sacrifice of the altar.[81] However, this abuse was complained of by some discerning and judicious men, as soon as it began. But when once introduced, it was so generally approved, that it was not easy to lay it aside. For even after the Reformation, king Edward's first book enjoins these unleavened wafers to be used, though with a little alteration indeed in relation to their size. The whole rubric, as it stood then, runs thus: *For avoiding all matters and occasions of dissension, it is meet that the Bread prepared for the Communion be made, through all this realm, after one sort and fashion; that is to say, unleavened and round, as it was afore, but without all manner of print, and something more large and thicker than it was, so that it may be aptly divided in diverse pieces: and every one shall be divided in two pieces at the least, or more, by the dis-*

[80] Exod. xii. 15, 19. [81] See all these particulars proved in Bona de Rebus Liturgicis, l. 1, c. 23, §. 11, and in Mr. Bingham's Antiquities, l. 15, c. 2, §. 5, 6.

cretion of the Minister, and so distributed. And men must not think less to be received in part than in the whole, but in each of them the whole body of our Saviour Jesus Christ.

The bread, I suppose, was ordered to be *round*, in imitation of the wafers that had been used both in the Greek and Roman Church ever since the eleventh century:[82] upon which was stamped the figure either of a Crucifix or the Holy Lamb. But in the rubric above, it is ordered to be made *without all manner of print, and something more large and thicker than it was;* the custom before being to make it small, about the size of a penny, to represent, as some imagine, the thirty pence for which our Lord was sold.[83] These superstitions the Reformation had laid aside; but the rubric above mentioned still affording matter for scruple, it was altered at the review in the fifth of king Edward, when, in his second book, this rubric was inserted in the room of it: *And to take away the superstition which any person hath, or might have, in the Bread and Wine, it shall suffice that the Bread be such as is usually to be eaten at the table with other meats, but the best and purest wheat-bread that conveniently may be gotten.* And the same rubric, with some little difference, is still continued in our present Liturgy. Though, by the Injunctions of queen Elizabeth, wafer-bread seems to have been again enjoined: for among some orders, at the end of those Injunctions, this was one: *Where also it was in the time of king Edward the Sixth used to have the Sacramental Bread of common fine bread; it is ordered, for the more reverence to be given to these holy mysteries, being the Sacraments of the Body and Blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, that the said Sacramental Bread be made and formed plain, without any figure thereupon, of the same fineness and fashion, round, though somewhat bigger in compass and thickness, as the usual Bread and Wafer, heretofore named singing-cakes, which served for the use of private Mass.*[84] Though bishop Cosin observes upon our present rubric, that "It is not here commanded that no unleavened or wafer-bread be used; but it is only said, that the other bread *may suffice*. So that though there was no necessity, yet there was a liberty still reserved of using wafer-

Wafer-Bread enjoined by queen Elizabeth.

[82] Bertoldus Constantiensis de Ordine Romano. Durand. Rational. l. 4, c. 30, n. 8.
[83] Honorii Gemma Animæ, l. 1, c. 66. apud Bonam, and in Bingham, l. 15, c. 2, §. 5.
[84] See bishop Sparrow's Collection, page 84, 85.

bread, which was used in diverse Churches of the kingdom, and Westminster for one, till the seventeenth of king Charles."[85]

And allowed by the Scotch Liturgy.

For which reason perhaps, though the Scotch Liturgy continues the rubric that was first inserted in the fifth year of king Edward; yet a parenthesis is inserted, to shew that the use of wafer-bread is lawful; (*though it be lawful to have wafer-bread*) *it shall suffice*, and so on, as in the rubric of our own Liturgy.

Rubric 6. The remainder of the Elements how to be disposed of.

§. 6. Another thing about which there might be dissension, is, how the Elements that remain should be disposed of afterwards, and therefore it is provided by another rubric, that *if any of the Bread and Wine remain unconsecrated, the Curate shall have it to his own use.** For though it hath not been actually consecrated, yet by its being dedicated and offered to God, it ceases to be common, and therefore properly belongs to the Minister as God's steward.

But if any remain of that which was consecrated, it shall not be carried out of the church, but the Priest, and such other of the communicants as he shall then call unto him, shall immediately after the blessing, reverently eat and drink the same.† In the primitive Church, whatever of the consecrated Elements were left after all had communicated, were either reserved by the Priest to be administered to infirm persons in cases of exigency, that they might not die without receiving the blessed Sacrament;[86] or else were sent about to absent friends, as pledges and tokens of love and agreement in the unity of the same faith.[87] But this custom being abused, was afterwards prohibited by the Council of Laodicea,[88] and then the remains began to be divided among the Clergy;[89] and sometimes the other communicants were allowed to partake with them,[90] as is now usual in our Church, where care is taken to prevent the superstitious reservation of them formerly practised by the Papists. However, it would be convenient if the Scotch rubric were observed, by which, *to the end there may be little left, he that officiates is required to consecrate with the least.*

* First added in king Edward's second book.

† Added first to the Scotch Liturgy, and then to our own at the last review.

[85] See Dr. Nichols's additional Notes, page 54. [86] Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. 6, c. 44, p. 246, C. Excerpt. Egbert. 22. Concil. tom. vi. col. 1588. [87] Just. Mart. Apol. l. c. 85, p. 127, 128. Euseb. Hist. Eccles. l. 5, c. 24, p. 193, B. [88] Can. 14, tom. i. col. 150, A. [89] Const. Apost. l. 8, c. 31. [90] Theophil. Alex. Can. 7, ap. Bevereg. Pandect. Canon. Apost. &c. tom. ii. p. 572, F.

§. 7. The seventh rubric is a direction *how the Bread and Wine shall be provided.* How they were provided in the primitive Church I have already shewed. Afterwards it seems it was the custom for every house in the parish to provide in their turns the *holy Loaf*, (under which name I suppose were comprehended both the Elements of Bread and Wine;) and the *good Man* and *good Woman* that provided were particularly remembered in the prayers of the Church.[91] But by the first book of king Edward, the care of providing was thrown upon the Pastors and Curates, who were obliged *continually to find, at their costs and charges in their cures, sufficient Bread and Wine for the holy Communion, as oft as their parishioners should be disposed for their spiritual comfort to receive the same.* But then *it was ordered, that, in recompense of such costs and charges, the parishioners of every parish should offer every Sunday, at the time of the offertory, the just value and price of the holy Loaf, (with all such money and other things as were wont to be offered with the same,) to the use of the Pastors and Curates, and that in such order and course as they were wont to find, and pay the said holy Loaf. And in Chapels annexed, where the people had not been accustomed to pay any holy Bread, there they were either to make some charitable provision for the bearing of the charges of the Communion; or else (for receiving of the same) resort to the parish church.* But now, since, from this method of providing, several unforeseen inconveniences might, and most probably did, arise, either from the negligence, or obstinacy, or poverty of the parishioners; it was therefore afterwards ordered, that *the Bread and Wine for the Communion should be provided by the Curate and the Churchwardens, at the charges of the parish; and that the parish should be discharged of such sums of money, or other duties which hitherto they have paid for the same, by order of their houses every Sunday.* And this is the method the Church still uses; the former part of this rubric being continued in our present Communion-office, though the latter part was left out, as having reference to a custom which had for a long while been forgotten.

Rubric 7. The Bread and Wine, how to be provided.

§. 8. The next rubric, as far as it concerns the duty of communicating, has already been taken

Rubric 8. Ecclesiastical duties

[91] See L'Estrange's Alliance, p. 172.

what, and when to be paid.

notice of. But the chief design of it is to settle the payment of Ecclesiastical Duties. For it is hereby ordered, that *yearly at Easter every parishioner shall reckon with his Parson, Vicar, or Curate, or his or their deputy or deputies, and pay to them or him all ecclesiastical duties, accustomably due, and then at that time to be paid.** What are the duties here mentioned is a matter of doubt: bishop Stillingfleet supposes them to be a composition for personal tithes, (i. e. the tenth part of every one's clear gains,) due at that time;[92] but the present bishop of Lincoln imagines them to be partly such duties or oblations as were not immediately annexed to any particular office; and partly a composition for the *holy Loaf*, which the Communicants were to bring and offer, and which is therefore to be answered at Easter, because at that festival every person was, even by the rubric, bound to communicate.[93] They both perhaps may have judged right: for by an act of parliament in the second and third of Edward VI. such personal tithes are to be paid *yearly at or before the feast of Easter*, and also *all lawful and accustomary offerings, which had not been paid at the usual offering days,*[94] *are to be paid for at Easter next following.*

The money given at the offertory, how to be disposed of.

§. 9. The last rubric is concerning the disposal of the money given at the Communion, and was not added till the last review; but to prevent all occasion of disagreement, it was then ordered, that *after the divine service ended, the money given at the offertory shall be disposed of to such pious and charitable uses as the Minister and Churchwardens shall think fit; wherein if they disagree it shall be disposed of as the Ordinary shall*

* The rubric in king Edward's first book was this: "Furthermore, every man and woman to be bound to hear and be at the Divine Service in the parish church where they may be resident, and there with devout prayer, or godly silence and meditation, to occupy themselves: there to pay their duties, to communicate once in the year at the least; and there to receive and take all other sacraments and rites in this book appointed. And whosoever willingly upon no just cause doth absent themselves, or doth ungodly in the parish church occupy themselves; upon proof thereof, by the ecclesiastical laws of the realm to be excommunicated, or suffer other punishment, as shall to the ecclesiastical judge (according to his discretion) seem convenient." In all the other old books it began thus: "And note, every parishioner shall communicate at the least three times in the year, of which Easter to be one; and shall also receive the sacraments and other rites according to the order in this book appointed." The word *sacraments* I suppose is used here in a large sense, for the other ordinances of *Confirmation*, *Matrimony*, &c., which were all called *sacraments* before, and for some time after the Reformation.

[92] Bishop Stillingfleet's Ecclesiastical Cases, page 252. [93] Bishop Gibson's Codex, vol. ii. p. 740. [94] The usual offering-days at first were Christmas, Easter, Whitsuntide, and the feast of the dedication of the parish-church: but by an act of Henry VIII. A. D. 1536, they were changed to Christmas, Easter, Midsummer, and Michaelmas.

appoint. The hint was taken from the Scotch Liturgy, in which immediately after the blessing this rubric follows: *After the divine service ended, that which was offered shall be divided in the presence of the Presbyter and the Church-wardens, whereof one half shall be to the use of the Presbyter, to provide him books of holy divinity; the other half shall be faithfully kept and employed on some pious or charitable use, for the decent furnishing of that church, or the public relief of their poor, at the discretion of the Presbyter and Church-wardens.*

SECT. XXXI.—*Of the Protestation.*

The Protestation.

AT the end of the whole office is added a Protestation concerning the gesture of *kneeling* at the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, and explaining the Church's notion of the presence of Christ's Body and Blood in the same. This was first added in the second book of king Edward, in order to disclaim any Adoration to be intended by that ceremony *either unto the Sacramental Bread or Wine there bodily received, or unto any real and essential presence there being, of Christ's natural Flesh and Blood.* But upon queen Elizabeth's accession this was laid aside. For it being the queen's design (as I have already observed more than once) to unite the nation as much as she could in one faith; it was therefore recommended to the divines, to see that there should be no definition made against the aforesaid notion, but that it should remain as a speculative opinion not determined, but in which every one might be left to the freedom of his own mind. And being thus left out, it appears no more in any of our Common Prayers till the last review: at which time it was again added, with some little amendment of the expression and transposal of the sentences; but exactly the same throughout as to the sense; excepting that the words *real and essential Presence* were thought proper to be changed for *corporal Presence.* For a *real Presence* of the Body and Blood of Christ in the Eucharist is what our Church frequently asserts in this very office of Communion, in her Articles, in her Homilies, and her Catechism: particularly in the two latter, in the first of which she tells us, *Thus much we must be sure to hold, that in the Supper of the Lord there is no vain ceremony, no bare sign, no untrue figure of a thing absent;—but the Communion of the Body and Blood of the*

Lord in a marvellous incorporation, which by the operation of the Holy Ghost—is through faith wrought in the souls of the faithful, &c.,[95] *who therefore* (as she further instructs us in the Catechism) *verily and indeed take and receive the Body and Blood of Christ in the Lord's Supper.* This is the doctrine of our Church in relation to the *real Presence* in the Sacrament, entirely different from the doctrine of Transubstantiation, which she here, as well as elsewhere,[96] disclaims: a doctrine which requires so many ridiculous absurdities and notorious contradictions to support it, that it is needless to offer any confutation of it, in a Church which allows her members the use of their senses, reason, Scripture, and antiquity.

CHAPTER VII.

OF THE MINISTRATION OF PUBLIC BAPTISM OF INFANTS, TO BE USED IN THE CHURCH.

THE INTRODUCTION.

HAVING now gone through the constant offices of the Church, I come, in the next place, to those which are only to be used as there is occasion. And of these the office of Baptism, being the first that can regularly be administered, (as being the first good office that is done to us when we are born,) is therefore properly set first. In order to treat of which in the same method I have observed hitherto, it will be necessary, in the first place, to say something of the Sacrament itself.

Washing with water used by all nations as a symbol of purification.

§. 1. *Water* therefore (which is the matter of it) hath so natural a property of cleansing, that it hath been made the symbol of *purification* by all nations, and used with that signification in the rites of all religions.[1] The heathens used divers kinds of baptism to expiate their crimes;[2] and the Jews baptize such as are admitted proselytes at large;[3] and when any of those nations turn Jews, who are already circumcised, they receive them by baptism only: with which ceremony also

[95] First part of the Homily concerning the Sacrament. [96] Article XXVIII. and Homilies. [1] Τὸ ὕδωρ ἁγνίζει. Plut. Quæst. Rom. [2] Tert. de Bapt. c. 5, p. 225, D. et 226, A. [3] See this proved in Bishop Hooper's Discourse on Lent, part ii. chap. 2, §. 2, p. 159; and in Dr. Wall on Infant-Baptism, Introduction, §. 1, 2,

they purified such heathen women as were taken in marriage by Jewish husbands. And this is that universal, plain, and easy rite, which our Lord Jesus adopted to be a mystery in his religion, and the sacrament of admission into the Christian Church.[4]

How it typifies a New Birth.

§. 2. Nor can any thing better represent *Regeneration* or *New Birth*, which our Saviour requires of us before we can become Christians,[5] than *washing with water*. For as that is the first office done unto us after our natural births, in order to cleanse us from the pollutions of the womb;[6] so when we are admitted into the Church, we are first baptized, (whereby the Holy Ghost cleanses us from the pollutions of our sins, and renews us unto God,[7]) and so become, as it were, spiritual infants, and enter into a new life and being, which before we had not. For this reason, when the Jews baptized any of their proselytes, they called it their *New Birth*, *Regeneration*, or *being born again*.[8] And therefore when our Saviour used this phrase to Nicodemus, he wondered that he, *being a master in Israel*, should not understand him. And even among the Greeks this was thought to have such virtue and efficacy, as to give new life as it were to those who were esteemed religiously dead. For if any one that was living was reported to be deceased, and had funeral solemnities performed upon his account; he was afterwards, upon his return, abominated of all men, as a person unlucky and profane, banished and excluded from all human conversation, and not so much as admitted to be present in the temples, or at the sacrifices of their gods, till he was born again, as it were, by being washed like a child from the womb: a custom founded upon the direction of the oracle at Delphos. For one Aristinus falling under this misfortune, and consulting Apollo to know how he might be freed from it, his priestess Pythia returned him this answer:

> Ὅσσα περ ἐν λεχέεσσι γυνὴ τίκτουσα τελεῖται,
> Ταῦτα πάλιν τελέσαντα θύειν μακάρεσσι θεοῖσι.
> *What women do, when one in childbed lies,*
> *That do again; so may'st thou sacrifice.*

Aristinus rightly apprehending what the oracle meant, offered himself to women as one newly brought forth, to be washed again with water. And from this example it grew a custom

[4] Matt. xxiii. 19. [5] John iii. 3—7. [6] Ezek. xvi. 4. [7] Tit. iii. 5. [8] See Dr. Wall on Infant-Baptism, Introduction, §. 6.

among the Greeks, when the like calamity befell any man, to expiate and purify him after this manner.[9] And thus in the Christian Church, by our Saviour's institution and appointment, those who are dead to God through sin, are born again by the *washing of Regeneration, and renewing of the Holy Ghost.*[10] And how proper (by the way) *water* is to typify the *Holy Ghost*, may be seen by consulting several texts of Scripture, where *Water* and the *Blessed Spirit* are mentioned as corresponding one to another.[11]

Milk, honey, and salt, and white garments, anciently given to the new-baptized.

That the primitive Christians had this notion of baptism, I think may very fairly be asserted from those other rites which they anciently used in the celebration of this mystery: such as were the giving the new-baptized *milk* and *honey*, and *salt*, which were all given to infants new-born;[12] and the putting upon them *white garments*, to resemble the *swaddling* spoken of by Ezekiel.[13]

For what reason.

All these, the ancient Fathers tell us, were done to signify and represent spiritual birth and infancy, and out of reference to what was done at the natural birth of children.[14] And therefore who can doubt but that the principal rite of *washing with water* (and the only one indeed ordained by our blessed Saviour) was chosen by him for this same reason, to be the sacrament of our initiation; and that those who brought in the other rites above mentioned, did so conceive of it, and for that reason took in those imitations? In some Churches indeed they have now for a long time been discontinued; for they being only used as emblems to signify that the persons were become as new-born babes, they were left off at such times, when, whole nations becoming Christians, there were hardly any other baptisms than of babes in a proper sense, who needed no such representations to signify their infancy.

Why discontinued.

The form of Baptism.

§. 3. As to the *form* of baptism, our Saviour only instituted the essential parts of it, viz. that it should be performed by a proper Minister, with *water, in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.*[15] But as for the rites and circumstances of the administration of it, he left them to the determination of the Apostles and

[9] Plutarch. Quest. Romanæ. [10] Tit. iii. 5. [11] Isa. xliv. 3. John iv. 14. John vii. 37, 38, 39. [12] Isa. vii. 15. Ezek. xvi. 4. [13] Ezek. xvi. 6. [14] Barnabas, c. 6. Tertul. de Bapt. c. 6, et contra Marcion. l. i. c. 14. Hieron. adv. Luciferianos. Cyril. Catech. Mystag. 4. [15] Matt. xxviii. 19.

the Church. Yet without doubt a *form* of baptism was very early agreed upon, because almost all Churches in the world do administer it much after the same manner. The latter ages indeed had made some superfluous additions; but our reformers removed them, and restored this office to a nearer resemblance of the ancient model, than any other Church can shew. We have now three several offices in our Liturgy, viz. one for *Public Baptism of Infants in the Church*, another for *Private Baptism of Children in Houses*, and a third for *such as are of Riper Years, and able to answer for themselves.*

The first is what is now most commonly used; for there being but very few adult persons, who now come over to the Church, infants are generally the persons that are baptized: and they being appointed to be brought to church, except in danger of death, *the public form* of baptism is there ordered to be used. Of this therefore I propose to treat in order at large, and only to take notice of those particulars in the others which differ from this.

§. 4. And the office we are now upon being appointed for infants, it will be proper to premise a few general hints in relation to baptizing them. For that reason I shall here observe, that as baptism was appointed for the same end that circumcision was, and did succeed in the place of it; it is reasonable it should be administered to the same kinds of persons. For since God commanded infants to be circumcised,[16] it is not to be doubted but that he would also have them to be baptized. Nor is it necessary that Christ should particularly mention children in his commission:[17] it is sufficient that he did not except them: for that supposeth he intended no alteration in this particular, but that children should be initiated into the Christian as well as into the Jewish religion. And indeed if we consider the custom of the Jews at that time, it is impossible but that the Apostles, to whom he delivered his commission, must necessarily understand him as speaking of children, as well as of grown or adult persons. For it is well known that the Jews baptized, as well as circumcised, all proselytes of the nations or Gentiles that were converted to their religion. And if any of those converts had *infant children* then born to them, they also were, at their father's desire, both circumcised and baptized, if males; or if females, only baptized, and so admitted as

Infant-baptism justified.

A custom among the Jews to baptize infants.

[16] Gen. xvii. 12.

[17] Matt. xxviii. 18.

proselytes. The child's *inability* to declare or promise for himself was not looked upon as a bar against his reception into the covenant: but the desire of the father to dedicate him to God, was accounted available and sufficient to justify his admission.* Nor does the ceremony of baptism appear to have been used amongst the Jews upon such extraordinary occasions only; but it seems rather to have been an ordinary rite constantly administered by them, as well to their own as to the children of proselytes; for the Mishna prescribes the solemn *washing*, as well as the circumcision of the child, which I know not how to interpret, if it is not to be understood of a Baptismal Washing.[18]

No alteration in that respect intended by our Saviour.

This therefore being the constant practice of the Jews, and our Saviour in his commission making no exception, but bidding his Apostles *go and disciple all nations, baptizing them*, &c., I think that is a sufficient argument to prove, that he intended no alteration in the objects of Baptism, but only to exalt the action of baptizing to a nobler purpose, and a larger use. For when a commission is given in so few words, and there is no express direction what they should do with the infants of those who become disciples; the natural and obvious interpretation is, that they must do in that matter as they and the Church in which they lived had always used to do. And we may assure ourselves, that had the Apostles left children out of the covenant, and not received them as members of the Church; the Jews, who took such care that their children should not want their own sacrament of initiation, would certainly have urged this as a great objection against the Christian religion. But we do not read of any such objection ever made, and therefore we may depend upon it, that the Apostles gave them no room for it.

The silence of the New Testament no argument against Infant-Baptism.

It is true indeed, it has been often objected to us, that the Scriptures make no express mention of the Baptism of Infants; to which we might reply, were the objection true, that neither do the Scriptures make any express mention of the alter-

* This is only to be understood of such children as were born before their parents themselves were baptized: for all the children that were born to them afterwards, they reckoned were clean by their birth, as being born of parents that were cleansed from the polluted state of heathenism, and were in the covenant of Abraham, and so natural Jews.[19]

[18] Misna de Sabbato, c. 19, §. 19. Vide et R. Obadiah de Bartenora, et Maimon. in loc. [19] See this, and what is said above, proved at large in Dr. Wall's Introduction to his History of Infant-Baptism.

ation of the Sabbath: and yet I believe there are but few of those who are of a different opinion from us, in the point before us, but who think the observation of the first day of the week is sufficiently authorized from the New Testament: and yet this is not more clearly implied than the other. We read in several places of whole *households being baptized*,[20] without any exception of their infants or children. Now it is very unlikely that there should be so many households without children; and therefore, since none such are excepted, we may conclude that they were baptized as well as the rest of the family: only the Baptism of adult persons being more for the honour of the Christian religion, the holy writers chose only to name the chief persons baptized, thinking it sufficient to include their children and servants under the general terms of *all theirs*, or *their households*. And what makes it still more probable that children were really included in these terms is, that the Scriptures no where mention the deferring the Baptism of any Christian's child, or the putting it off till he came to years of discretion. An argument that surely may as justly be urged against the adversaries to Infant-Baptism, as the silence of the Scriptures is against us.

The silence of the New Testament makes as much against the Antipædobaptists as against us.

But it seems this objection of the silence of the Scriptures is not true. For the learned Dr. Wall has sufficiently rescued a passage in the New Testament from the gloss of the moderns; and shewed, both by comparing it with other texts in Scripture, and from the interpretation of the ancients, that it cannot fairly be understood in any other sense than of the Baptism of Infants. The passage I mean is a text in St. Paul's first Epistle to the Corinthians,[21] *Else were your children unclean, but now are they holy:* on which he shews from several places of the Old Testament,[22] (i. e. from the original texts, and the intepretation given of them by the learned Jews,) that to *sanctify* or *make holy*, was a common expression among the Jews for *baptizing* or *washing*.[23] It is also plain from the New Testament, that the same expression is twice used by this same Apostle in this same sense, viz. once in the Epistle from whence this text is taken,[24] and once again in his Epistle to

Infant-Baptism proved from the New Testament.

[20] Acts xvi. 15, 33. 1 Cor. i. 16. [21] Chap. vii. 14. [22] Exod. xix. 10. Levit. vi. 27. 2 Sam. xi. 4. [23] Dr. Wall's History of Infant-Baptism, part i. chap. 11, §. 11. [24] 1 Cor. vi. 11.

the Ephesians.[25] He also refers to a learned author to shew, that it was a common phrase with the ancients, to say that an infant or other person was *sanctified* or *made holy*, when they meant that he was baptized.[26] Some instances of which he also gives himself, as they come in his way upon other occasions.[27] And it is certain, that this sense of this place in St. Paul very much illustrates what goes before. The Apostle was directing, that if any man or woman had a husband or wife that did not believe, they should not separate or part, if the unbelieving person was still willing to cohabit; the reason of which he says is, because the *unbelieving husband is sanctified*, or, (as it is in the Greek, and as all commentators agree it should be translated,) *an unbelieving husband has been sanctified by the wife*: i. e. it has often come to pass, that an unbelieving husband has been brought to the faith, and so to Baptism, by his wife; and *an unbelieving wife has*, in the same sense, been *sanctified by her husband*. As a proof of which he observes in the close, *Else would your children be unclean, but now are they holy*: i. e. if it were not so, or if the wickedness or infidelity of the unbelieving party did usually prevail, the children of such would generally be kept unbaptized, and so be unclean: but now, by the grace of God, we see a contrary effect; for they are generally baptized, and so become sanctified or holy. This exposition (as Dr. Wall observes) is so much the more probable, because there has been no other sense of those words yet given by expositors, but what is liable to much dispute: and that sense especially, which is given by our adversaries, (viz. of Legitimacy in opposition to Bastardy,) seems the most forced and far-fetched of all.

Infant-Baptism proved from the writings of the most ancient Fathers.

But though we could not be able to produce from Scripture any express mention of the Baptism of Infants; yet when we descend to the writers of the next succeeding ages, we have all their testimonies unanimous on our side. And surely they must be allowed to be competent witnesses of what was done by the Apostles themselves. They could tell whether themselves or their fathers were baptized in their infancy, or whether it was the Apostles' doctrine or advice to

[25] Eph. v. 26. [26] Mr. Walker's Modest Plea for Infant-Baptism, chap. 29.
[27] Dr. Wall, ut supra, and chap. 15, §. 2, chap. 18, §. 4, and chap. 19, §. 19. See also his Defence of his History against Mr. Gale, p. 363, &c.

stay till they were grown up to years of maturity. But now in none of these do we meet with any thing that favours the opinion of our adversaries, but almost in all of them a direct confutation of their errors. In some of them we have express and direct mention of the practice of the Church in baptizing Infants; and even in those in whose way it does not come to say any thing as to the age when Baptism should be administered, we have frequent sentences from whence it may be inferred by way of implication. St. Clement, in the Apostles' time, speaks of Original Sin as affecting Infants:[28] if so, then Baptism is necessary to wash it away. Justin Martyr affirms, that Baptism is to us in the stead of Circumcision;[29] from whence we may fairly conclude, that it ought to be administered to the same kinds of persons. In another place,[30] he mentions several persons *who were discipled* (or made disciples) *to Christ whilst children:* which plainly intimates, that children may be made *disciples*, and consequently may be baptized. For the only objection of the Antipædobaptists against Infant-Baptism, is their incapacity of being made disciples. Now here they may perceive that, if Justin rightly understood the word, children may be disciples. And it is worth observing, that the persons he here speaks of are said to be *sixty and seventy years old:* and therefore if they were discipled and baptized when children, it follows they must be baptized even in the days of the Apostles. But to proceed: Irenæus, who lived but a little after Justin, reckons Infants among those who were *born again to God*.[31] A phrase which, in most ecclesiastical writers, and especially in Irenæus, is generally used to signify that *Regeneration*, which is the effect of Baptism.[32] And that this must be the sense of the word here is plain, because Infants are not capable of being born again in any other sense. Tertullian again, a few years after him, speaks of Infant-Baptism as the general practice of his time; though by the heretical notions which it is probable he had then imbibed, he thought the deferring of it was more profitable.[33] In the next century, Origen, in several places, expressly assures us that *Infants were baptized by the usage of the Church*.[34] And lastly, about the year 250, (which was but

[28] Clem. Rom. Eph. i. ad Cor. cap. xvii. [29] Dialog. cum Tryph. p. 59, ed. Steph. [30] Just. Martyr. Apol. 1, prope ab initio. [31] Omnes enim venit per semetipsum salvare: omnes inquam qui per eum renascuntur in Deum; Infantes et Parvulos, et Pueros, et Juvenes, et Seniores. Irenæus adv. Hæres. l. 2, c. 39. [32] See this proved at large in Dr. Wall's History of Infant-Baptism, part i. chap. 3. [33] Tertull. de Bapt. c. 18. [34] Orig. Hom. 8, in Lev. xii. xiii. part i. p. 90. Hom. 14, in Luc. ii. part ii. p. 142, L.

150 years after the Apostles,) St. Cyprian, with sixty-six bishops in council with him, declared all unanimously, that none were to be hindered from Baptism and the grace of God: "Which rule," saith he, "as it holds for all, so we think it more especially to be observed in reference to Infants, and persons newly born."[35] * The same might be shewn from all the other Fathers of the three first centuries, who all speak of it as a doctrine, settled and established from the beginning of Christianity, without once questioning or opposing it; which certainly they would have done in some or other of their works, had they known it to have been an innovation, contrary to the doctrine or practice of the Apostles.

But I have already been too long upon a single particular, and must therefore refer the more inquisitive reader to the learned labours of an eminent divine,[36] who has exhausted the subject to the satisfaction and honour of the English Church.

SECT. I.—*Of the Rubrics before the Offices.*

Rubric 1. Baptism formerly administered only at Easter and Whitsuntide.

I. *It appeareth by ancient writers*, (as was expressed in the rubric till the last review,) *that the Sacrament of Baptism in the old time was not commonly ministered but at two times in the year, at Easter and at Whitsuntide:* at Easter, in remembrance of Christ's resurrection, of which baptism is a figure;[37] and at Whitsuntide, in remembrance of the three thousand souls baptized by the Apostles at that time.[38] For this reason in the Western Church, all that were born after Easter were kept until Whit-Sunday; and all that were born after Whit-Sunday were reserved until next Easter: unless some imminent danger of death hastened the administration of it before.[39] Though in the Eastern Church, the feast of Epiphany was also assigned for the administration of this Sacrament, in memory of our Saviour's being, as it is supposed, baptized upon that day.[40] And about the eighth or ninth century, the time for solemn baptism was enlarged even in the Latin Church, all Churches being moved by reason of the thing, to administer baptism (as at first) at all times of the year.[41]

* This consultation was held, not to decide whether Infants were to be baptized, (that they took for granted,) but whether they might regularly be baptized before the eighth day. Upon which the resolution of the whole Council was formed, that Baptism is to be denied to none that is born.

[35] Cypr. Ep. 64, p. 158. [36] Dr. Wall's History of Infant-Baptism. [37] Rom. vi. 4. [38] Acts ii. 41. [39] Beatus Renanus in Tertull. de Coron. Milit. [40] Greg. Naz. Orat. 40, vol. i. p. 54, A. [41] See this proved in Dr. Nichols's note (*h*) upon this rubric.

But yet *though the custom above mentioned be now grown out of use, and* (as the old rubric goes on) *cannot, for many considerations, be well restored again; it is thought good to follow the same, as near as conveniently may be.* And therefore our present rubric still orders, *that the people be admonished, that it is most convenient that baptism should not be administered but upon Sundays and other holy-days, when the most number of people come together: as well for that the congregation there present may testify the receiving of them that be newly baptized into the number of Christ's Church; as also because in the baptism of infants every man present may be put in remembrance of his own profession made to God in his baptism. For this cause also* it is further declared *expedient, that baptism be administered in the vulgar tongue. Nevertheless* (*if necessity so require*) *children may be baptized upon any other day,* or (as it was worded in the old Common Prayers) *children may at all times be baptized at home;* or lastly, as it was expressed in the first book of king Edward, *either at Church or else at home.*

To be administered now only upon Sundays or holy-days.

Except in cases of necessity.

§. 2. But then it is to be observed, that if the occasion be so urgent as to require baptism at *home*, the Church has provided a particular office for the administration of it: which directs, that the essential parts of the sacrament be administered immediately in private; but defers the performance of the other solemnities till the child can be brought into the church. As to the office we are now upon, it is by no means to be used in any place but the church. It is ordered to be said *at the font*, in the middle of the morning or evening prayer, and all along supposes a congregation to be present; and particularly in one of the addresses which the Priest is to use, it is very absurd for him to tell the godfathers and godmothers in a chamber, that *they have brought the child thither to be baptized*, when he himself is brought thither to baptize it. It is still more absurd for him in such a place to use that expression, *Grant that whosoever is* here *dedicated to thee by our office and ministry*, &c. For he knows that the word *here* cannot be applicable to the place he is in: nor yet has he any authority to omit or alter the form.

The irregularity and scandal of administering Baptism at home.

If we look back into the practice of the primitive Church, we shall find that the place where this solemn act was per-

formed was at first indeed unlimited: *In any place where there was water*, as Justin Martyr tells us;[42] *in ponds or lakes, in springs or rivers*, as Tertullian speaks;[43] but always as near as might be to the place of their public assemblies. For it was never (except upon extraordinary occasions) done without the presence of the congregation. A rule the primitive Christians so zealously kept to, that the Trullan Council does not allow this holy sacrament to be administered even in chapels that were appropriate or private, but only in the public or parish churches; punishing the persons offending, if clergy, with deposition; if laity, with excommunication.[44]

In our own Church indeed, since our unhappy confusions, this office hath been very frequently made use of in *private*; and some Ministers have thought themselves, to prevent the greater mischief of separation, necessitated to comply with the obstinacy of the greater and more powerful of their parishioners: who, for their ease or humour, or for the convenience of a more splendid and pompous christening, resolving to have their children baptized at home, if their own Minister refuse it, will get some other to do it.

But such persons ought calmly to consider how contrary to reason and the plain design of the institution of this sacrament, this perverse custom, and their obstinate persisting in it, is. For what is the end of that sacred ordinance, but to initiate the person into the *Church* of Christ, and to entitle him to the privileges of it? And where can there be a better representation of that society, than in a congregation assembled after the most solemn and conspicuous manner for the worship of God, and for the testifying of their communion in it? Where can the profession be more properly made before such admission; where the stipulation given, where the promise to undertake the duties of a Christian, but in such an assembly of Christians? How then can all this be done in confusion and precipitance, without any timely notice or preparation, in private, in the corner of a bed-chamber, parlour, or kitchen, (where I have known it to be administered,) and there perhaps out of a basin, or pipkin, a tea-cup, or a punch-bowl, (as the excellent Dr. Wall with indignation observes,[45]) and in the presence of only two or three, or scarce so many as may be called a congregation? The ordinance is certainly

[42] Apol. 1, c. 79, p. 516, lin. 8, 9. [43] De Bapt. c. 4, p. 225, C. [44] Can. 59, tom. vi. col. 1170, A. [45] See Dr. Wall against Mr. Gale, p. 405.

public: public in the nature and end of it, and therefore such ought the celebration of it to be; the neglect whereof is the less excusable, because it is so easily remedied.

II. The next rubric (which was added at the last review) is concerning the godfathers and godmothers. The use of which in the Christian Church was derived from the Jews, as well as the initiation of infants itself.[46] And it is by some believed that the *witnesses* mentioned by Isaiah at the *naming of his son*,[47] were of the same nature with these sureties.[48]

Rubric 2. The original and antiquity of godfathers and godmothers.

§. 2. In the primitive Church they were so early, that it is not easy to fix the time of their beginning. Some of the most ancient Fathers make mention of them,[49] and through all the successive ages afterwards we find the use of them continued, without any scruple or interruption, till the Anabaptists, and other Puritans of late years, raised some idle clamours against them. Some of these I shall have a proper place to speak to hereafter. In the mean while I desire to observe in general, that since the laws of all nations (because infants cannot speak for themselves) have allowed them *guardians* to contract for them in *secular* matters; which contracts, if they be fair and beneficial, the infants must make good when they come to age; it cannot, one would think, be unreasonable for the Church to allow them *spiritual guardians*, to promise those things in their name, without which they cannot obtain salvation. And this too, at the same time, gives *security* to the Church, that the children shall not apostatize, from whence they are called *sureties;* provides monitors to every Christian, to remind them of the vow which they made in their presence, from whence they are called *witnesses;* and better represents the new birth, by giving the infants new and spiritual relations, whence they are termed godfathers and godmothers.

The use of them.

Whence called sureties, witnesses, and godfathers, &c.

§. 3. How long the Church has fixed the number of these sureties, I cannot tell: but by a constitution of Edmund, archbishop of Canterbury, A. D. 1236,[50] and in a synod held at Worcester, A. D. 1240,[51]

The number of them.

[46] See this proved in Dr. Lightfoot, vol. ii. p. 119. [47] Isaiah viii. 2. [48] Vid. Jun. et Tremel. in locum. [49] Προσφέροντες, Just. Mart. ad Orthodoxos. Ἀνάδοχοι, Dionys. Areop. Eccles. Hier. c. 2, p. 77, B. C. Sponsores, Tert. de Bapt. c. 18, p. 231, C. Fidejussores, Augustin. Serm. 168, in Append. ad tom. v. col. 329, C. [50] Bp. Gibson's Codex, vol. i. p. 439. [51] Synod. Wigorn. cap. 5, apud. Concil. per Labbée, tom. xi. par. i, col. 575, C.

I find the same provision made as is now required by our rubric, viz. *That there should be for every male child that is to be baptized, two godfathers and one godmother, and for every female one godfather and two godmothers.*

The qualifications of persons to be admitted godfathers and godmothers.

§. 4. By the twenty-ninth canon of our Church, *no parent is to be admitted to answer as godfather for his own child.*[52] For the parents are already engaged under such strict bonds, both by nature and religion, to take care of their children's education, that the Church does not think she can lay them under greater: but still makes provision, that if, notwithstanding these obligations, the parents should be negligent, or if it should please God to take them to himself before their children be grown up; there yet may be others, upon whom it shall lie to see that the children do not want due instructions, by means of such carelessness, or death of their parents. And for a further prevention of people's entering upon this charge, before they are capable of understanding the trust they take upon themselves, it is further provided by the above-mentioned canon, that *no person be admitted godfather or godmother, before the said person so undertaking hath received the holy Communion.*

Rubric 3.

III. *When there are children to be baptized, the parents shall give knowledge thereof over night, or in the morning, before the beginning of Morning Prayer, to the Curate. And then the godfathers and godmothers, and the people with the children must be ready at the font,** so called, I suppose, because Baptism, at the beginning of Christianity, was performed in *springs* or *fountains*. They were at first built *near* the church, then in the *church-porch*, and afterwards (as it is now usual amongst us) placed *in* the church itself, but still keeping the *lower end*, to intimate that Baptism is the *entrance* into the mystical Church. In the primitive times we meet with them very large and capacious, not only that they might

Fonts, why so called.

Why placed at the lower end of the church.

Formerly very large.

* "Must be ready at the church-door." So the first book of king Edward, which also orders in the last rubric at the end of the Office, that "if the number of children to be baptized, and the multitude of people present be so great that they cannot conveniently stand at the church-door, then let them stand within the church in some convenient place, nigh unto the church-door; and there all things to be said and done appointed to be said and done at the church-door."

[52] See also Queen Elizabeth's Advertisements, A. D. 1564, in Bishop Sparrow's Collection, page 125.

comport with the general customs of those times, viz. of persons being immersed or put under water; but also because the stated times of Baptism returning so seldom, great numbers were usually baptized at the same time. In the middle of them was always a partition; the one part for men, the other for women; that so, by being baptized asunder, they might avoid giving offence and scandal. But immersion being now too generally discontinued, they have shrunk into little small fonts, scarce bigger than mortars, and only employed to hold less basins with water, though this last be expressly contrary to an ancient advertisement of our Church.[53] It is still indeed required that there be a font in every church made of *stone*;[54] because, saith Durand,[55] the water that typified Baptism in the wilderness flowed from a *rock*,[56] and because Christ, who gave forth the living water, is in Scripture called the *Corner-Stone* and the *Rock*.

Why made of stone.

§. 2. At this font the children, &c., are to be ready, *either immediately after the last Lesson at morning prayer, or else immediately after the last Lesson at evening prayer, as the Curate by his discretion shall appoint.* The reason of which I take to be, because by that time the whole congregation is supposed to be assembled; which shews the irregularity (which prevails much in some churches) of putting off christenings till the whole service is over, and so reducing them (by the departing of the congregation) to almost private baptism.

Baptism, why to be performed after the second Lesson.

SECT. II.—*Of the preparative Prayers and Exhortations, to be used before the Administration of Baptism.*

I. The people with the children, being ready, and the *Priest coming to the font*, (*which is then to be filled with pure water*,) as our present rubric directs, *and standing there*, is, in the first place, to ask, *Whether the child has been already baptized or no?* The reason of which is, because Baptism is never to be repeated: for as there is but *one Lord* and *one Faith*, so there is but *one Baptism*.[57] And in the primitive Church, those that stood up so earnestly for rebaptizing those who had been bap-

The first question.

[53] See the Advertisements of Queen Elizabeth, A. D. 1564, in Bishop Sparrow, p. 125. [54] Canon XVIII. [55] Rational. Div. Offic. l. 6, c. 82, num. 25, fol. 364. [56] Exod. xvii. 6. [57] Eph. iv. 5

tized by heretics, did not look upon that as a *second* Baptism, but esteemed that which had been conferred by heretics as invalid; seeing heretics, being out of the Church, could not give what they had not.[58] And others, rather than repeat that sacrament, allowed even that Baptism to be valid which was administered by heretics, if it appeared that it had been performed *in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.*

The Exhortation.

II. If the Minister be answered, that the child hath not been baptized, he then begins the solemnity with an exhortation to prayer; for there being a mutual covenant in this sacrament between God and man, so vast a disproportion between the parties, and so great a condescension on the part of the Almighty, (who designs only our advantage by it, and is moved by nothing but his own free grace to agree to it,) it is very reasonable the whole solemnity should be begun with an humble address to God.

The two prayers.

III. For which purpose follow two prayers: in the first of which we commemorate how God did typify this salvation, which he now gives by Baptism, in saving Noah and his family by *water*,[59] and by carrying the Israelites safe through the *Red Sea*,[60] as also how Christ himself, by being baptized, *sanctified water to the mystical washing away of sin*; and upon these grounds, we pray that God by his Spirit *will wash and sanctify* this child that he may be *delivered from his wrath, received into the ark of his Church*, and so filled with grace as to live holily here, and happily hereafter.*

In the second prayer, to express our earnestness and importunity, we again renew our address, requesting, first, That this child may be pardoned and regenerated; and, secondly, That it may be adopted and accepted by Almighty God.

Double crossing of the persons baptized in the primitive Church.

§. 2. Between these two prayers in king Edward's first Liturgy, the Priest was to ask the *name* of the child of its godfathers and godmothers, and then to make a *cross* upon its *forehead* and *breast*, saying,

N. *Receive the sign of the holy cross both in thy forehead and in thy breast, in token that thou shalt not be ashamed to*

* The first prayer in king Edward's book was a little differently expressed; but to the same sense, the language only being afterwards amended.

[58] Tret. de Bapt. c. 15, p. 230, B. Cyprian. Hist. Concil. Carthag. p. 229, &c. Apost. Const. l. 6, c. 15. Cyril. Hieros. Præf. §. 4, p. 6. [59] 1 Pet. iii. 20, 21. [60] 1 Cor. x. 2.

confess thy faith in Christ crucified; and so on, as in our own form, only speaking all along to the child. This is now done only upon the *forehead*, and reserved till after the child is baptized: though it is manifest there were anciently in the primitive Church two several signings with the cross: viz. one *before* Baptism,[61] as was ordered by our first Liturgy; and the other after it, which was used with Unction at the time of Confirmation, of which I shall have occasion to speak hereafter. Why the crossing which we now retain is ordered *after* Baptism, will be shewn when I come to that part of the service.

§. 3. After the second of these prayers, in the first Liturgy of king Edward, follows a form of *exorcism*, which I have printed in the margin,* which was founded upon a custom that obtained in the ancient ages of the Church, to *exorcise* the person baptized, or to cast the Devil out of him, who was supposed to have taken possession of the catechumen in his unregenerate state. And it cannot be denied but that possessions by evil spirits were very frequent before the spreading of the Gospel, when we read that many of them were ejected through the name of Christ. But the use of *exorcism*, as an ordinary rite in the administration of Baptism, cannot well be proved from any earlier authors than the fourth century, when it was taken in to denote that persons, before they were regenerate by Baptism, were under the kingdom of darkness, and held by the power of sin and the Devil.[62] But it being urged by Bucer, in his censure of the Liturgy, that this exorcism was originally used to none but demoniacs, and that it was uncharitable to imagine that all were demoniacs who came to Baptism;[63] it was thought prudent by our reformers to leave it out of the Liturgy, when they took a review of it in the fifth and sixth of king Edward. But to proceed in our own office.

Exorcising, an ancient practice in Baptism.

IV. *The people standing up*, (which shews that they were to kneel at the two foregoing

The Gospel, how properly chose.

* Then let the Priest, looking upon the children, say,

I command thee, unclean spirit, in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, that thou come out and depart from these infants, whom our Lord Jesus Christ hath vouchsafed to call to his holy Baptism, to be made members of his body, and of his holy congregation. Therefore, thou cursed spirit, remember thy sentence, remember thy judgment, remember the day to be at hand, wherein thou shalt burn in fire everlasting, prepared for thee and thy angels. And presume not hereafter to exercise any tyranny towards these infants, whom Christ hath bought with his precious blood, and by this his holy Baptism calleth to be of his flock.

[61] Ambr. de iis qui initiantur, c. 4. August. de Symbolo, l. 2, c. 1. [62] Greg. Naz Orat. 40. Cyril. Hieros. in Præf. ad Catech. [63] Bucer. Script. Anglican. p. 480.

prayers,) the Minister, in the next place, is to read to them a portion out of the Gospel of St. Mark.* Which, though anciently applied to the sacrament of Baptism,[61] has been censured by some as improper for this place; because the children there mentioned were not brought to be baptized. But if people would but consider upon what account the Gospel is placed here, I cannot think but they would retract so impertinent a charge. In the making of a covenant, the express consent of both parties is required: and therefore the covenant of Baptism being now to be made, between Almighty God and the child to be baptized; it is reasonable, that, before the sureties engage in behalf of the infant, they should have some comfortable assurances that God on his part will be pleased to consent to and make good the agreement. For their satisfaction, therefore, the Priest, who is God's ambassador, produces a warrant from Scripture, (the declaration of his will,) whereby it appears that God is willing to receive infants into his favour, and hath by Jesus Christ declared them capable of that grace and glory, which on God's part are promised in this baptismal covenant: wherefore the sureties need not fear to make the stipulation on *their* part, since they have God's own word that there is no impediment in children to make them incapable of receiving that which he hath promised, and will surely perform.

An Exhortation.

From all which premises, the Church, in a brief exhortation that follows, concludes, that the sureties may cheerfully promise that which belongs to *their* part, since God by his Son hath given sufficient security that *his* part shall be accomplished. But this being the overflowings of God's pure mercy and goodness, and not owing to any merits or deserts in us, it is fit it should be acknowledged in an humble manner.

The Thanksgiving.

V. And therefore next follows a thanksgiving† for our own call to the knowledge of, and faith in God, which we are put in mind of by this fresh occasion: and wherein we also beg of God to give

* In the first book of king Edward, the Priest was to say, "The Lord be with you." The people were to answer, "And with thy spirit." And then followed the Gospel.

† In the Common Prayer of 1549, the conclusion of this exhortation was thus: "Let us faithfully and devoutly give thanks unto him, and say the prayer which the Lord himself taught: and in declaration of our faith, let us also recite the articles contained in our Creed." Then the Minister, with the godfathers and godmothers and people present, were first to say the Lord's Prayer, and then the Creed. After which followed the Thanksgiving.

[61] Tert. de Baptismo, c. 18, p. 231.

a new instance of his goodness, by *giving his holy Spirit to the infant* now to be baptized, that so *it may be born again, and made an heir of everlasting salvation.*

§. 2. After this thanksgiving in king Edward's first Liturgy, *the Priest was to take one of the children by the right hand, the other being brought after him; and coming into the church toward the font* (for all the former part of the service was then said at the church-door) *he was to say, The Lord vouchsafe to receive you into his holy household, and to keep and govern you always in the same, that you may have everlasting life. Amen.* An old ceremony in king Edward's first book.

VI. And now no doubt remaining but that God is ready and willing to perform his part of the covenant, so soon as the child shall promise on his; the Priest addresses himself to the godfathers and godmothers to promise for him, and from them takes security that the infant shall observe the conditions that are required of him. And in this there is nothing strange or new; nothing which is not used almost in every contract. By an old law of the Romans, all magistrates were obliged, within five days after admission to their office, to take an oath to observe the laws. Now it happened that C. Valerius Flaccus was chosen *edile*, or overseer of the public buildings. But he being before *Flamen Dialis*, or Jupiter's high priest, could not be admitted by the Romans to swear; their laws supposing that so sacred a person would voluntarily do what an oath would oblige him to. C. Valerius however desired that his brother, as his proxy, might be sworn in his stead: to this the commons agreed, and passed an act that it should be all the same as if the edile had sworn himself.[65] Much after the same manner, whenever kings are crowned in their infancy, some of the nobility, deputed to represent them, take the usual oaths. The same do ambassadors for their principals at the ratifying of leagues or articles; and guardians for their minors, who are bound by the law to stand to what is contracted for them. Since then all nations and orders of men act by this method, why should it be charged as a fault upon the Church, that she admits infants to baptism, by sponsors undertaking for them? The preface to the covenant.

VII. Having thus justified the reasonableness of a vicarious stipulation, let us now proceed to The stipulation to be made by

[65] Livii, lib. 31, c. 50.

question and answer.

consider the *form* that is here used. It is drawn up all along by way of question and answer, which seems to have been the method even in the days of the Apostles: for St. Peter calls baptism the *answer of a good conscience*:[66] and in the primitive Church, queries were always put to the persons baptized, which persons at age answered themselves, and children by their representatives,[67] who are therefore to answer in the first person, (as the advocate speaks in the person of the client,) *I renounce*, &c., because the contract is properly made with the child.

In the name of the child.

§. 2. For which reason, in the first book of king Edward, the priest is ordered *to demand of the child* these several questions proposed; and in our present Liturgy, though the Minister directs himself to the godfathers and godmothers, yet he speaks by them to the child, as is manifestly apparent from the third question: and consequently the child is supposed to return the several answers which are made by the godfathers, &c., and *to promise by those that are his sureties* (as the above preface expresses it) *that he will renounce the Devil and all his works, and constantly believe God's holy word, and obediently keep his Commandments.*

An account of the queries.

§. 3. The queries proposed are four, of which the last was added at the Restoration; there being but three of them in any of the former books, though in the first of king Edward they are broken into eight. They being all of them exceedingly suitable and proper, I think it not amiss to take notice of them severally.

Query 1.

§. 4. First, then, when we enter into covenant with God, we must have the same friends and enemies as he hath; especially when the same that are enemies to him are also enemies to our salvation. And therefore, since children are by nature the slaves of the Devil, and, though they have not yet been actually in his service, will nevertheless be apt to be drawn into it, by *the pomps and glory of the world, and the carnal desires of the flesh*; it is necessary to secure them for God betimes, and to engage them to take all these for their enemies, since whoso loveth them cannot love God.[68]

Query 2.

§. 5. Secondly, faith is a necessary qualification for baptism;[69] and therefore before Philip

[66] 1 Peter iii. 21. [67] Tertull. de Bapt. c. 18, p. 231, C. et S. August. Epist. 98, Com. 2, col. 267, F. [68] 1 John ii. 15. [69] Mark xvi. 16.

would baptize the eunuch, he asked him, *if he believed with all his heart;* and received his answer that *he believed Jesus to be the Son of God.*[70] From which remarkable precedent the Church hath ever since demanded of all those who enter into the Christian profession, *if they believe all the Articles* which are implied in that profession: and this was either done by way of question and answer,[71] or else the party baptized (if of age) was made to repeat the whole Creed.[72]

Query 3.

§. 6. But thirdly, it is not only necessary that the party to be baptized do believe the Christian faith; but he must also desire to be joined to that society by the solemn rite of initiation: wherefore the child is further demanded, *whether he will be baptized in this faith;* because God will have no unwilling servants, nor ought men to be compelled by violence to religion. And yet the Christian religion is so reasonable and profitable, both as to this world and the next, that the godfathers may very well presume to answer for the child, that *this is his desire:* since if the child could understand the excellency of this religion, and speak its mind, it would without doubt be ready to make the same reply.

Query 4.

§. 7. Lastly, St. Paul tells us, they that are baptized must *walk in newness of life:*[73] for which reason the child is demanded, fourthly, *If he will keep God's holy will and commandments, and walk in the same all the days of his life?* For since he now takes Christ for his Lord and Master, and lists himself under his banner, it is fit he should vow, in the words of this sacrament, to observe the commands of his general. Wherefore as he promised to forsake all *evil* before, so now he must engage to do all that is *good*, without which he cannot be admitted into the Christian Church.

This baptismal vow very primitive.

§. 8. I cannot conclude this section till I have observed, that this whole stipulation is so exactly conformable to that which was used in the primitive Church, that it cannot be unpleasant to compare them together. All that were to be baptized were brought to the entrance of the baptistery or font, and standing with their faces towards the west, (which being directly opposite to the east, the place of light, did symbolically represent the prince of darkness, whom they were to renounce,) were commanded to

[70] Acts viii. 37. [71] Cyril. Catech. Mystag. 2, §. 4, p. 285. Ambr. de Sacr. l. 2, c. 7, tom. vi. col. 360, K. [72] Aug. Serm. 58, in Matt. vi. tom. v. col. 337, D. E.
[73] Rom. vi. 4.

stretch out their hands as it were in defiance of him; and then the bishop asked them every one, "Dost thou renounce the Devil and all his works, powers, and service?" To which each party answered, "I do renounce them."—"Dost thou renounce the world, and all its pomps and vanities?" Answer, "I do renounce them."[74] In the next place they made an open confession of their faith, the bishop asking, "Dost thou believe in God the Father Almighty, &c., in Jesus Christ his only Son our Lord, who, &c. Dost thou believe in the Holy Ghost, the holy Catholic Church, and in one baptism of repentance for remission of sins, and the life everlasting?" To all which each party answered, "I do believe;" as our Church still requires in this office.[75]

SECT. III.—*Of the Administration of Baptism.*

The prayer for the sanctification of the child.

I. THE contract being now made, it is fit the Minister should more peculiarly intercede with God for grace to perform it; and therefore, in the next place, he offers up four short petitions for the child's sanctification. Most of our commentators upon the Common Prayer think, that they were added to supply the place of the old Exorcisms. But it is certain they were placed in the first book of king Edward with no such intent. For by that (as I have observed) a form of Exorcism was to be used over every child that was brought to be baptized: whereas these petitions were only to be used at such times as the water in the font was to be changed and consecrated, which was not then ordered to be done above once a month. For which reason the form for consecrating it did not, as now, make a part of the public office for baptism, but was placed by itself, at the end of the office for the administration of it in private, (i. e. at the end of the whole; for there was no office then for the baptism of such as are of riper years.)

And for the consecration of the water.

The form that was used then was something different from what we use now. It was introduced with a prayer, that was afterwards left out at the second review.* And these petitions that are still re-

* "O most merciful God our Saviour Jesu Christ, who hast ordained the element of water for the regeneration of thy faithful people, upon whom, being baptized in the

[74] Const. Apost. l. 7, c. 41. Dion. Areop. de Eccles. Hier. c. 2, p. 77, D. Ambr. de Init. c. 2, tom. iv. col. 343, K. De Sacrament. l. 1, c. 2, tom. iv. col. 354, A. [75] Const. Apost. l. 7, c. 41. Cyril. Catech. Mystag. 2, §. 4, p. 285. Ambr. de Sacram. l. 2, c. 7 tom. iv. col. 360, K.

tained, ran then in the plural number, and the future tense, in the behalf of all that should be baptized till the water should be changed again. And this is the reason that the last of these petitions still runs in general terms, it being continued word for word from the old form. Between the two last also were four other petitions inserted, which are now omitted.* And after all (the usual salutation intervening, viz. *The Lord be with you, And with thy spirit*) followed the prayer, which we still retain for the consecration of the water. There is some little difference in it towards the conclusion, because the water being sanctified by the first prayer above mentioned, there was no occasion to repeat the consecration in this; for which reason the words then, and in all the books to the last review, ran in this form: *Regard, we beseech thee, the supplications of thy congregation, and grant that all thy servants, which shall be baptized in this water, prepared for the ministration of thy holy Sacrament,* [*which we here bless and dedicate in thy name to this spiritual washing,*†] *may receive the fulness of thy grace;* and so on.

Of this form Bucer, in his Censure,[76] could by no means approve. Such blessings and consecrations of things inanimate tends strangely (he tells us) to create in people's minds terrible notions of magic or conjuration. He allows such consecrations indeed to be very ancient, but however they are not to be found in the word of God. At the second reformation therefore, the Common Prayer Book comes out with all that relates directly to the consecration of the water omitted. The

river of Jordan, the Holy Ghost came down in the likeness of a dove; send down, we beseech thee, the same thy Holy Spirit to assist us, and to be present at this our invocation of thy holy name: sanctify+this fountain of baptism, thou that art the sanctifier of all things, that by the power of thy word, all those that shall be baptized therein, may be spiritually regenerated, and made the children of everlasting adoption. Amen." This was the first prayer for the consecrating of the water in the first Common Prayer. From whence these words, "Sanctify this fountain of baptism, thou that art the sanctifier of all things," were taken by the compilers of the Scotch form, and inserted within crotchets [ ] in the first prayer at the beginning of the office after the words—"mystical washing away of sin;" against which was added a direction in the margin—That "the water in the font should be changed twice in the month at least. And before any child should be baptized in the water so changed, the Presbyter or Minister should say at the font the words thus enclosed [ ]."

* Whosoever shall confess thee, O Lord, recognise him also in thy kingdom. Amen.

Grant that all sin and vice here may be so extinct, that they never have power to reign in thy servants. Amen.

Grant that whosoever here shall begin to be of thy flock, may evermore continue in the same. Amen.

Grant that all they which for thy sake, in this life, do deny and forsake themselves, may win and purchase thee, O Lord, which art everlasting treasure. Amen.

† The words thus enclosed [ ] are only in the Scotch Liturgy.

[76] Script. Anglican. p. 481.

first prayer above mentioned was left out entirely, and the last purged from those words, *prepared for the ministration of the holy Sacrament.* And thus the form continued till the last review, when a clause was again added to invocate the Spirit, to *sanctify the water to the mystical washing away of sin.* Now by this is meant, not that the water contracts any new quality in its nature or essence, by such consecration; but only that it is sanctified or made holy in its use, and separated from common to sacred purposes. In order to which, though the primitive Christians believed, as well as we do, that water in general was sufficiently sanctified by the baptism of our Saviour in the river Jordan;[77] yet when any particular water was at any time used in the administration of baptism, they were always careful to consecrate it first by a solemn invocation of the Holy Spirit.[78]

Name, why given at Baptism.

II. All things being thus prepared for the baptism of the child, the Minister is now to *take it into his hands*, and to ask the godfathers and godmothers to *name* it. For the *Christian name* being given as a badge that we belong to Christ, we cannot more properly take it upon us, than when we are enlisted under his banner. We bring one name into the world with us, which we derive from our parents, and which serves to remind us of our original guilt, and that we are born in sin: but this new name is given us at our baptism, to remind us of our new birth, when, being washed in the laver of regeneration, we are thereby cleansed from our natural impurities, and become in a manner new creatures, and solemnly dedicate ourselves to God. So that the naming of children at this time hath been thought by many to import something more than ordinary, and to carry with it a mysterious signification. We find something like it even among the heathens: for the Romans had a custom of naming their children on the day of their lustration, (i. e. when they were cleansed and washed from their natural pollution,) which was therefore called *Dies nominalis.* And the Greeks also, when they carried their infants, a little after their birth, about the fire, (which was their ceremony of dedicating or consecrating them to their gods,) were used at the same time to give them their names.

[77] Ignat. ad Ephes. §. 18. Greg. Naz. Εἰς τὰ Γενέθλ. See also St. Jerome and St. Ambrose. [78] Cyprian. Ep. 70, p. 190. Ambr. de Sacram. l. 2, c. 5, tom. iv. col. 359, K. Basil. de Spir. Sanct. c. 27, tom. ii. p. 211, A.

And that the Jews named their children at the time of circumcision, the holy Scriptures,[79] as well as their own writers, expressly tell us. And though the rite itself of circumcision was changed into that of baptism by our Saviour, yet he made no alteration as to the time and custom of giving the name, but left that to continue under the new, as he had found it under the old dispensation. Accordingly we find this time assigned and used to this purpose ever since: the Christians continuing from the earliest ages to name their children at the time of baptism. And even people of riper years commonly changed their name, (as Saul, saith St. Ambrose,[80] at that time changed his name to Paul,) especially if the name they had before was taken from any idol or false god. For the Nicene Council forbids the giving of heathen names to Christians, and recommends the giving the name of some apostle or saint:[81] not that there is any fortune or merit in the name itself, but that, by such means, the party might be stirred up to imitate the example of that holy person whose name he bears. And by a provincial constitution of our own Church, made by archbishop Peccham, A. D. 1281, it is provided, that no wanton names be given to children; or if they be, that they be changed at Confirmation.[82]

Heathen or wanton names prohibited.

§. 2. As to the *appointment* of the name, it may be pitched upon by the relations, (as we may see has been the custom of old:)[83] but the rubric directs that it be dictated by the godfathers and godmothers. For this being the token of our new birth, it is fit it should be given by those who undertake for our Christianity, and engage that we shall be bred up and live like Christians; which being confirmed by the custom and authority of the Church in all ages, is abundantly enough to justify the practice, and satisfy us of the reasonableness of it.

To be given by the godfathers, and why.

III. After the name is thus given, *the Priest (if the godfathers, &c. certify him that the child may well endure it) is to dip it in the water discreetly and warily;* which was in all probability the way by which our Saviour, and for certain was the usual and ordinary way by which the primitive Christians did receive their baptism.[84] And it must be allowed that by dipping, the ends and

The outward sign in Baptism.

[79] Gen. xxi. 3, 4. Luke i. 59, 60, and chap. ii. 21. [80] In Dominic. Prim. Quadrag. Serm. 2, Ordine 31, tom. v. col. 43, K. [81] Vid. Canon. Arabic. Can. 30, tom. ii. col. 209, E. [82] See bishop Gibson's Codex, vol. i. p. 440. See also Camden's Remains. [83] Ruth iv. 17. Luke i. 59. [84] Acts viii. 28. Rom. vi. 3, 4. Col. ii. 12. Const. Apost. l. 3, c. 17. Barnabas, c. 11, p. 70, edit. Oxon. 1685. Tert. de Bapt. c. 4, et de Orat. c. 11.

Immersion or dipping most primitive and significant.

effects of baptism are more significantly expressed; for as in immersion there are three several acts, viz. the putting the person under water, his abiding there for some time, and his rising up again; so by these were represented Christ's death, burial, and resurrection; and in conformity thereunto (as the Apostle plainly shews[85]) our dying unto sin, the destruction of its power, and our resurrection to newness of life. Though indeed affusion is not wholly without its signification, or entirely inexpressive of the end of baptism. For as the *immersing* or *dipping* the body of the baptized represents the burial of a dead person under ground; so also the *affusion* or *pouring water* upon the party answers to the covering or throwing earth upon the deceased. So that both ceremonies agree in this, that they figure *a death and burial unto sin:* and therefore though immersion be the most significant ceremony of the two, yet it is not so necessary but that *affusion* in some cases may supply the room of it. For since baptism is only an external rite, representing an internal and spiritual action, such an act is sufficient, as fully represents to us the institution of baptism; the divine grace which is thereby conferred, being not measured by the quantity of water used in the administration of it. It is true, *dipping* and *affusion* are two different acts; but yet the word *baptize* implies them both: it being used frequently in Scripture to denote not only such washing as is performed by dipping, but also such as is performed by pouring or rubbing water upon the thing or person washed.[86] And therefore when the Jews baptized their children, in order to circumcision, it seems to have been indifferent with them, whether it was done by immersion or affusion.[87] And that the primitive Christians understood it in this latitude, is plain, from their administering this holy sacrament in the case of sickness, haste, want of water, or the like, by affusion, or pouring water upon the face. Thus the jailor and his family, who were baptized by St. Paul in haste, the same hour of the night that they were converted and believed,[88] are reasonably supposed to have been baptized by affusion: since it can hardly be thought that at such an exigency they had water sufficient

But the ends of baptism answered by affusion.

Which was therefore used upon some occasions by the primitive Christians.

[85] Rom. vi. 3, 4. [86] See Mark vii. 4, and Luke xi. 38, in the Greek, and Heb. ix. 10, also in the Greek, compared with Numbers viii. 7, and xix. 18, 19. [87] Mischna de Sabbato, c. 19, §. 3. [88] Acts xvi. 33.

at hand to be immersed in. The same may be said concerning Basilides, who, Eusebius tells us, was baptized by some brethren in prison.[89] For the strict custody under which Christian prisoners were kept, (their tyrannical jailors hardly allowing them necessaries for life, much less such conveniences as they desired for their religion,) makes it more than probable that this must have been done by affusion only of some small quantity of water. And that baptism in this way was no unheard-of practice before this, may be gathered from Tertullian, who, speaking of a person of uncertain repentance offering himself to be baptized, asks, *Who would help him to one single sprinkling of water?*[90] The Acts also of St. Laurence, who suffered martyrdom about the same time as St. Cyprian, tell us how one of the soldiers that were to be his executioners, being converted, brought a pitcher of water for St. Laurence to baptize him with. And lastly, St. Cyprian, being consulted by one Magnus, in reference to the validity of clinick baptism, (i. e. such as was administered to sick persons on their beds by aspersion or sprinkling,) not only allows, but pleads for it at large, both from the nature of the sacrament, and design of the institution.[91] It is true, such persons as were so baptized, were not ordinarily capable of being admitted to any office in the Church;[92] but then the reason of this, as is intimated by the Council of Neocæsarea, was not that they thought this manner of baptism was less effectual than the other, but because such a person's coming to the faith was not voluntary, but of necessity. And therefore it was provided by the same Council, that if the diligence and faith of a person so baptized did afterwards prove commendable, or if the scarcity of others, fit for the holy offices, did by any means require it, a clinick Christian might be admitted into holy orders.[93] However, except upon extraordinary occasions, baptism was seldom, or perhaps never, administered for the four first centuries, but by immersion or dipping. Nor is aspersion or sprinkling ordinarily used, to this day, in any country that was never subject to the pope.[94] And among those that submitted to his authority, England was the last place where it was received.[95] Though it has never obtained so far as to be enjoined, *dipping*

[89] Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. 6, c. 5. [90] Quis enim tibi, tam infidæ Pœnitentiæ Viro, asperginem unam cujuslibet Aquæ commodabit? Tertull. de Pœnitentia, c. 6. [91] Cypr. Ep. 69, ad Magnum, p. 185, &c. [92] Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. 6, c. 43. [93] Concil. Neocæs. Can. 12. [94] See this proved in Dr. Wall's History of Infant-Baptism, part ii. chap. 9, §. 2. [95] Dr. Wall, ibid.

having been always prescribed by the rubric. The Salisbury Missal, printed in 1530, (the last that was in force before the Reformation,) expressly requires and orders dipping. And in the first Common Prayer Book of king Edward VI., the Priest's general order is to *dip it in the water, so it be discreetly and warily done*; the rubric only allowing, *if the child be weak*, that then *it shall suffice to pour water upon it*. Nor was there any alteration made in the following books, except the leaving out the order to dip it thrice, which was prescribed by the first book.

How affusion or sprinkling first came in practice.

However, it being allowed to *weak* children (though strong enough to be brought to church) to be baptized by affusion; many fond ladies at first, and then by degrees the common people, would persuade the Minister that their children were too tender for dipping. But what principally tended to confirm this practice was, that several of our English divines flying into Germany and Switzerland, &c. during the bloody reign of queen Mary, and returning home when queen Elizabeth came to the crown, brought back with them a great love and zeal to the customs of those Protestant Churches beyond sea, where they had been sheltered and received. And consequently having observed that in Geneva, and some other places, baptism was ordered to be performed by affusion,[96] they thought they could not do the Church of England a greater piece of service, than to introduce a practice dictated by so great an oracle as Calvin. So that in the latter times of queen Elizabeth, and during the reigns of king James and king Charles I., there were but very few children dipped in the font. And therefore when the questions and answers in relation to the sacraments were first inserted at the end of the Catechism, upon the accession of king James I. to the throne, the answer to the question, *What is the outward visible sign or form in baptism?* was this that follows: *Water, wherein the person baptized is dipped, or sprinkled with it in the name of the Father*, &c. And afterwards, when the Directory was put out by the Parliament, affusion (to those who could submit to their ordinance) began to have a shew of establishment; it being declared *not only lawful, but sufficient and most expedient that children should be baptized, by pouring or sprinkling of water on the face.*

[96] See Calvin's Institutes, l. 4, c. 15, §. 19, and Tractat. Theolog. Catechismus, p. 57, ed. Bezæ, 1576.

And as it were for the further prevention of immersion or dipping, it was particularly provided that baptism should not be administered *in the places where fonts, in the time of popery, were unfitly and superstitiously placed.* And accordingly (which was equal to the rest of their reformation) they changed the font into a basin: which being brought to the Minister in his reading desk, and the child being held below him, he dipped in his fingers, and so took up water enough just to let a drop or two fall on the child's face.[97] These reformers, it seems, could not recollect that fonts to baptize in had been long used before the times of popery, and that they had no where been discontinued from the beginning of Christianity, but in such places where the pope had gained authority. But our divines at the Restoration, understanding a little better the sense of Scripture and antiquity, again restored the order for immersion; however, for prevention of any danger to the child, the Priest is advised to be first *certified that it will well endure it.* So that the difference between the old rubric, and what it is now, is only this: As it stood before, the Priest was to dip, unless there was an averment or allegation of *weakness;* as it stands now, he is not to dip, unless there be an averment or certifying of *strength*, sufficient to endure it.

This order, one would think, should be the most unexceptionable of any that could be given; it keeping as close to the primitive rule for baptism, as the coldness of our region and the tenderness wherewith infants are now used, will sometimes admit. Though Sir John Floyer, in a discourse on cold baths, hath shewn, from the nature of our bodies, from the rules of medicine, from modern experience, and from ancient history, that nothing would tend more to the preservation of a child's health, than dipping it in Baptism. However, the parents not caring to make the experiment, take so much the advantage of the reference that is made to their judgments concerning the strength of their children, as never to certify *they may well endure dipping.* It is true, indeed, the question is now seldom asked; because the child is always brought in such a dress, as shews that there is no intention that it should be dipped. For whilst dipping in the font continued in fashion, they brought the child in such sort of clothing, as might be taken off and put on again without any hinderance or

[97] See Dr. Wall's History of Infant-Baptism, part ii. chap. 9, p. 403. Oxf. edit.

trouble. But since the Church not only permits, but requires dipping, where it is certified *the child may well endure it*; and consequently since the Minister is always ready to dip, whensoever it is duly required of him; it is very hard that any should urge the not dipping or immersing, as a plea for separation.

Trine immersion an ancient practice.

§. 2. But to proceed: by king Edward's first book, the Minister is to dip the child in the water thrice; *first dipping the right side; secondly, the left side; the third time, dipping the face toward the font.* This was the general practice of the primitive Church, viz. to dip the person *thrice*, i. e. once at the name of each Person in the Trinity, the more fully to express that sacred mystery.[98] Though some later writers say this was done to represent the death, burial, and resurrection of our Saviour, together with his three days' continuance in the grave.[99] St. Austin joins both these reasons together, as a double mystery of this ancient rite, as he is cited by Gratian to this purpose.[100] Several of the Fathers, that make mention of this custom, own, that there is no command for it in Scripture: but then they speak of it as brought into use by the Apostles;[1] and therefore the fiftieth of the Canons that are called Apostolical, deposes any Bishop or Presbyter that administers Baptism without it.

Why discontinued.

But afterwards, when the Arians made a wicked advantage of this custom, by persuading the people that it was used to denote that the Persons in the Trinity were three distinct substances; it first became a custom,[2] and then a law,[3] in the Spanish Church, only to use *one single* immersion; because that would express the Unity of the Godhead, while the Trinity of Persons would be sufficiently denoted by the person's being baptized in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. However, in other parts of the Church, *trine immersion* most commonly prevailed, as it does in the Greek Church to this very day.[4] Upon what account it was omitted in the second book of king Edward, I do not find: but there being no order in the room of it to con-

[98] Tertull. adv. Prax. c. 26, p. 516, A. et de Coron. Mil. c. 3. Basil. de Sp. Sanct. c. 27. Hieron. adv. Lucif. c. 4. Hierar. Eccles. c. 2. Ambros. de Sacram. l. 2, c. 7. Can. Ap. 50, Bas. 92, Leo. IX. [99] Greg. Nyss. de Bapt. Christi, tom. iii. p. 3, 72. Cyril. Catech. Mystag. 2, n. 4. Leo, Ep. 4, ad Epis. Siculos, c. 3. [100] Aug. Hom. 3, apud Gratian. de Consecrat. Dist. 4. c. 78. [1] Tertull. de Coron. Mil. c. 3, p. 102, A. Cyril. Catech. Mystag. 2, §. 4, page 286, B. Sozomen. Hist. Eccles. l. 6, c. 26, p. 673, D. Hieron. adv. Lucif. [2] Concil. Constant. Can. 7. Greg. Epist. ad Leandrum, Reg. l. 1, c. 41. [3] Concil. Tolet. 4. Can. 6, tom. v. col. 1706. [4] See Sir Paul Rycaut and Dr. Smith's Accounts of the Greek Church.

fine the Minister to a single immersion, I presume it is left to his judgment and discretion to use which he pleases.

IV. When the Priest dips or pours water upon the child, he is to say, (calling the child by its name,) N. *I baptize thee*, which was always the form of the Western Church. The Eastern Church useth a little variation, *Let* N. *be baptized*, &c.,[5] or else, *The servant of God, such a one is baptized*, &c.;[6] but the sense is much the same: however, in the next words, viz. *in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost*, all orthodox Christians did ever agree; because they are of Christ's own appointment, and for that reason unalterable. Wherefore, when the heretics presumed to vary from this form, they were censured by the Church, and those baptisms declared null, which were not administered *in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost*. Some indeed took liberty to mingle a paraphrase with them, baptizing *in the name of the Father who sent, of the Son that came, and of the Holy Ghost that witnessed*;[7] but our reformers thought it more prudent to preserve our Lord's own words entire, without addition or diminution. The form of words.

Now by baptizing in the name of three Persons, is not only meant that it is done by the commission and authority of God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; but also that we are baptized into the faith of the holy Trinity; and are received into that society of men, who are distinguished from all false professions in the world, by believing in three Persons and one God.

V. By the first Common Prayer of king Edward, after the child was thus baptized, *the godfathers and godmothers were to lay their hands upon it, and the Minister was to put upon him his white vesture, commonly called the chrisom, and to say,* Of the white vesture, or chrisom.

Take this white vesture as a token of the innocency, which, by God's grace, in this holy Sacrament of Baptism, is given unto thee, and for a sign whereby thou art admonished so long as thou livest, to give thyself to innocence of living, that after this transitory life thou mayest be partaker of the life everlasting. Amen.

This was a relic of an ancient custom I have formerly had occasion to mention:[8] the intention Why so called.

[5] See the Euchologion. [6] See Sir Paul Rycaut and Dr. Smith's Accounts of the Greek Church. [7] Const. Ap. l. 7, c. 22. [8] See page 232, sect. 19.

and design of it is sufficiently expressed in the form above cited: I therefore need only observe further, that it receives its name from the *chrism* or *ointment* with which the child was anointed when the *chrisom* was put on.

Unction prescribed by the first book of king Edward VI.

VI. For by the same book of king Edward, as soon as the Priest had pronounced the foregoing form, he was to *anoint the infant upon the head, saying,*

Almighty God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who hath regenerated thee by water and the Holy Ghost, and hath given unto thee remission of all thy sins; he vouchsafe to anoint thee with the unction of his Holy Spirit, and bring thee to the inheritance of everlasting life. Amen.

Whether this unction belonged to Baptism or Confirmation.

Whether the compilers of king Edward's Liturgy designed this as a continuance of the unction that anciently made a part of the office of Baptism; or of the unction which, though frequently used at the same time with Baptism, was yet rather a ceremony belonging to Confirmation, is not clearly to be discovered. According to the best of my judgment, I take it rather to be the latter; for the unction that was an immediate ceremony of Baptism, was always applied as soon as the party to be baptized was unclothed, and before his entrance into the water:[9] whereas the unction enjoined by king Edward's Liturgy is ordered to be applied after the child is thoroughly baptized. For this reason, I suppose, it was continued as a relic of the unction which the Priest used to perform preparatory to Confirmation. And what makes my opinion the more probable is, that in the old office for Confirmation, in that book, there is no order for the Bishop to anoint those whom he confirms; which yet it is not to be imagined our reformers (who shewed such regard to all primitive customs) would by any means have omitted, if they had not known that the ceremony of unction had been performed before. But to help the reader to a clear notion in this matter, it will be necessary to give him some little light into the ancient practice in relation to both these unctions.

How they were distinguished in the primitive Church.

He must know then, that the unction that was used *before* baptism, was only with *pure oil*,[10] with which the party was anointed just before he entered the water, to signify that he was now

[9] Constit. Apost. lib. 7, cap. 23. Quæst. ad Orthodox. 137. Eccl. Hierarch. l. 2.
[10] See the authorities cited in the foregoing note.

becoming a champion for Christ, and was entering upon a state of conflict and contention against the allurements of the world: in allusion to the custom of the old *wrestlers* or *athletæ*, who were always anointed against their solemn games, in order to render them more supple and active, and that their antagonists might take the less advantage and hold of them.[11] This was commonly called the *unction of the mystical oil*: whereas the unction wherewith the party was anointed *after* baptism, was called the *unction* or *chrism*, being performed with a *mixed* or *compound unguent*, and applied by the Bishop at the time of the imposition of his hands, partly to express the baptism with *fire*, of which *oil*, we know, is a proper material, partly to signify the invisible unction of the Holy Spirit,[12] and partly to denote that the person so anointed is admitted to the privileges of Christianity, which are described by the Apostle to be *a chosen generation, a royal priesthood, an holy nation*, &c.,[13] in the designation to which office *anointing* was generally used as a symbol. And this account Tertullian favours,[14] where, speaking of the unction that followed baptism, he tells us it was derived from the ancient, i. e. the Jewish discipline, where the Priests were wont to be anointed to their office.

But further, the anointing in Baptism might be performed by either a deacon or deaconess;[15] whereas the chrism that belonged to confirmation could not at first be ordinarily applied by any under the order of a Bishop. Afterwards indeed, when Christianity began to spread far and wide, so that Bishops could not be procured upon every extraordinary emergency, the Bishops found it necessary to give liberty to the Presbyters to anoint those whom they baptized, in cases of extremity: that so, if a Bishop could not be sent for in convenient time, a sick member of the Church might not depart wholly deprived of all those spiritual assistances which Confirmation was to supply. However, the privilege of making and consecrating the holy unguent, and the rite of laying on of hands, they still reserved to themselves; and only took care to supply their Presbyters with a due quantity of chrism, that they might not be without it upon any necessity.[16] And this,

[11] Chrys. Hom. 8, in Ep. ad Coloss. Ambros. de Sacram. l. 1, c. 2. [12] 2 Cor. i. 21, 22. 1 John ii. 20, 27. [13] 1 Peter ii. 9. [14] Tertul. de Bapt. c. 7. [15] Const. Apost. l. 3, c. 15, 16. [16] Concil. Arausican. Can. 1. Concil. Carthag. 4, Can. 36. Concil. Toletan. 1, Can. 20. But see this proved more at large in Dr. Hammond de Confirmatione, cap. 2, sect. 3, 4, and Mr. Bingham's Antiquities, book 12, chap. 2, 1 vol. royal 8vo, page 547, &c.

though at first indulged only upon occasion, came in a little time afterwards to be the general practice: insomuch that for the Presbyter to anoint in baptism became the ordinary method; and the Bishop, when he confirmed, had nothing to do but to impose his hands, except by chance now and then to apply the chrism to a person that by accident had missed of it in his baptism.[17]

And this I take to be the unction intended in the form we are now speaking of, as well for the reasons above mentioned, as because this, of the two, appears to have been the most ancient and universal, and so the most likely to be retained by our reformers. Bucer indeed prevailed for the leaving out the use both of this and the chrisom at the next review; not because he did not think them of sufficient antiquity or standing, or of good use and edification enough where they were duly observed; but because he thought they carried more shew of regard and reverence to the mysteries of our religion than men really retained; and that consequently they tended to cherish superstition in the minds of the people, rather than religion and true godliness.[18]

The reception of the child into the Church.

VII. But to return to our own office: the child, being now baptized, is become a member of the Christian Church, into which the Minister (as a steward of God's family) doth solemnly receive it; and, for the clearer manifestation that it now belongs to Christ, solemnly signs it in the forehead with the sign of the *cross*.

The antiquity and meaning of the sign of the Cross.

For the better understanding of which primitive ceremony, we may observe, that it was an ancient rite for masters and generals, to mark the foreheads or hands of their servants and soldiers with their names or marks, that it might be known to whom they did belong; and to this custom the angel in the *Revelation* is thought to allude;[19] *Hurt not the earth*, &c., *till we have sealed the servants of our God in their foreheads*: thus again,[20] the retinue of the Lamb are said to *have his Father's name written in their foreheads*. And thus, lastly, in the same chapter, as Christ's flock carried his mark on their foreheads, so did his great adversary the beast sign his servants there also:[21] *If any man shall receive the mark of the beast in his forehead, or in his hand*, &c. Now that the

[17] Concil. Araus. Can. 1. [18] Bucer. Script. Angl. p. 478. [19] Chap. vii. ver. 3. [20] Chap. xiv. 1. [21] Verse 9.

Christian Church might hold some analogy with those sacred applications, she conceived it a most significant ceremony in Baptism, (which is our first admission into the Christian profession,) that all her children should be signed with the cross on their foreheads, signifying thereby their consignment up to Christ; whence it is often called by the ancient Fathers, the *Lord's signet*, and *Christ's seal*.

And it is worth observing, that this mark or sign seems to have been appropriated from the very beginning to some great mystery: the Israelites could overcome the Amalekites no longer than Moses by *stretching out his arms* continued in the form of a cross;[22] which undoubtedly prefigured that our salvation was to be obtained through the means of the cross: as was also further signified by God's commanding a cross (for that Grotius supposes to be the mark understood) to be set upon those who should be saved from a common destruction.[23]

But to come nearer; when our blessed Redeemer had expiated the sins of the world upon the cross, the primitive disciples of his religion (who, as Minucius Felix affirms, did not *worship* the cross) did yet assume that figure as the badge of Christianity: and long before material crosses were in use, Tertullian tells us, that "upon every motion, at their going out or coming in, at dressing, at their going to bath, or to meals, or to bed, or whatever their employment or occasions called them to, they were wont [*frontem crucis signaculo terere*] to *mark*, or (as the word signifies) to wear out their foreheads with the sign of the cross; adding, that this was a practice which tradition had introduced, custom had confirmed, and which the present generation received upon the credit of that which went before them."[24] It is pretended indeed by our adversaries, that this is only an authority for the use of this sign upon *ordinary* occasions, and gives no countenance for using it in Baptism. Suppose we should grant this; it would yet help to shew from some other passages in the same author, that the same sign was also used upon *religious* accounts. Thus, in his book concerning *the resurrection of the flesh*, shewing how instrumental the body is to the salvation of the soul, he has this expression: "The flesh is washed that the soul may be cleansed; the flesh is anointed that the soul may be consecrated; the flesh is *signed* that the soul may be for-

[22] Exod. xvii. 11, 12, 13. [23] Ezek. ix. 4. [24] Tert. de Coron. Mil. c. 3, pag. 102, A. B.

tified; the flesh is overshadowed by the imposition of hands, that the soul may be enlightened by the Spirit of God; the flesh is fed on the body and blood of Christ, that the soul may receive nourishment or fatness from God."[25] Thus again, in another place, shewing how the Devil mimicked the holy sacraments in the heathen mysteries; "He baptizeth some," saith he, "as his faithful believers; he promises them forgiveness of their sins after baptism, and so initiates them to Mithra, and there *he signs his soldiers in their foreheads*," &c.[26] Now here is plainly mention made of *signing* or marking *the flesh*, and *signing too in the forehead*, even in the celebration of religious mysteries; and we know no sign they so religiously esteemed, but what Tertullian had in the other place mentioned, viz. *the sign of the cross*. I will not indeed be certain, but that the signing in both these places may refer to the cross which was made upon the forehead, when they were anointed in confirmation: but still this proves that *crossing on the forehead* was used upon religious as well as ordinary occasions; that it was used particularly at Confirmation, and therefore it is highly paobable it was used also in Baptism: since they who used it upon every slight occasion, and made it a constant part of the solemnity in one office, would not omit or leave it out in another, where the use of it was full as proper and significant. We have gained so much therefore from Tertullian's authority, that the use of the cross, even in religious offices, was, in his time, a known rite of Christianity. This will gain an easier belief to a passage among the works of Origen, where there is express mention of some, who *were signed with the cross at their baptism*,[27] and better explain what is meant by St. Cyprian, when he tells us, that "those who obtain mercy of the Lord are *signed on their foreheads*,"[28] and that "the forehead of a Christian is sanctified with the *sign of God*."[29] But further, in Lactantius, we find that Christians are described by those that *have been marked upon the forehead with a cross*.[30] Again, St. Basil tells us, that "an ecclesiastical constitution had prevailed from the Apostles' days, that those who

[25] Caro abluitur, ut anima emaculetur; caro unguitur, ut anima consecretur; caro signatur, ut et anima muniatur; caro manus impositione adumbratur, ut et anima Spiritu illuminetur; caro Corpore et Sanguine Christi vescitur, ut et anima de Deo saginetur. Tertull. de Resurrect. Carnis, c. 8. [26] Tinguit et ipse quosdam, utique credentes et fideles suos; expiationem delictorum de Lavacro repromittit, et sic adhuc initiat Mithræ. Signat illic in frontibus milites suos. Tertull. de Præscr. adv. Hæretic. c. 40. [27] Hom. 2. in Ps. xxxviii. par. 1, p. 299. [28] De Unit. Eccles. p. 116.
[29] De Laps. p. 122. [30] Lib. iv. c. 26.

believed in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ should be *signed with the sign of the cross*." [31] St. Chrysostom again makes it the glory of Christians, that "they carry in their *foreheads the sign of the cross*." [32] And lastly St. Austin, speaking to one who was going to be baptized, tells him,[33] that he was "that day to be *signed with the sign of the cross, with which all Christians were signed*," (i. e. at their baptism.)

I need not surely (after this long detail) instance in the writings of any other of the Fathers, who frequently used being *signed in the forehead* for being baptized. I shall only add this remark; that the first Christian emperor, Constantine the Great, had his directions from heaven to make the *cross* the great banner in his wars with this motto on it, Ἐν τούτῳ νίκα, *By this sign thou shalt overcome*.[34] And sure we cannot suppose that our blessed Lord would, by so immediate a revelation, countenance such a rite as this already used in the Church, if he had resented it before as superstitious and unwarrantable. And we may add, that we ought not to be too petulant against that which the Holy Spirit has sometimes signalized by very renowned miracles; as those who consult the ecclesiastical histories of the best authority cannot but be convinced. In a word, when any are received into the society of our religion, it is as lawful to declare it by a *sign* as by *words*. And surely there is no signature so universally known to be the mark of a Christian as that of the *cross*, which makes St. Paul put the cross for Christianity itself;[35] the belief of a crucified Saviour being the proper article of the Christian faith, distinguishing the professors of it from all other kinds of religion in the world.

The Cross, why made after Baptism.

§. 2. There were anciently indeed, in the primitive Church, two several signings or markings with the cross, viz. one *before* Baptism, as was ordered by the first Liturgy of king Edward, as I have already observed in page 338; the other afterwards, which was used at Confirmation, and which (as I shall shew hereafter) was also prescribed by the same book of king Edward.

In a word, the Cross in Baptism, till of late years, has been so inoffensive to the most scrupulous minds, that even Bucer could find nothing indecent in it, if it was used and applied with a pure mind. He only disapproved of directing the form

[31] De Sp. Sanct. c. 27, tom. ii. p. 210, D. [32] Chrys. in Psalm cx. [33] Aug. de Catech. Rudibus, c. 20. [34] Euseb. de Vita Constant. l. i. c. 28, 29, p. 422. [35] 1 Cor. i. 17, 18. Gal. v. 11. Phil. iii. 18.

that was used at the imposing of it, to the child itself, who could not understand it. For which reason he wished it might be turned into a Prayer.[36] The reviewers of our Liturgy did not indeed exactly comply with him; but however they have ordered the form to be spoken to the congregation, and further, to remove all manner of scruple, have deferred the signing with it till *after* the child is baptized, that so none may charge us with making the ceremony essential to Baptism, which is now finished before the Cross is made, and which is esteemed, in case of extremity, not at all deficient, where it is celebrated without it.

Why made upon the forehead.

§. 3. The *forehead* is the seat of blushing and shame; for which reason the child is to be signed with the Cross on that part of him, *in token that hereafter he shall not be ashamed to confess the faith of Christ crucified, &c.*

SECT. IV.—*Of the concluding Exhortations and Prayers.*

The Exhortation.

I. THE holy rite being thus finished, it is not decent to turn our backs upon God immediately, but that we should complete the solemnity by thanksgiving and prayer: and therefore, that we may do both these with due understanding, the Minister teaches us, in a serious exhortation, what must be the subjects of our praises and petitions.

The Lord's Prayer.

II. And since (as we have already hinted)[37] the Lord's Prayer was prescribed by our Saviour to his disciples as a badge of their belonging to him; it can never be more reasonable or proper to use it than now, when a new member and disciple is admitted into his Church. And therefore, whereas, in other offices, this prayer is generally placed in the beginning, it is here reserved till after the child is baptized, and received solemnly into the Church; when we can more properly call God *Our Father*, with respect to the Infant, who is now by Baptism made a member of Christ, and more peculiarly adopted a child of God. And this is exactly conformable to the primitive Church: for the Catechumens were never allowed to use this prayer, till they had first made themselves sons by Regeneration in the waters of Baptism.[38] For which reason, this prayer is frequently, by

[36] Buceri Script. Anglican. p. 479. [37] Introduction, p. 4. [38] Chrys. Hom. 2, in 2 Cor. tom. iii. p. 553, lin. 21, 22. Aug. Hom. 29, de Verb. Apost. et Serm. 59, c. 1, tom. v. col. 343, D. et Serm. 65, c. 1, col. 119, C. in Append. ad tom. v.

the ancient writers, called *The Prayer of the Regenerate*, or *Believers*, as being, properly speaking, their privilege and birthright.[39]

The Collect.

III. After this follows a Prayer wherein we first give God thanks for affording this child the benefits of Baptism; and then pray for his grace to assist it in the whole course of its life.*

The application to the godfathers.

IV. And lastly, because nothing tends more directly to the securing of holiness and religion than a conscientious performance of this vow of Baptism, here are added endeavours to our prayers for the fulfilling thereof. In the first ages, when those of discretion were baptized, the *Applications* were directed to the persons themselves, (as they now are in our *office of Baptism for those of riper years*:) but since children are now most commonly the subjects of Baptism, who are not capable of admonition, here is a serious and earnest exhortation made to the sureties.

The ill practice of choosing unfit persons for sureties.

§. 2. Which, if it be well considered, will shew how base it is for any to undertake this trust merely in compliment; how absurd to put little children (whose bond is not good in human courts) upon this weighty office; and also how ridiculous for those who have taken this duty upon them, to think they can shake off this charge again, and assign it over to the parents. But yet this is frequently the custom of this licentious age, and the chief occasion of many people's falling into evil principles and wicked practices, which might easily be prevented, if the sureties would do their duty, and labour to fit their god-children for Confirmation, and bring them to it; which therefore the Minister is in the last place to advertise the sureties of:† for till the child by this means enters the bond in his own name, the sureties must answer for all miscarriages through their neglect; whereas as soon as the child is confirmed, the sureties are freed from that danger, and discharged from all but the duty of charity.

* Note, that this prayer, with the foregoing exhortation and Lord's Prayer, were first added to the second book of king Edward; his first book ordering the application to the godfathers, &c., to be used as soon as the child was baptized.

† In all the former books this advertisement concerning Confirmation was only a rubric directing the *Minister to command that the children be brought to the Bishop*, &c. But in the last review it was turned into a form to be spoken to the people.

[39] Εὐχὴ πίστων. Chrys. Hom. 10, in Coloss. tom. iv. p. 142, lin. 41. Oratio Fidelium, August. Enchirid. c. 71.

The office being thus ended, the first Common Prayer piously adds, *And so let the congregation depart in the name of the Lord.*

APPENDIX I. TO CHAPTER VII.

OF THE MINISTRATION OF PRIVATE BAPTISM OF CHILDREN IN HOUSES.*

SECT. I.—*Of the Rubrics before the Office.*

The Introduction.

IN this and the following office, I am only to take notice of such particulars, as are different from the Order for Public Baptism of Infants. Where either of these therefore agree with the former, I must refer my reader to the foregoing chapter, designing this and the following Appendix only for such things as I have had no opportunity of mentioning before.

Rubric 1. Baptism not to be long deferred.

§. 1. The first rubric requires, that *the Curates of every Parish shall often admonish the people, that they defer not the Baptism of their children longer than the first or second Sunday next after their birth, or other holy-day falling between, unless upon a great and reasonable cause to be approved by the Curate.*

Rubric 2. Not to be administered at home, except in cases of necessity.

§. 2. And that *also they shall warn them, that, without like great cause and necessity, they procure not their children to be baptized at home in their houses. But when need shall compel them so to do, then Baptism shall be administered on this fashion.*

The moderation of our Church in this respect, is exactly conformable to the ancient practice of the primitive Christians; who (though in ordinary cases they would never admit that Baptism should be administered without the presence of the congregation) yet had so great a care that none should die unbaptized, that in danger of death they allowed such persons, as had not gone through all their preparations, to be baptized at home: but laying an obligation upon them to answer more fully, if God restored them.[1]

* The title of this office in both books of king Edward and that of queen Elizabeth was this: *Of them that be baptized in private houses, in time of necessity.* To which were added upon king James's accession the following words: *by the Minister of the parish, or any other lawful Minister that can be procured.* And so it continued till the Restoration, when it was altered into the title that stands above.

[1] Concil. Laodicen. Can. 47, tom. i. col. 1505, A.

SECT. II.—*Of the proper Minister of Private Baptism.*

WHEN necessity requires that Baptism be privately administered, *the Minister of the Parish, or* (*in his absence*) *some other lawful Minister is to be procured.* This is an order which was not made till after the Conference at Hampton Court, upon the accession of king James I. to the throne. In both Common Prayer Books of king Edward, and in that of queen Elizabeth, the rubric was only this: *First, let them that be present call upon God for his grace, and say the Lord's Prayer, if the time will suffer; and then one of them shall name the child, and dip him in the water, or pour water upon him, saying these words,* N. *I baptize thee,* &c. Now this, it is plain from the writings and letters of our first reformers, was originally designed to commission lay-persons to baptize in cases of necessity: being founded upon an error which our reformers had imbibed in the Romish Church, concerning the impossibility of salvation without the sacrament of Baptism: which therefore being in their opinion so absolutely necessary, they chose should be administered by anybody that was present, in cases of extremity, rather than any should die without it.

Lay-Baptism allowed by our Church at the first Reformation.

But afterwards, when they came to have clearer notions of the sacraments, and perceived how absurd it was to confine the mercies of God to outward means; and especially to consider that the salvation of the child might be as safe in God's mercy, without any baptism, as with one performed by persons not duly commissioned to administer it; when the governors of our Church, I say, came to be convinced of this, they thought it proper to explain the rubric above mentioned, in such a manner as should exclude any private person from administering of Baptism. Accordingly, when some articles were passed by both houses of Convocation, in the year 1575, the Archbishop and Bishops (who had power and authority in their several dioceses *to resolve all doubts concerning the manner how to understand, do, and execute the things contained in the Book of Common Prayer*)[2] unanimously resolved, that *even Private Baptism, in case of necessity*, was only to be administered by a lawful Minister or Deacon; and that all

But afterwards prohibited by both houses of Convocation.

[2] See the Preface concerning the Service of the Church.

other persons should be inhibited to intermeddle with the ministering of Baptism privately, as being no part of their vocation.* Bishop Gibson tells us, this article was not published in the printed copy; but whether on the same account that the fifteenth article was left out, (which was, that Marriage might be solemnized at any time of the year, provided the banns were duly published, and no impediment objected,) viz. because disapproved by the crown, he cannot certainly tell:[4] but it seems by the account that Mr. Collier gives us, as if it was published; for after all the articles, he only remarks from the Journal of the Convocation, that the queen refused to assent to the last article, (i. e. the fifteenth above mentioned,) for which reason, saith he, it was not published with the rest,[5] which seems plainly to imply that all the rest were published. However, whether it was published or not, the bare *publishing of it in writing in every parish-church of every diocese in the province of Canterbury*, by order of the Bishops, who had undoubted authority to explain the rubric, was sufficient to restrain the sense of the rubric in such a manner as should inhibit all persons not ordained from presuming to intermeddle with the administering of Baptism. But besides this, Mr. Collier tells us, that notwithstanding none but the Archbishop and Bishops are mentioned for their concurrence in these articles, yet in the Archbishop's mandate for the publication, they are said to be agreed, settled, and subscribed by both houses of Convocation.[6] So that from this time, notwithstanding the rubric might continue in the same words, it is certain it gave no licence or permission to lay-persons to baptize. On the contrary, the Bishops, in their visitations, censured the practice, and declared that the rubric inferred no such latitude.[7]

* This article being very remarkable, I shall here set it down in the words of the record.

"*Twelfthly*, And whereas some ambiguity and doubt has arisen amongst divers, by what persons Private Baptism is to be administered; forasmuch as by the Book of Common Prayer allowed by statute, the Bishop of the diocess is to expound and resolve all such doubts as shall arise concerning the manner how to understand, do, and execute the things contained in the said book; it is now by the said Archbishop and Bishops expounded and resolved, and every of them doth expound and resolve, that the said Private Baptism, in case of necessity, is only to be administered by a lawful Minister or Deacon, called to be present for that purpose, and by none other. And that every Bishop in his diocess shall take order, that this exposition of the said doubt shall be published in writing before the first day of May next coming, in every parish church of his diocess in this province; and thereby all other persons shall be inhibited to intermeddle with the ministry of Baptism privately, it being no part of their vocation.[3]

[3] Bishop Gibson's Codex, vol. i. p. 447, and Mr. Collier's History, vol. ii. p. 552.

[4] See his Codex as before. [5] Mr. Collier's Ecclesiastical History, as before. [6] Ibid. and page 551. [7] See Bishop Barlow's Account of the Conference at Hampton Court.

However, upon the accession of king James I. to the throne, the matter was again debated in the Hampton-Court Conference;[8] the result of which was, that instead of these words, *Let them that be present call upon God*, &c., the rubric should be, *Let the lawful Minister, and them that be present*, &c. And instead of what follows, viz. *Then one of them shall name the child, and dip him in the water, or pour water upon him, saying:* it was ordered that, *the child being named by some one that is present, the said lawful Minister shall dip it in water*, &c.* And thus the rubric stood till the review at the Restoration, when it only underwent some small variation; *the Minister of the parish* being first named as the most proper person to be sent for, if not out of the way; but *in his absence, any other lawful Minister is to be called in that can be procured.* The Church only provides that none but a *Minister*, or one *duly ordained*, presume to intermeddle in it: well knowing that the persons, by whom baptism is to be administered, are plainly as positive a part of the institution, as any thing else relating to that ordinance; and consequently that the power of administering it must belong to those only whom Christ hath authorized by the institution. It is true, there are some few of the primitive writers, who allow laymen to baptize in case of necessity:[9] but there are more and earlier of the Fathers, who disallow that practice:[10] and, upon mature consideration of the several passages, it will generally be found that these latter, for the most part, speak the judgment of the Church, whilst the former only deliver their private opinion. And therefore certainly it is a great presumption for an unordained person to invade the ministerial office without any warrant. What sufficient plea the Church of Rome can pretend, for suffering even midwives to perform this sacred rite, I am wholly ignorant. For as to the pretence of the child's danger, we may be sure that its salvation may be as safe in God's mercy without any baptism, as with such a one as he has neither commanded nor made any promises

* The second rubric that I have given above in page 362, was also then altered; the old one being worded thus: "And also they shall warn them that, without great cause and necessity, they baptize not children at home in their houses: and when great need shall compel them so to do, that then they minister it on this fashion."

[8] Ibid. or Collier's History, vol. ii. p. 675. [9] Tertull. de Bapt. c. 17, p. 231, A. Concil. Elib. Can. 38. Hieron. Dial. Adv. Lucifer. c. 4. [10] Ignat. ad Smyr. §. 8. Const. Ap. l. 8, c. 46. Cyprian. et Firmilian. apud Basil. Ep. ad Amphiloch. c. 1. Vide et Cyprian. Ep. 76, et Concil. Carthag. inter Cypriani Opera. Hillarii, alias Ambros. Com. in Ephes. 4. Basil. ut supra. Chrysost. Hom. 61, tom. vii. p. 423. Vide et Balsamom. in Can. 19. Concil. Sardicens. ap. Bevereg. Annot. in Can. Apost. p. 201.

to: so that where God gives no opportunity of having baptism administered by a person duly commissioned, it seems much better to leave it undone.

If it be asked, whether baptism, when performed by an unordained person, be, in the sense of our Church, *valid* and *effectual?* I answer, that, according to the best judgment we can form from her public acts and offices, it is not. For she not only supposes,[11] that a child will die unbaptized, if the regular Minister does not come time enough to baptize it: but in the above-said determination of the Bishops and Convocation, she expressly declares, that even in *cases of necessity* baptism is only to be administered by a *lawful* Minister or Deacon, and directly inhibits all other persons from intermeddling with it, though ever so *privately, as being no part of their vocation:* a plain intimation that no baptism, but what is administered by persons duly ordained, is valid or effectual. For if baptism administered by persons not ordained be valid and sufficient to convey the benefits of it, why should such persons be prohibited to administer it in cases of real necessity, when a regular Minister cannot be procured? It would surely be better for the child to have it from any hand, if any hand could give it, than that it should die without the advantage of it. Our Church therefore, by prohibiting all from intermeddling in baptism but a *lawful* Minister, plainly hints, that when baptism is administered by any others, it conveys no benefit or advantage to the child, but only brings upon those who pretend to administer it, the guilt of usurping a sacred office: and consequently that persons so pretendedly baptized (if they live to be sensible of their state and condition) are to apply to their lawful Minister or Bishop for that holy sacrament, of which they only received a profanation before.

SECT. III.—*Of the Service to be performed at the Ministration of Private Baptism.*

HAVING said what I thought was necessary in relation to the *Minister* of Private Baptism, I have nothing to do now but to run through the office, and to shew how well it is adapted for the ministration of it.

What prayers to be used at the Baptism of the child.

First then, the Minister of the parish, (or, in his absence, any other lawful Minister that can be procured,) with them that are present, is *to*

[11] Canon LXIX.

call upon God, and say the Lord's Prayer, and so many of the Collects appointed to be said before in the form of Public Baptism, as the time and present exigence will suffer.

And here I humbly presume to give a hint to my brethren, that the Prayer appointed for the Consecration of the Water be never omitted. For besides the propriety of this prayer to beg a blessing upon the administration in general, I have already shewed how necessary a part of the office of Baptism the primitive Christians esteemed the Consecration of the Water.

The Water and Vessel in which the child is baptized, how to be disposed of.

§. 2. And here it is to be noted, that by a provincial constitution of our own Church, made in the year 1236, (the twenty-sixth of Henry III.,) which is still in force, neither *water* nor *vessel*, that has been used in the administration of Private Baptism, is afterwards to be applied to common uses. But, out of reverence to the sacrament, the *water* is to be poured into the fire, or else to be carried to the Church, to be put to the water in the baptistery or font: and the vessel also is to be burnt, or else to be appropriated to the use of the Church,[12] perhaps for the washing of the church-linen, as Mr. Linwood supposes.[13] The latter of which orders, if I am not misinformed, the late good bishop Beveridge obliged his parishioners to comply with, whilst he was Minister of St. Peter's in Cornhill. And as to the former, it is certainly very unseemly, that water once blessed in so solemn a manner, and used and applied to so sacred a purpose, should either be put to common use, or thrown away irreverently into the kennel or sink. And I wonder our Church has made no provision, how the water used in the font at church should be disposed of. In the Greek Church particular care is taken, that it never be thrown into the street like common water, but poured into a hollow place under the altar, (called Θαλασσίδιον or Χωνεῖον,) where it is soaked into the earth, or finds a passage.[14]

The child to be baptized by Affusion only.

§. 3. But to return: the Minister having used as many of the Collects appointed to be said in the form of Public Baptism, as the time and present exigence will suffer; the child being then named by some one that is present, the Minister is to *pour water upon it*. All the old Common Prayers say, he shall either *dip it in water, or pour water upon it:* but Baptism in private being

[12] Bishop Gibson's Codex, vol. i. p. 435, and Johnson's Ecclesiastical Laws, 1236. 10.
[13] As cited by Mr. Johnson, ibid. [14] Dr. Smith's Account of the Greek Church, p. 114.

never allowed but when the child is weak, the rubric was properly altered at the last review, and the order for dipping left out; it being not to be supposed that the child in its sickness should be able to endure it.

The thanksgiving after Baptism.

§. 4. After the child is baptized, it is further ordered by our present Liturgy, that, *all kneeling down, the Minister shall give thanks unto God*, in part of the form that is appointed to be used after the administration of Public Baptism: and so the service at that time is concluded.

SECT. IV.—*Of the Service to be performed when the Child is brought to Church.*

Such private Baptism to be certified to the congregation afterwards by the Minister.

Though it is not to be doubted but that a child baptized in the manner above mentioned, *is lawfully and sufficiently baptized, and ought not to be baptized again; yet nevertheless, if the child, which is after this sort baptized, do afterwards live, it is expedient* (saith the rubric) *that it be brought into the church, to the intent* that if the Minister of the same parish did himself baptize the child, the congregation may be certified of the true form of Baptism by him privately before used: in which case he is to certify them, that according to the due and prescribed order of the Church, at such a time, and in such a place, before diverse witnesses he baptized this child.*

Or else to be examined and inquired into, before the congregation.

§. 2. *But if the child were baptized by any other lawful Minister, then the Minister of the parish where the child was born or christened, is to examine and try whether the child be lawfully baptized or no: in which case, if those that bring any child to the Church do answer that the same child is already baptized; then the Minister is to examine them further, by whom* and *in whose presence* it was baptized, and whether it was baptized *with water*, and *in the name of the Trinity*, which are always to be esteemed essential parts of the sacrament.† *And if the*

* In king Edward's and queen Elizabeth's books, the former part of this and the latter part of the next rubric were joined together, and made but one between them: "to the intent that the Priest may examine and try whether the child," &c. All between was first added in king James's book after the conference at Hampton-Court, except that the particular form of certification, in case that the Minister of the same parish baptized it himself, was inserted at the Restoration.

† In the Common Prayers of king Edward and queen Elizabeth there were two questions asked, which are now omitted, viz. "Whether they called upon God for grace and succour in that necessity?" And "Whether they thought the child to be law-

Minister shall find by the answer of such as bring the child, that all things were done as they ought to be, he is not to christen the child again, but to receive him as one of the flock of true Christian people.

A detail of the office.

§. 3. Which (after he has certified the people that all was well done, and declared the benefits which the child has received by virtue of its Baptism) he is directed to do in much the same form as is appointed for Public Baptism. He reads the Gospel there appointed, and the exhortation that follows it.* After which he repeats the Lord's Prayer, and the Collect that in the office for Public Baptism follows the exhortation. Then *demanding the name of the child*, he proceeds to examine the godfathers and godmothers, *whether in the name of the child, they renounce the devil and all his works*, &c., *whether they believe all the articles of the Christian faith*, and *whether they will obediently keep God's will and commandments*, &c. For though the child was baptized without godfathers at first, (when, being more likely to die than to live, there seemed no occasion for any to undertake for its future behaviour;) yet if it lives and is brought to church, it is fit there should be some to give security that it shall be well educated and instructed. As soon as this is done, therefore, the child is *received into the congregation of Christ's flock*, and is *signed with the sign of the cross*. After which the service concludes with the Thanksgiving and Exhortation that close the office for Public Baptism.

fully and perfectly baptized?" Which latter question was also continued quite down to the Restoration. The words, "And because some things essential to the sacrament may happen to be omitted through fear or haste in such times of extremity," &c., were first added to king James's book, at which time the alteration was made to restrain Lay-Baptism, even in cases of extremity: and therefore these words cannot be urged to prove that the Church does not hold that the commission of the administrator, as well as the matter and form, is of the essence of Baptism.

* The Exhortation in this Office, as well as in the former, in all the old books, ends with the repetition of the Lord's Prayer and Creed, after which also in the same books immediately follow the questions to the godfathers and godmothers; and then the prayer, "Almighty and everlasting God," &c. (which in our present book stands before those questions.) This prayer being ended, the Priest was also formerly to use the Exhortation, "Forasmuch as this child," &c., and so forth as in Public Baptism; which last words I believe only referred to the charge that was then to be given to the godfathers, &c. to see the child confirmed, as is directed at the end of the Public Office of Baptism; though upon leaving out those words in our present form of Private Baptism, the Minister is not directed to give any such charge. The form of receiving the child into the congregation, and signing it with the Cross, with the short exhortation and prayer that follow it in our present books, do not seem to have been then used. But the first book of king Edward, after the form of stipulation, orders the chrisom to be put upon the child, and the form to be used which I have already given upon the former Office.[15]

[15] Page 353.

The method of proceeding if this Baptism be doubtful.

§. 4. After all there is a provision made, that *if they which bring the infant to church, do make such uncertain answers to the Priest's questions, as that it cannot appear that the child was baptized with water in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, (which are essential parts of baptism;) then the Priest is to baptize it in the form before appointed for Public Baptism of Infants; saving that, at the dipping of the child in the font, he is to use this form of words,* If thou art not already baptized, N. I baptize thee, &c.

APPENDIX II. TO CHAPTER VII.

OF THE MINISTRATION OF BAPTISM TO SUCH AS ARE OF RIPER YEARS, AND ABLE TO ANSWER FOR THEMSELVES.

THE INTRODUCTION.

This office not added till the last review.

WE had no office in our Liturgy for the baptism of persons of *riper years* till the last review. For though in the infancy of Christianity adult persons were generally the subjects of baptism; yet after the several nations that have been converted were become Christian, baptism was always administered to children. So that when the Liturgy of the Church of England was first compiled, an office for *adult persons* was not so necessary. But by the growth of Anabaptism and Quakerism, during the grand rebellion, the want of such an office was plainly perceived. For which reason the Commissioners appointed to review the Common Prayer drew up this which I am now going to make some remarks upon, which is very useful for the baptizing of natives in our plantations, when they shall be converted to the faith, and of such unhappy children of those licentious sectaries I just now named, as shall come to be sensible of the errors of their parents.

SECT. I.—*Of some Particulars in this Form which differ from the others.*

A week's notice of their Baptism to be given to the Bishop, and why.

When any such persons as are of riper years are to be baptized, timely notice is to be given to the Bishop, or whom he shall appoint for that purpose, a week before at the least, by the parents, or some other discreet persons; that so due care may be taken

for their examination, whether they be sufficiently instructed in the principles of the Christian religion; and that they may be exhorted to prepare themselves with prayers and fasting for the receiving of this holy sacrament, which was always strictly enjoined to those that were baptized in the primitive Church.[1]

The form of Baptism appointed for the occasion.

§. 2. *And if they shall be found fit*, the Minister is to baptize them in the same manner and order as is appointed before the Baptism of Infants; except that the Gospel is concerning our Saviour's discourse with Nicodemus touching the necessity of baptism, which is followed by an exhortation suitable and proper. Again, the persons to be baptized being able to make the profession that is requisite, in their own persons, the Minister is ordered to put the questions to them. There are godfathers and godmothers indeed appointed to be present, but they are only appointed as witnesses of the engagement, and undertake no more than to remind them hereafter of the vow and profession which they made in their presence, and to call upon them to be diligent in instructing themselves in God's word, &c., the chief part of the charge being delivered at last by the Priest to the persons that are baptized.

Persons so baptized to be confirmed as soon as may be.

§. 3. *It is convenient that every person thus baptized should be confirmed by the Bishop, so soon after his baptism as conveniently may be, that so he may be admitted to the holy Communion.*

Persons between their infancy and years of discretion, with what form to be baptized.

§. 4. *If any persons not baptized in their infancy shall be brought to be baptized before they come to years of discretion to answer for themselves, it may suffice to use the Office for Public Baptism of Infants, or (in case of extreme danger) the office for Private Baptism, only changing the word* Infant *for* Child *or* Person, *as occasion requires.*

CHAPTER VIII.

OF THE CATECHISM.

THE INTRODUCTION.

Why the Catechism is placed next.

SINCE children, in their baptism, engage to renounce the devil and all his works, to believe in

[1] Just. Mart. Apol. 1, c. 79, p. 116. Tertull. de Bapt. c. 20, p. 232, B.

God, and serve him; it is fit that they be taught, so soon as they are able to learn, what a solemn vow, promise, and profession they have made. Accordingly after the offices appointed for baptism, follows A CATECHISM, *that is to say, An Instruction, to be learned of every person, before he be brought to be confirmed by the Bishop.*

Catechism of divine institution, and universal practice.

And this (i. e. the catechising or instructing of children and others in the principles of religion) is founded upon the institution of God himself,[1] and is agreeable to the best examples in Scripture.[2] As to the Jews, Josephus tells us, that they were above all things careful that their children might be instructed in the law:[3] to which end they had in every village a person called the *instructor of babes*, (to which St. Paul seems to allude,[4]) whose business it was (as we may gather from Buxtorf[5]) to teach children the law till they were ten years of age, and from thence till they were fifteen, to instruct them in the Talmud. Grotius tells us,[6] that at thirteen they were brought to the house of God in order to be publicly examined; and, being approved, were then declared to be *children of the precept*, i. e. they were obliged to keep the law, and were from thenceforth answerable for their own sins. And whereas our Saviour submitted himself to this examination when he was but *twelve years old*, (for that Grotius supposes was the end of his staying behind at Jerusalem, and offering himself to the doctors in the temple;) it was by reason of his extraordinary qualifications and genius, which (to speak in the Jews' own language) *ran before the command.*

From the Jews this custom was delivered down to the Christians, who had in every church a peculiar officer, called a *catechist*,[7] whose office it was to instruct the catechumens in the fundamentals of religion, in some places for two whole years together,[8] besides the more solemn catechising of them during the forty days of Lent, preparatory to their baptism at Easter.[9]

Catechism of children or converts, as proper

§. 2. There was indeed some difference between the persons who were catechised then, and those whom we instruct now. For then the

[1] Deut. vi. 7. xxxi. 11, 12. Prov. xxii. 6. John xxi. 15, 16. Ephes. vi. 4. [2] Gen. xviii. 19. Luke i. 4. Acts xviii. 25. Rom. ii. 18. 2 Tim. iii. 15. [3] Joseph. Antiq. l. 4. c. 8. [4] Rom. ii. 20. [5] Buxtorf. Synag. Judaic. c. 7. [6] In Luc. ii. ver. 42. [7] Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. 5, c. 10, p. 275. A. l. 6, c. 3, 12, 20. [8] Concil. Elib. Can. 42, tom. i. col. 975, B. [9] Cyril. Catech. Mystag. 1.

catechumens were generally such as were come to years of discretion; but, having been born of heathen parents, were not yet baptized. So that they catechised them *before* their baptism, as we also do those who are not baptized till they come to *riper years*. But as to the children of believing parents, it is certain that, as they were baptized in infancy, they could not then, any more than now, be admitted Catechumens till *after* baptism. Nor is there any necessity of doing it *before*, if so be we take care that due instruction be given them, so soon as they are capable of receiving it. For our Saviour himself in that commission to his apostles, *Go ye, make disciples of all nations, baptizing them*, &c.—*teaching them to observe all things, whatsoever I have commanded you*,[10] seems to intimate that converts may first be entered into his Church by baptism, and afterwards instructed in the fundamentals of their religion. And indeed we read, that when St. Basil was baptized, the Bishop kept him in his house some time afterwards, that he might instruct him in the things pertaining to eternal life.[11] And a learned writer affirms, that all baptized persons in the primitive times (although they had been catechised before) were yet wont to stay several days after their baptism, to be more fully catechised in all things necessary to salvation.[12] And therefore there is much more reason for us to catechise children after baptism, who are naturally incapable of being instructed beforehand.

after Baptism as before.

SECT. I.—*Of the Form and Contents of the Catechism.*

As to the *form* of our Catechism, it is drawn up after the primitive manner by way of question and answer: so Philip catechised the Eunuch,[13] and so the persons to be baptized were catechised in the first ages, as I have already shewn in discoursing of the antiquity of the baptismal vow.[14] And indeed the very word CATECHISM implies as much; the original κατηχέω, from whence it is derived, being a compound of ἠχώ, which signifies an echo, or repeated sound. So that a *Catechism* is no more than an instruction first taught and instilled into a person, and then repeated upon the catechist's examination.

The Catechism drawn up by way of Question and Answer.

The word Catechism, what it signifies.

§. 2. As to the *contents* of our Catechism, it is not a large

[10] Matt. xxviii. 19, 20. [11] S. Amphilochius in Vit. S. Basil. [12] Vicecomes de antiquis Ritibus Baptismi, lib. 5, cap. 53. [13] Acts viii. 37. [14] Page 342, 343.

The contents of it.

system or body of divinity, to puzzle the heads of young beginners; but only a short and full explication of the baptismal vow. The primitive Catechism indeed (i. e. all that the catechumens were to learn by heart before their Baptism and Confirmation) consisted of no more than the *Renunciation*, or the repetition of the *Baptismal Vow*, the *Creed*, and the *Lord's Prayer*; and these together with the *Ten Commandments*, at the Reformation, were the whole of ours. But it being afterwards thought defective as to the doctrine of the Sacraments, (which in the primitive times were more largely explained to baptized persons,[15]) king James I. appointed the Bishops to add a short and plain explanation of them, which was done accordingly in that excellent form we see;* being penned by bishop Overal, then dean of St. Paul's, and allowed by the Bishops.[16] So that now (in the opinion of the best judges) it excels all Catechisms that ever were in the world; being so short that the youngest children may learn it by heart; and yet so full, that it contains all things necessary to be known in order to salvation.

In this also its excellency is very discernible, viz. that as all persons are baptized not into any *particular* Church, but into the *Catholic* Church of Christ; so here they are not taught the opinion of this or any other particular Church or people, but what the whole body of Christians all the world over agree in. If it may any where seem to be otherwise, it is in the doctrine of the Sacraments: but even this is here worded with so much caution and temper, as not to contradict any other particular Church; but so as that all sorts of Christians, when they have duly considered it, may subscribe to every thing that is here taught or delivered.

SECT. II.—*Of the Rubrics after the Catechism.*

Rubric 1. Catechism how often to be performed.

THE times now appointed for catechising of children, are Sundays and Holy-days. Though bishop Cosin observes, this is no injunction for

* In all the books from king James's time (when these questions and answers concerning the sacrament were first inserted) to the last review, the answer to the question concerning the "outward visible sign or form in baptism," was something different from what it is now, which, with the reason of it, I have already given in page 350. The answer also to the question, "Why infants are baptized," &c., was then a little difficultly, and more obscurely expressed, viz. "Yes, they do perform them by their sureties, who promise and vow them both in their names, which, when they come to age, themselves are bound to perform."

[15] Vide S. Cyril. Catech. Mystag. Dr. Nichols's addit. Notes, p. 58.

[16] Conference at Hampton Court, p. 43, and

doing it every Sunday and holy-day, but only as often as need requires, according to the largeness or number of children in the parish.[17] And it is true, that by the first book of king Edward VI. it was not required to be done above *once in six weeks*. But Bucer, observing that this was too seldom, and that in several churches in Germany there was catechising three times a week, urged, in his censure upon this rubric, that the Minister should be required to *catechise on every holy-day*.[18] Upon this exception indeed the rubric was altered, but expressed notwithstanding in indefinite terms. So that bishop Cosin was of the opinion,[19] that no obligation could be urged from hence, that the Minister should perform it on all Sundays and holy-days. And indeed by the Injunctions of queen Elizabeth, it was only required *upon every Holy-day and every second Sunday* (i. e. I suppose every Sunday) in the year;[20] though it is plainly the design of the present rubric, that it should be done as often as occasion requires, i. e. so long as there are any in the parish who are capable of instruction, and yet have not learned their Catechism. And therefore, in many large parishes, where the inhabitants are numerous, the Minister thinks himself obliged to catechise every Sunday; whilst in parishes less populous, a few Sundays in the year are sufficient to the purpose; and therefore in such places the duty of Catechism is reserved till Lent, in imitation of an old custom in the primitive Church, which, as I have already observed, had their more solemn Catechisms during that season. But now how to reconcile the fifty-ninth canon to this exposition of the rubric, I own I am at a loss: for that requires every Parson, Vicar, or Curate, *upon every Sunday and Holy-day*, to teach and instruct the youth and ignorant persons of his parish, in the Catechism set forth in the Book of Common Prayer; and this too upon pain of a sharp reproof upon the first complaint, of suspension upon the second, and of excommunication till he be reformed upon the third.

Why to be performed after the second Lesson.

§. 2. The part of the service where this is to come in, is *after the second Lesson at Evening Prayer*: though in all the Common Prayer Books till the last review, it was ordered to be done *half an hour before Even-Song*, i. e. (as the fifty-ninth canon ex-

[17] See Dr. Nichols's addit. Notes, p. 58. [18] Script. Anglican. p. 485. [19] In Dr. Nichols, ibid. [20] Injunction 44, in bishop Sparrow's Collection, page 79.

plains it,) the Minister should for half an hour, or more, before Evening Prayer, examine and instruct the youth and ignorant persons of his parish in the Church Catechism. I suppose the reason of the alteration was, that Catechism being performed in the midst of divine service, the *elder* persons, as well as the *younger*, might receive benefit by the Minister's expositions, and that the presence of parents and masters might be an encouragement to the children and servants to a diligent performance of their duty herein.

Rubric 2. The persons to be catechised, who.

§. 3. The persons appointed to be instructed in this Catechism, are *so many of the parish sent unto him, as the Minister shall think convenient:* which the next rubric supposes to be all *children, servants, and apprentices, which have not learned it.* In king Edward's first Common Prayer Book, those only were to be sent, *who were not yet confirmed.* But because many were then confirmed young, at least before they could understand their Catechism, though they might repeat the words of it, Bucer desired that they might still be catechised, till the Curate should think them sufficiently instructed;[21] upon which motion the words were somewhat altered in the next review.

What care to be taken by parents and masters, &c.

§. 4. The care of sending their children and servants is by the same rubric laid upon *their Fathers, Mothers, Mistresses, and Dames*, who are to *cause them to come to Church at the time appointed, and obediently to hear, and be ordered by the Curate, until such time as they have learned all that is here appointed for them to learn.* The same is required by the fifty-ninth canon of our Church, which further orders, that if any of these *neglect their duties, as the one sort in not causing them to come, and the other in refusing to learn as aforesaid; they are to be suspended by the Ordinary*, i. e. from the Communion, I suppose, (*if they be not children,*) *and if they so persist by the space of a month, they are to be excommunicated.* And by the canons of 1571, every Minister was yearly, within twenty days after Easter, to present to the Bishop, &c. the names of all those in his parish, which had not sent their children or servants at the times appointed. And to enforce this, it was one of the articles which was exhibited, in order to be admitted by authority, that he, whose child at ten years old or

[21] Buceri Script. Anglican. p. 485.

upwards, or his servant at fourteen or upwards, could not say the Catechism, should pay ten shillings to the poor's box.[22]

The two next rubrics, relating more immediately to the Order for Confirmation, will come more properly to be treated of in the next chapter.

CHAPTER IX.

OF THE ORDER OF CONFIRMATION.

THE INTRODUCTION.

I HAVE already observed,[1] that it was a custom of the Jews to bring their children, at the age of thirteen years, to be publicly examined before the congregation, and to make a solemn promise that they would from thenceforward engage themselves faithfully to observe the law of Moses, and so be accountable for their own sins: after which engagement followed the prayers of the congregation, that God would bless and enable them to make good their promise. And from this custom among the Jews, the rite of CONFIRMATION is thought by some to have been deduced. And indeed that there is some correspondence between them, is obvious and plain. But still I must assert, that the use of Confirmation in the Christian Church is owing to a much more divine original; even to the example and institution of our blessed Lord, who is the head and pattern, in all things, to the Church. For we read, that after the baptism of JESUS in the river of Jordan, when he was come up out of the water, and was praying on the shore, the *Holy Ghost descended upon him:*[2] which represented and prefigured (as some ancient Fathers tell us[3]) that we also, after our baptism, must receive the ministration of the Holy Spirit. And indeed, all that came to St. John to be baptized were referred to a future baptism of the Holy Ghost for their completion and perfection. *I indeed*, saith he, *baptize you with water unto repentance: but he that cometh after me shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost and with fire.*[4] And this was so

The rite of Confirmation of divine institution.

[22] Strype's History of the Reformation, Appendix 2, page 1, and bishop Gibson's Codex, page 453.

[1] In page 372. [2] Matt. iii. 16. Luke iii. 21. [3] Optat. contr. Donatist. Cyril. Catech. 3. Vid. et Hilar. Chrysost. et Theophylact. in Matt. iii. 16. [4] Matt. iii. 11.

necessary to confirm and establish them in the Gospel dispensation, that our Saviour, just before his ascension, leaves a charge to his Apostles, who had before received the *baptism of water*, that they should not depart from Jerusalem, till they had received the *baptism of the Spirit*, and were endued with *power from on high*.[5] *For John truly*, saith he, *baptized with water: but ye shall be baptized with the Holy Ghost not many days hence*.[6] Accordingly, on the day of Pentecost, they were all visibly confirmed and *filled with the Holy Ghost*, who descended from heaven, and sat upon each of them under the appearance of *cloven tongues like as of fire*.[7]

Of apostolical practice.

§. 2. Hence then we see, that the institution of this rite was holy and divine. As to the practice of it, we may observe, that the Apostles, having received the Spirit, as is above mentioned, immediately knew to what use it was given them, viz. not to be confined to their own persons or college, but to be imparted by them to the whole Church of God. For the Spirit itself *was to teach them all things, and to bring all things to their remembrance*.[8] And therefore to be sure it taught and reminded them, that the gifts and graces, which they themselves received by it, were equally necessary to all Christians whatever. Accordingly, as soon as they heard that the Samaritans had been converted and baptized by Philip, they sent two of their number, Peter and John, to lay their *hands on them, that they might receive the Holy Ghost:*[9] a plain argument, that neither baptism alone, nor the person that administered it, was able to convey the Holy Ghost: since if either the Holy Ghost were a consequence of baptism, or if Philip had power to communicate him by any other ministration, the Apostles would not have come from Jerusalem on purpose to have confirmed them. The same may be argued from a like occurrence to the disciples at Ephesus: upon whom, *after they had baptized in the name of the Lord Jesus*, the Apostle St. Paul laid his hands, and *then the Holy Ghost came on them:*[10] which shews, that the receiving of the Holy Ghost was not the consequence of their being baptized, but of the Apostle's laying on his hands; and that *laying on of hands* was necessary to perfect and complete the Ephesians, even after they had received the sacrament of Baptism.

[5] Luke xxiv. 49. Acts i. 4. [6] Acts i. 5. [7] Acts ii. 1—5. [8] John xiv. 16. [9] Acts viii. 14, &c. [10] Acts xix. 5, 6.

§. 3. It is true, the ministration of this rite at first was frequently attended with miraculous powers. But so also we read was prayer and preaching, which yet no one ever thought to be only *temporary* ordinances. To fancy therefore that the invocation of the Holy Spirit, with imposition of hands, was to cease when the extraordinary effects of it failed, is too groundless a supposition to be put in the balance against the weight of so sacred and positive an institution. In the infancy of the Church these visible effects upon those that believed were necessary to bring over others to the faith: but when whole nations turned Christian, this occasion ceased; and therefore the Holy Ghost does not now continue to empower us to work them. But still the ordinary gifts and graces, which are useful and necessary to complete a Christian, are nevertheless the fruits and effects of this holy rite. And these are by much the more valuable benefits. To cast out the devil of lust, or to throw down the pride of Lucifer; to beat down Satan under our feet, or to triumph over our spiritual enemies; to cure a diseased soul, or to keep unharmed from the assaults of a temptation, or the infection of an ill example; is much more advantageous and beneficial to us, than the power of working the greatest miracles.

Its being attended at first with miraculous powers, no argument that it was designed only for a temporary ordinance.

Though neither are we to believe that these extraordinary effects did *always* attend even those upon whom the Apostles laid their hands: *All did not speak with tongues, nor all work miracles:* though, as far as we can learn, *all* were confirmed. Nor did the Apostles minister this rite so much for the sake of imparting miraculous powers, as to the end that their converts might be endued with such aid from the Holy Ghost, as might enable them to persevere in their Christian profession. This may be gathered from those several texts, in which St. Paul intimates that all Christians in general have been thus confirmed; but in which he implies at the same time, that graces and not miracles were the end of their Confirmation. Thus he supposes both the Corinthians and Ephesians to have been all partakers of this holy rite, and plainly intimates, that the happy effects of it were being *stablished in Christ*, being *anointed and sealed with the Holy Spirit of promise*, and having *an earnest of their inheritance, and an*

Administered by the Apostles, not so much for the sake of its extraordinary, as of its ordinary effects.

earnest of the Spirit in their hearts.[11] And that all these expressions refer to Confirmation is evident, as well from comparing them together, as from the concurring testimonies of several ancient Fathers.[12]

Designed for a standing and perpetual ordinance.

But what has been esteemed the clearest evidence, that the rite of Confirmation was a perpetual institution of equal use and service in all ages of the Church, is that passage of St. Paul in his Epistle to the Hebrews,[13] where he mentions the doctrine of *laying on of hands*, as well as the doctrine of *baptism*, among the fundamentals of religion. Which words have been constantly interpreted by writers of all ages, of that imposition or laying on of hands, which was used by the Apostles in confirming the baptized. Insomuch that this single text of St. Paul is, even in Calvin's opinion,[14] abundantly sufficient to prove Confirmation to be of *apostolical* institution. Though I think what has been said proves it of a higher derivation. And, indeed, from these very words of the Apostle, it not only appears to be a lasting ministry, (because no part of the Christian doctrine can be changed or abolished,) but hence also we may infer it to be of divine institution: since, if it were not, St. Paul would seem guilty of *teaching for doctrines the commandments of men:* which not being to be supposed, it must follow that this doctrine of imposition of hands is holy and divine.

Practised by the Church in all ages.

§. 4. The Scripture then, by these evidences of its usefulness to all Christians in general, proves that this rite had a further view than the miraculous gifts of the Holy Ghost. And the history of the Church, by testifying the continuance of it in all times and places, after these gifts of the Spirit ceased, shews that it has ever been received and used as a perpetual and standing ordinance of Christianity. I think I need not produce my authorities for this; because, I believe, no one doubts of the universality of the practice. However, because some may have a mind to be convinced by their own searches, I have, for their readier satisfaction, pointed out some places in the margin,[15] which will soon convince those that have leisure and

[11] 2 Cor. i. 21, 22. Eph. i. 13. and chap. iv. 30. [12] See the old commentators upon the several texts. [13] Heb. vi. 3. [14] Calvin in locum. [15] Theoph. Antioch. p. 33. Tertull. de Bapt. c. 8, p. 226, D. de Resurrect. Carn. c. 8, p. 330, C. Clem. Alex. Quis Dives salvabitur? versus finem, p. 113, edit. Oxon. 1683. Orig. Hom. 7, in Ezek. Dionys. Areop. Eccl. Hier. c. 2, et 4. Cyprian. Ep. 70, et 73. Euseb. l. 6, c. 43, p. 244,

opportunity to turn to them, that the ancient Fathers were so far from thinking Confirmation an obsolete solemnity, that they esteemed it a necessary means of salvation, which none that were advanced to years of discretion could neglect without the utmost hazard to their souls.

Of what use and benefit.

§. 5. For though they justly allowed, that Baptism alone was sufficient to save a person that died immediately after it; yet those that lived, they affirmed, had need of further grace, which Confirmation was necessary to convey. Agreeably whereunto, when our own Church declares that Baptism is sufficient to salvation, she speaks only of *children that die before they commit actual sin*, or (as it was worded in the first book of king Edward) *depart out of this life in their infancy*. To such indeed (as all our former Common Prayer Books affirm) *no man may think that any detriment shall come by deferring of their Confirmation*. But *when children come to that age, that partly by the frailty of their own flesh, partly by the assaults of the world and the devil, they begin to be in danger to fall into sundry kinds of sin*, they declare, *that it is most meet that Confirmation be ministered to those that be baptized, that, by imposition of hands and prayer, they may receive strength and defence against all temptations to sin, and the assaults of the world and the devil*. For though the Baptism of Water washes away our former guilt, yet that alone cannot prevent the return of sin. It is true indeed, by the sacrament of Baptism we are made heirs of God, and admitted and received into the inheritance of sons: but still, till we receive the rite of Confirmation, we are but *babes in Christ* in the literal sense; we are merely infants, that can do nothing, not able to resist the least violence or opposition, but lie exposed to every assault, and in danger of being foiled by every temptation. Baptism conveys the Holy Ghost only as the spirit or principle of life; it is by Confirmation he becomes to us the Spirit of strength, and enables us to stir and move ourselves. When we are baptized, we are only listed under the banner of Christ, marked for his soldiers, and sworn to be faithful; and not till Confirmation equipped for the battle, or

C. D. Niceph. l. 6, c. 3. Melchiad. Ep. ad Episc. Hispan. Optat. contr. Donatist. Cyril. Catech. Mystag. 3. Greg. Naz. Adhortat. ad S. Lavacrum. Theodoret. et Theophylact. in c. 1, ad Ephes. Hieron. adv. Lucifer. Ambr. lib. de Initiand. c. 7, tom. iv. col. 349, A. et de Sacr. l. 3, c. 2, tom. iv. col. 363, H. Concil. Elib. Can. 77, tom. i. col. 978, E. Concil. Laod. Can. 48, tom. i. col. 1505, A.

furnished with arms to withstand the enemy. It is then also that we are sealed with the Lord's signature, marked, as it were, for God's sheep, and so secured from being stolen by robbers.

This was the language of the primitive Fathers, which they supported by the example both of our Saviour and his Apostles. Our Lord himself, they observe, did not enter into the wilderness, the place of temptation, before he was prepared for it by the descent of the Spirit. And the Apostles, though endued with baptismal grace, and though cheered and encouraged with their Master's presence, were timorous and fearful, not daring to stand the least shock or trial, till strengthened and confirmed by the Holy Ghost: but from that instant we find they were fearless and undaunted, not to be moved or shaken from their faith by any apprehensions either of prisons or death.

Not rendered unnecessary by receiving of the Eucharist.

§. 6. From this instance of the Apostles we may also infer, that the want of the rite, of which we are now discoursing, is by no means supplied, as some have imagined, by the ministry of the holy Eucharist. This had been given to the Apostles by our Lord himself; and yet we see their Confirmation was not afterwards the less necessary. It is true, by the ministry of the holy Eucharist, the Spirit of ghostly strength is conveyed; and therefore in the times of primitive devotion, this blessed Sacrament was daily administered, that those who would be safe against their spiritual enemies, might from hence be armed with fresh supplies of the divine assistance. But still we must remember that the principal design of the holy Eucharist is to renew the work of preceding rites, to repair the breaches that the enemy has made, and to supply fresh forces where the old ones fail. For this reason the Sacrament of the Eucharist is to be often repeated, whereas Baptism and Confirmation is but once administered. But now this shews that Confirmation (in the regular and ordinary administration of it) is as much required to go before the Eucharist, as Baptism is to precede either that or Confirmation. Upon which account (as I have already observed[16]) our Church admits none to the Communion before Confirmation, unless necessity requires it. And indeed it may as well be imagined, that because the Eucharist conveys remission of

[16] Page 262.

sins, it therefore may supply the want of Baptism, as that because it conveys ghostly strength, therefore there is no need of Confirmation after it. Or again, the Eucharist itself may as well be omitted, because prayer has the promise of whatever is asked, as Confirmation be rendered useless or unnecessary, because the Eucharist will supply us with grace. The Spirit of God comes which way he pleases; but yet, if we expect his grace or blessing, we must ask for and seek it by those ways and means which he himself has thought fit to appoint

§. 7. But lastly, as Baptism is now for the most part administered to infants, this holy rite is afterwards necessary to confirm to them the benefits of that holy Sacrament. For though the charity of the Church accepts of sureties in behalf of infants, which are not in a condition to contract for themselves; yet when they arrive at years of discretion, she expects them to take the covenant upon themselves, as their own act and deed: which is one of the considerations for which the Church declares Confirmation to be *very convenient to be observed:* viz. *to the end that children being now come to the years of discretion, and having learned what their godfathers and godmothers promised for them in Baptism, they may therefore with their own mouth and consent openly before the Church ratify and confirm the same, and also promise that, by the grace of God, they will evermore endeavour themselves faithfully to observe such things as they by their own confessions have assented unto.*[17] And indeed they who refuse in their own persons to ratify the vow which was made in their name, renounce in effect all the benefits and advantages, to which the contract of their sureties had before entitled them.

Necessary to confirm the benefits of Baptism.

Having thus said what I thought convenient concerning the institution, the necessity and end of Confirmation, the manner and order of administering it by the ancients should be spoken to in the next place. But this may be done to better advantage, by comparing our own and the ancient offices together. And therefore the further particulars shall be taken into consideration, as the office itself shall lead and direct me.

SECT. I.—*Of the Rubrics before the Office.*

Two of the rubrics, which relate to this office, are printed at the end of the Catechism, which, till the last review, was

[17] Preface to the Office; or part of the rubric before the Catechism in the old books.

rather a part of the order of Confirmation, than an office by itself; it being inserted between the rubrics relating to Confirmation, and the order for the administration of it.

Rubric 1. The age of persons to be confirmed.

1. The former of these rubrics is, in the first place, concerning the *age* of the persons to be confirmed, which it determines shall be *as soon as children are come to a competent age, and can say, in their mother-tongue, the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments, and also can answer to the other questions of the Catechism.* In the primitive Church indeed, such persons as were baptized in the presence of the Bishop, were immediately presented to him in order for Confirmation.[18] Nor was this only true with respect to adult persons, but also with regard to infants, who, if a Bishop was present, were frequently confirmed immediately upon their Baptism; as may be shewed from direct testimonies of the ancients, as well as from that known usage or custom, of giving the holy Eucharist to infants, which ordinarily presupposes their confirmation.[19] The same is practised by the Greek Church to this day.[20] And in our own Church indeed, those who are baptized after they are come to years of discretion, *are to be confirmed by the Bishop as soon after their baptism as conveniently may be.*[21] But in relation to children, their Confirmation is deferred, and with a great deal of reason, *till they come to a competent age, and can say the Catechism.* For it being required that at Confirmation they renew the vow that was made for them at their baptism, and ratify the same in their own persons; it is fit they should know and understand the nature of the obligation, before they bind themselves under it. Nor can any detriment arise to a child, by deferring its Confirmation to such an age; because, as our Church has declared, (on purpose to satisfy people that are scrupulous in this very matter,) *it is certain by God's word, that children which are baptized, dying before they commit actual sin, are undoubtedly saved.*[22] Their original sin is done away by Baptism, and they are confirmed and secured by death itself from any future guilt; so that no danger can ensue, if their Confirmation be deferred till such time as it can be of use.

[18] Tertull. de Bapt. c. 7, 8. Cyril. Catech. Mystag. 3, n. 1. Const. Ap. l. 7, c. 43, 44. Amphiloch. in Vit. Basil. c. 5. Dionys. Eccl. Hier. c. 2. Ambros. de Sacram. l. 3, c. 2. Optat. l. 4, p. 81. [19] See both these points proved in Mr. Bingham's Antiquities of the Christian Church, book 12, chap. 1, 1 vol. royal 8vo, p. 543, &c. [20] See Dr. Smith's Account of the Greek Church, p. 116. [21] See the first rubric at the end of the Office for Baptism of Persons of Riper Years. [22] Rubric at the end of the Office for Public Baptism of Infants.

Bucer indeed (who generally runs into extremes) finds fault with our Church for administering it too soon; and would have none admitted to this holy rite till such time as they have had an opportunity of giving sufficient testimonies of their faith and desire of living to God by their life and conversation.[23] But we have already shewed, that the enabling persons to give such testimonies of their faith and practice is the end of Confirmation; and therefore surely Confirmation is to be administered, to assist them in manifesting their faith and practice, and not to be deferred till they are already manifested. For this reason it is very evidently the design of our Church, that children be confirmed before they have opportunities of being acquainted with sin; that so the Holy Spirit may take early possession of their youthful hearts, and prevent those sins to which, without his assistance, the very tenderness of their age would be apt to expose them. It is highly expedient, that those who are confirmed should be old enough to understand the nature and advantages of the rite they are admitted to, and the obligations it lays upon them: and if they are duly apprized of this, they are deemed by our Church qualified enough. For they that are capable of this knowledge, are yet at years to discern between good and evil: and therefore that must be the proper time to secure them, by the invocation of the Spirit, in the paths of virtue. Accordingly, it was declared by the rubric prefixed to the order for Confirmation, in all the Common Prayer Books before the last review, *That forasmuch as Confirmation is ministered to them that be baptized, that by imposition of hands and prayer they may receive strength and defence against all temptations to sin, and the assaults of the world and the devil; it is most meet to be ministered when children come to that age, that partly by the frailty of their own flesh, partly by the assaults of the world and the devil, they begin to be in danger to fall into sundry kinds of sin.* The reason why this was not continued at the review in 1661, was not because the Church had altered her mind, but because the foregoing part of the rubric was changed into a proper preface, with which the office is now introduced.

§. 2. The next thing mentioned in this rubric, is the *Minister* of Confirmation, who, it declares, must be a *Bishop*; consonant to the first ex-

Bishops the only Ministers of Confirmation.

[23] Buceri Censura, apud Script. Anglican. p. 482, 483.

amples we read of it in the Acts, or proceedings of the Apostles themselves. For Peter and John were sent by them from Jerusalem to confirm the Samaritans, though Philip had been there to convert and baptize them:[24] which plainly shews, that the office was beyond a *deacon's* province, and limited indeed to the highest order of the Church. For which reason the honour of dispensing this holy ordinance was always reserved to the ministry of Bishops.[25]

I have had occasion indeed to shew that the administering the chrism, or the unction which was used as a part of Confirmation, was often, for certain reasons, allowed to Presbyters.[26] But even in such cases I have observed, that the right of *consecrating the unction*, and of *imposing the hands*, were both very strictly reserved to the Bishop. A few instances indeed may be produced of Presbyters, and even Deacons, being allowed to perform this office.[27] But then it was by a special licence or commission from the Bishop, and in cases, for the most part, of some great extremity or danger. Though indeed the allowing this in any case whatever seems very much to run counter to the general practice and sense of the Church, which at all times and places very religiously looked upon the *imposition of hands*, as the peculiar and incommunicable prerogative of Bishops.

Who ought therefore to do it often.

But then as the Bishops have the sole honour, so have they also the whole charge of this institution. And since it must be wholly omitted, if they do not perform it, the Church hath enjoined the frequent administration of it by those reverend fathers. *In former ages* (as our Church declares[28]) *this holy action has been accustomed to be performed in the Bishop's Visitation every third year:* for which reason *she wills and appoints, that every Bishop or his Suffragan, in his accustomed Visitation, do in his own person carefully observe the said custom. And if in that year, by reason of some infirmity, he be not able personally to visit, then he shall not omit the execution of that duty of Confirmation the next year after, as he may conveniently:* though the *Reformatio Legum* (as cited by bishop

[24] Acts viii. 14, &c. [25] Cyprian. Ep. 73, ad Jubaian. p. 202. Firmil. Ep. 75, ap. Cypr. p. 221. Vide et Cyprian. in Append. p. 25, et 26. Concil. Elib. Can. 38, et 77. Innocent. Ep. 1, ad Decent. Ambr. in Ep. ad Hebr. vi. 2, tom. iii. col. 633, F. Dionys. Areop. Eccl. Hier. c. 5, p. 117, B. Hieron. contr. Lucifer. c. 4. Gelas. Ep. 9, ad Episc. Euseb. l. 6, c. 43. Aug. de Trin. l. 15, c. 26. [26] See page 355. [27] See instances of this in Mr. Bingham's Antiquities, book 12, c. 2, sect. 4, 5, 1 vol. royal 8vo, p. 551.
[28] In the LXth Canon.

Gibson[29]) seems to appoint, that Confirmation be administered every year.

A godfather or godmother necessary at Confirmation.

§. 3. The remaining part of this rubric is concerning the godfather or godmother, which every one that is confirmed is obliged to have *as a witness of their confirmation.* Dr. Nichols tells us, that "our wise reformers, because there was not the like reason for them as there was before the Reformation, and because it gave the parents an unnecessary trouble in procuring them, have laid that usage aside."[30] But one would wonder how the doctor should be so much mistaken, immediately after he must have printed and corrected this very rubric; and at the same time that, to account for the alteration, he cites the rubric immediately following. Nor can any reason be given, why the doctor should so freely charge the providing these godfathers as *an unnecessary trouble.* They are certainly as useful at the confirmation of a youth, as they are at the baptism of a person that is adult. In both cases they are witnesses of the engagements, which the persons so baptized or confirmed lay themselves under; and consequently, will be proper and continual monitors to check or reclaim them, should they at any time hereafter be tempted to abandon the interest of Christ, and take part with his enemies. And for the prevention of any one's entering upon this trust, who will not be careful to discharge the duty of it, the Church provides, that *no person be admitted godfather or godmother to any Child at Christening or Confirmation before the said person so undertaking hath received the holy Communion.*[31]

The Minister to prepare his parishioners for Confirmation.

II. The next rubric relates to the care which the *Curate of every parish* is to use preparatory to Confirmation, who, *whensoever the Bishop shall give knowledge for children to be brought unto him for their Confirmation, is either to bring or send in writing, with his hand subscribed thereunto, the names of all such persons within his parish, as he shall think fit to be presented to the Bishop to be confirmed.* And by the sixty-first canon he is further enjoined to *use his best endeavour to prepare and make able, and likewise to procure as many as he can, to be then brought;* though he is also to *take especial care that none be presented, but such as can render an account*

[29] Codex Juris Ecclesiast. Tit. 19, cap. 2, vol. i. p. 454. [30] See his note (*d*) upon the rubric before Confirmation. [31] Canon XIX.

of their faith, according to the Catechism. When they are brought, *if the Bishop approve of them, he is to confirm them in manner following.*

SECT. II.—*Of the preparatory part of the Office.*

The first rubric and preface.

I. *Upon the day appointed, all that are to be then confirmed, being placed and standing in order before the Bishop, he* (*or some other Minister appointed by him*) *is to read the preface,* with which the office begins, and which, as I have already hinted, was only a rubric in all the old Common Prayer Books; but at the last review was changed into a preface, to be directed to those that shall offer themselves to be confirmed; that so the Church might be sure they are apprized of the qualifications that are requisite to this holy ordinance, and of the solemn engagements under which they are going to enter themselves by it.

The question and answer.

II. The end of Confirmation being thus made known, the Bishop in the next place, by a solemn question, (which was added at the last review,) demands of the candidates an assurance that they will comply with it: asking them, *in the presence of God and the congregation, whether they will renew their baptismal vow, and ratify the same in their own persons,* &c. To this every one to be confirmed, as a token of his assent, is audibly to answer, *I do.*

The versicles and responses.

III. After this follow two or three short versicles or responses betwixt the Bishop and the congregation, with which the order of Confirmation in all the old Common Prayer Books used to begin. They are a proper preparation to the following solemnity, are often used in ancient Liturgies, and are taken out of the Book of Psalms:[32] though the last of them has been varied since the first book of king Edward, in which, in the room of it, was the usual salutation of, *The Lord be with you: And with thy spirit.*

The Collect.

IV. The Bishop and people having thus joined their requests, the Bishop, in the next place, proceeds alone to collect their petitions into a continued form; in which he prays that God, *who had vouchsafed to regenerate* the persons who now come to be confirmed, *by Water and the Holy Ghost, and had given unto them forgiveness of all their sins, would now strengthen them with the Holy Ghost*

[32] Psalm cxxiv. 8. cxiii. 2. cii. 1.

the Comforter, and daily increase in them the gifts of grace, viz. the sevenfold gifts of the Holy Spirit, which are transcribed into this prayer from the old Greek and Latin translations of Isaiah xi. 2, and which were repeated in the very same words in the office of Confirmation, as long ago as St. Ambrose's time:[33] from whence, and the Greek Liturgy,[34] this whole prayer is almost verbatim transcribed.

SECT. III.—*Of the Solemnity of Confirmation.*

THE preparatory part of this office being now finished, and *all of them in order kneeling before the Bishop*, (which is a suitable posture for those that are to receive so great a blessing,) the Bishop is *to lay his hand upon the head of every one severally*. This is one of the most ancient ceremonies in the world; and has always been used to determine the blessing pronounced to those particular persons on whom the hands are laid; and to import that the persons, who thus lay on their hands, act and bless by divine authority. Thus Jacob blessed Ephraim and Manasses, not as a parent only, but as a prophet:[35] Moses laid his hands on Joshua, by express command from God, and as supreme Minister over his people:[36] and thus our blessed Lord, whilst in the state of humiliation, laid his hands upon little children,[37] and those that were sick with divers diseases,[38] to bless and heal them. When indeed our Saviour gave the Spirit to his Apostles just before his ascension, he acted by a power paramount and inherent. He gave of his own, and therefore dispensed it with authority; *for he breathed on them, and said, Receive ye the Holy Ghost*.[39] But now this would have been absurd in any that acted by appointment or delegation: and the Apostles, from so ancient a custom and universal a practice, continued the rite of *imposition of hands* for communicating the Holy Spirit in Confirmation, which was so constantly and regularly observed by them, that St. Paul calls the whole office *laying on of hands*;[40] a name which is usually retained amongst the Latin Fathers; Confirmation being never administered for many centuries afterwards, in any part of the Church, without this ceremony.

Imposition of hands an essential rite in Confirmation.

It was the custom indeed, in some places, for the Bishop to lay both his hands *across* upon the

A blow on the cheek used in-

[33] Ambr. de Initiand. c. 7, tom. iv. col. 349, A. de Sacram. l. 3, c. 2, tom. iv. col. 363, H.
[34] Euchol. Græc. p. 355, Offic. S. Bapt. [35] Gen. xlviii. 14. [36] Numb. xxvii. 18.
[37] Matt. xix. 13. Mark x. 16. [38] Luke iv. 40. [39] John xx. 22. [40] Heb. vi. 2.

stead of it by the Church of Rome.

head of the party confirmed, in allusion to our Saviour's death upon the Cross, in whom we believe, and from whom we receive the Holy Ghost. But in no Church whatever was the imposition of hands omitted or discontinued till the Church of Rome of late years laid it aside, and now uses in the stead of it to give the person confirmed a little *blow on the cheek*, to remind him that for the future he must be prepared to undergo any injury or affront for the name of Jesus.[41] But, notwithstanding this, the Romanists themselves seem to be apprehensive, that *imposition of hands* is essential to this office. For whenever they are charged with laying it aside, they endeavour to defend themselves by pleading, that hands are imposed, when the person is hit on the cheek, or when the ointment is applied to him.[42] But every body must see through the ridiculousness of this, since the hands are no otherwise concerned in either of these ceremonies, than as they cannot be performed without them. For this reason our Church, at the Reformation, wisely discontinued the *blow on the cheek*, and restored the ancient and apostolical use of *laying on of hands*.

Prayer another essential to Confirmation.

§. 2. But though the laying on of hands is a token that the Bishops act in this office by divine authority; yet at the same time, they sue to heaven for the blessing they bestow, in humble acknowledgment that the precious gifts hereby conferred are not the effect of their own power and holiness, but of the abundant mercy and favour of Him who is the only fountain of all goodness and grace. Under a due sense of this, even the Apostles themselves, when they laid their hands upon the Samaritans, *prayed* that they might receive the Holy Ghost.[43] And after their example do their successors with us pray, that the person on whom they lay their hands may *be defended with the heavenly grace of God, and continue his for ever, and daily increase in his holy Spirit more and more, until he come into his everlasting kingdom. Amen.*

This form indeed is very different from what was appointed to be used by the first book of king Edward VI., in which immediately after the prayer, beginning, *Almighty and everlasting God*, the Minister was to use the following words:

Sign them, O Lord, and mark them to be thine for ever,

[41] Vide Catechismum ad Parochos de Confirmationis Sacramento, par. 2, p. 174, 8vo. Lugdun. 1636. [42] Sirmondus Ant. 2, par. 1, c. 7, et Tho. Walden. lib. 2, c. 13.
[43] Acts viii. 15.

by the virtue of thy holy Cross and Passion. Confirm and strengthen them with the inward Unction of the Holy Ghost, mercifully unto everlasting life. Amen.

Then the Bishop was to *cross* them on the forehead, and *lay his hand* upon their heads, saying,

N. *I sign thee with the sign of the Cross, and lay mine hand upon thee; in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.*

These forms were certainly much more conformable to those that were used in the primitive Church, than that which we have now. What was the occasion of changing them, I do not find: though it is probable the first might be laid aside, because it referred to the ancient ceremony of anointing, which was discontinued at the Reformation, except the Unction, that was ordered by the first Liturgy to be used at Baptism, was accounted preparatory to Confirmation, which I have already shewed[44] to be not unlikely. But however, in the second book of king Edward, the ceremony of anointing was thrown entirely aside, even out of the office of Baptism: and therefore it is probable they threw out this form at the same time, which indeed, if it had continued after the Unction was totally removed, would only have looked like the ruins of an ancient superstructure.

The use of Unction in Confirmation primitive and catholic.

§. 3. It must indeed be owned in behalf of this ceremony, that it was very ancient and very significant. Some contend that it was practised by the Apostles, and interpret the texts of Scripture referred to in the margin,[45] of a material unction administered in Confirmation. But those texts have been better judged to mean a spiritual unction of the Holy Ghost, by which persons were in those days anointed or consecrated to the office of the ministry.[46] However, it is certain, that within a very few years after the Apostles, the holy Fathers used to apply *Oil* and *Balm* to those that were confirmed, as an external sign of this inward unction of the Holy Spirit, and to represent the Baptism of the Apostles on the day of Pentecost with fire, of which oil we know is the properest material. Theophilus Antiochenus,[47] who lived and flourished within seventy years of the Apostle St. John, and many others of the ancientest Fathers,[48] speak of it as a rite long established and

[44] Page 354. [45] 2 Cor. i. 21, 22. 1 John ii. 20, 27. [46] See Mr. Stebbing's Clagget, p. 80, &c. [47] Ad Autolychum, p. 33, edit. Oxon. 1684. [48] Tertull. de Res. Carn. c. 8. Orig. Hom. 7, in Ezek. Cyprian. Ep. 70, 73.

used; insomuch that it is to discover from them, whether it was of apostolical practice or not. I need not shew that the use of it was continued in all parts of the Church, through every century, quite down to the Reformation: for this may be gathered from the very names by which they have always chose to distinguish this office, viz. *the Anointing* or *Chrism*, the same name which the Greek Church also uses for it till this day, as keeping religiously to the primitive usage.[49]

As also the sign of the Cross.

§. 4. Another ancient ceremony retained by our Church at the first Reformation, (as appears by the rubric which I have cited above,) was the sign of the *Cross*. This was used (as I have already observed) by the primitive Christians, upon all occasions; and therefore we may assure ourselves, they would not omit it in so solemn an action as in that of Confirmation. Tertullian[50] is clear for the use of it in his time; and in after-ages testimonies are so numerous, that it is endless to cite them. I shall therefore only observe, that the name *Consignation* (which was another name by which, it is well known, the Latin writers distinguish Confirmation) seems to have taken its rise from this ceremony of signing the person, at the time of Confirmation, with the sign of the Cross. And from hence too, it is probable, it is sometimes called Σφραγὶς by the Greeks, a name which they generally use to denote the sign of the Cross.

But now neither this nor the unction having any text of Scripture that is clear on their side; and since it cannot be made to appear that either of them was practised or used by the Apostles; we may reasonably suppose that they were taken up at first by the authority and discretion of every Church for itself; and that therefore every Church has liberty, as to herself, to lay them aside, since nothing appears essential to the office, but what we find the Apostles used, viz. *Prayer* accompanied with *Imposition of Hands*.

SECT. IV.—*Of the concluding Devotions.*

The Versicles and Lord's Prayer.

I. AFTER the persons were all confirmed, it was usual for the Bishop, in the primitive Church, to salute them with *peace*, to denote that peace (both temporal and eternal) was the happy fruit of the Holy

[49] Sir Paul Rycaut's State of the Greek Church, p. 171, and Dr. Smith's Account of the same, p. 117. [50] Tertull. de Res. Carn. c. 1, et de Præscript. c. 40.

Ghost conferred and received in this solemnity. Accordingly, in king Edward's first Common Prayer Book, the Bishop, immediately after he had laid his hands upon all that were brought and presented to him, was to say, *The peace of the Lord abide with you;* to which the answer returned was, *And with thy spirit.* What offence this was capable of giving I cannot discover; but it is certain that it was thrown out when Bucer revised it: though at the last review, soon after the Restoration, the usual salutation of, *The Lord be with you, And with thy spirit*, was added in the room of it, together with, *Let us pray*, and the *Lord's Prayer*, which should not be left out of any office, especially where it comes in so properly; and therefore (*all kneeling down*) the Bishop is here directed to add it.

The Collect.

II. After this, the Bishop, in the next place, prays that what he has done may not be an empty and insignificant sign. And this he does with so noble a mixture of humility and faith, as well agrees with the purest times. Depending upon the faith and promise of God, he knows that the graces he has now been conferring are as sure a consequence of the office he has performed, as if he had in himself a power to give them. But still he considers from whom these gifts and graces come, and who alone can preserve and secure them; and therefore, under a due sense of this, he makes his humble supplications, that, as *he has now laid his hands* upon these people (*after the example of the Apostles*) *to certify them thereby of God's favour and gracious goodness towards them; the fatherly hand of God may be over them, his Holy Spirit be ever with them, and so lead them in the knowledge and obedience of his word, that in the end they may obtain everlasting life.*

The second Collect.

III. And because the ancients believed Confirmation to be a preservation both of body and soul,[51] an additional collect was added at the Restoration, from those that are placed at the end of the Communion-office, that God would *direct, sanctify, and govern, both our souls and bodies in the ways of his laws, and in the works of his commandments*, &c.

The blessing.

IV. A blessing concludes all offices; and therefore one ought more especially to end this,

[51] Cyril. Catech. Mystag. 3, §. 5, p. 291.

it being as it were an epitome of the whole administration, which is but one continued and solemn benediction.

The Rubric. After all is added a rubric, that *none be admitted to the holy Communion, until such time as he be confirmed, or be ready and desirous to be confirmed.* This is exactly conformable to the practice of the primitive Church, which always ordered that Confirmation should precede the Eucharist, except there was extraordinary cause to the contrary: such as was the case of clinick baptism, of the absence of a Bishop, or the like; in which cases the Eucharist is allowed before Confirmation. The like provision (as I have already observed [52]) is made by our own provincial Constitutions, as well as the rubric which is now before us, which admit none to communicate, unless in danger of death, but such as are confirmed, or at least have a reasonable impediment for not being confirmed.[53] And the glossary allows no impediment to be reasonable, but the want of a Bishop near the place.

CHAPTER X.

OF THE FORM OF SOLEMNIZATION OF MATRIMONY.

THE INTRODUCTION.

Marriage of divine institution. THAT this holy state was instituted by God, is evident from the two first chapters in the Bible:[1] whence it came to pass, that amongst all the descendants from our first parents, the numerous inhabitants of the different nations in the world, there has been some religious way of entering into this state, in consequence and testimony of this divine institution. Among Christians especially, from the very first ages of the Church, those that have been married have been always joined together in a solemn manner by an ecclesiastical person.[2] And by several Canons of our own Church, it is declared to be no less than prosti-

[52] Page 262. [53] Provinc. Lindw. Cap. de Sacr. Unct. [1] Gen. i. 28, and ii. 18, 24. [2] Ignat. Ep. ad Polycarp. §. 5, pag. 9. Tertull. ad Uxor. l. 2, c. ult. p. 171, et de Pudicitia, c. 4, p. 557, B. Eucharist. Ep. 1, ad Episc. Afric. Concil. tom. i. col. 534, B. C. Carthag. Concil. 4, Can. 13, tom. ii. col. 1201, A. B.

tuting one's daughter, to give her in marriage without the blessing of the Priests.[3] Insomuch that some commentators of no small character interpret those words of Saint Paul, *of marrying in the Lord*,[4] of marrying according to the form and order prescribed by the Apostles. But I think those words are more naturally to be understood of marrying one of the same faith; as by the *dead that die in the Lord*,[5] are undoubtedly to be understood, those that die in the faith of Christ. However, it is certain, that both in the Greek and Latin Churches,[6] offices were drawn up in the most early times for the religious celebration of this holy ordinance; but being afterwards mixed with superstitious rites, our reformers thought fit to lay them aside, and to draw up a form more decent and grave, and more agreeable to the usage of the primitive Church.

SECT. I.—*Of the Rubrics concerning the Banns.*

Rubric 1. Banns, what the word signifies.

I. BEFORE any can be lawfully married together, the *Banns* are directed to be published in the Church, i. e. *public proclamation* (for so the word signifies) must be made to the congregation, concerning the design of the parties that intend to come together. This care of the Church to prevent clandestine marriage is, as far as we can find, as old as Christianity itself. For Tertullian tells us, that in his time all marriages were accounted clandestine, that were not published beforehand in the Church, and were in danger of being judged adultery and fornication.[7] And by several ancient constitutions of our own Church, it was ordered, that none should be married before notice should be given of it in the public congregation on three several Sundays or holydays.[8] And so it was also ordered by the rubric prefixed to the form of Solemnization of Matrimony in the book of Common Prayer, viz. that *the banns of all that are to be married together be published in the church three several Sundays or holy-days, in time of divine service;* unto which was added at the last review, *immediately before the sentences for the offertory;* but it is ordered by a late act of parliament,* that *all*

Why, and how often to be published.

* Statute 26 George II., "To prevent clandestine marriages," which should be carefully perused by every parochial Clergyman.

[3] Concil. Winton. A. D. 1076. Constitut. Richardi Episc. Sar. ann. 1217. Spelm. tom. ii. [4] 1 Cor. vii. 39. [5] Rev. xiv. 13. [6] Severinus Binius in Can. 13. Concil. Carthag. 4, ejusque Sequax Franciscus Longus à Cariolano, et alii. [7] Tertull. de Pudicitia, cap. 4. [8] See Bishop Gibson's Codex, Tit. 22, cap. 6, p. 510, and Johnson's Ecclesiastical Laws, 1200, 11, 1322, 7, 1328, 8.

banns of matrimony shall be published upon three Sundays preceding the solemnization of marriage, immediately after the second Lesson.

The poverty of the parties, or their not being settled in the place where they are asked, no reason for prohibiting the banns.

§. 2. The design of the Church in publishing these banns, is to be satisfied whether there be any just cause or impediment why the parties, so asked, should not be joined together in matrimony. What are allowed for lawful impediments, I shall have occasion to shew in the next section. In the mean while I shall here observe, that the Curate is not to stop his proceeding, because any peevish or pragmatical person, without just reason or authority, pretends to forbid him; as is the case sometimes, when the churchwardens, or other officers of the parish, presume to forbid the publication of the banns because the parties are *poor*, and so like to create a charge to the parish; or because the man is not perhaps an *inhabitant*, according to the laws made for the settlement of the poor. But *poverty* is no more an impediment of marriage than *wealth*; and the kingdom can as little subsist without the poor, as it can without the rich. And as to the pretence of the man's not being an inhabitant of the parish, it is certain, that by the canon law a traveller is a parishioner of every church he comes to.[9] The Minister where he is, is to visit him if sick, to perform the offices to him while living, and to bury him when dead: and no other Clergyman can regularly perform any divine office to such a person, so long as he continues within the said parish. In short, he is a parishioner in all respects, except that he is not liable to be kept by the parish, if he falls into poverty. Nor does the bidding of banns alter his condition in that respect: for in that, it is not considered where the person has a legal settlement, but where he dwells or lives at present. And the spiritual courts acted by this rule (if by any) when they granted a licence to a man to be married, that had not been four and twenty hours within their jurisdiction; and write him in the licence, seaman of that port or parish where he landed last, or where perhaps he lodged the night before.

The penalty of a Minister who marries without licence or banns.

§. 3. The penalty incurred for marrying any persons (without a *faculty* or *licence*) before the banns have been thus duly published, is, by the canons of our Church, declared to be *suspension for three years*.[10] Nor is there any exemption allowed to

[9] Lyndwood, l. 3, t. 15, c. Altissimus, v. Peregrinantes. [10] Canon LXII.

any churches or chapels, under colour of any peculiar liberty or privilege. The prohibition is the same in one place as in another. Marry where they will, the canons inflict the same penalty upon the Minister;[11] who, by an act of parliament made in the tenth year of queen Anne,[12] shall, besides his suspension, forfeit one hundred pounds for every offence; or if he be a prisoner in any private gaol, he shall be removed to the county gaol, charged in execution with the aforesaid penalty, and with all the causes of his former imprisonment. And whatever gaoler shall permit such marriages to be solemnized in his prison, shall, for every such offence, forfeit also the sum of one hundred pounds. And by the Act 26 George II. before mentioned, the person who shall solemnize matrimony in any other place than a church or public chapel, or without publication of banns, or licence, is deemed guilty of felony, and is to be transported for fourteen years, and the marriage declared to be null and void.

Marriage at no time prohibited.

§. 4. The ecclesiastical courts would have us to believe, that a licence is necessary, even *after* the banns have been duly published, to empower us to marry during such times as are said to be prohibited;[13] and this they found upon an old popish canon law, which they pretend was established among other popish canons and decretals, by a statute 25 Henry VIII. But now it is certain that the times prohibited by the pope's canon law are not the same that are pretended to be prohibited here in England; or if they were, the statute declares, that the popish canons and decretals are of force only so far forth as they have been received by sufferance, consent, or custom.[14] Now there is no canon nor custom of this realm, that prohibits marriages to be solemnized at any time: but on the contrary, our rubric, which is confirmed by act of parliament, (and which is therefore as much a law of this realm as any can be,) requires no more than that the banns be published in the church three several Sundays in the time of divine service; and then, if no impediment be alleged, gives the parties, so asked, leave to be married, without so much as intimating that they must wait till marriage comes in. As to the authority of Lyndwood and some other such pleas offered by the gentlemen of the

[11] Canon LXIII. [12] 10 Annæ, cap. 19, in an act, entitled, An Act for laying several Duties, &c. [13] Viz. From Advent-Sunday to the Octave of the Epiphany inclusive; from Septuagesima-Sunday till the Sunday after Easter inclusive; and from the first of the Rogation-days (i. e. the Monday before Ascension-day) till the day before Trinity-Sunday inclusive. [14] Chap. 21.

spiritual courts, the reader, that desires further satisfaction, may consult two learned authors upon this point,[15] who plainly enough shew, that the chief motive of their insisting upon licences as necessary within these pretended prohibited times, is because marrying by banns is a hinderance to their fees.

Though not decent at some seasons.

It is true indeed, it hath been an ancient custom of the primitive Church to prohibit persons from entering upon their nuptials in solemn times, which are set apart for fasting and prayer, and other exercises of extraordinary devotion. Thus the Council of Laodicea forbids all marriages in the time of Lent,[16] and several other canons add other times, in which matrimony was not to be solemnized: which seems to be grounded upon the command of God,[17] the counsel of Saint Paul,[18] and the practice of the sober part of mankind.[19] For even those who have wives ought, at such times, to be as those who have none; and therefore those who have none ought not then to change their condition. Besides, there is so great a contrariety between the seriousness that ought to attend the days of solemn religion, and the mirth that is expected at a marriage-feast, that it is not convenient they should meet together, lest we either violate religion, or disoblige our friends. This consideration so far prevailed even with the ancient Romans, that they would not permit those days that were dedicated to acts of religion, to be hindered or violated by nuptial celebrations.[20] And Christians, one would think, should not be less observers of decency, than infidels or heathens. For which reason it would not be amiss, I humbly presume, if a prohibition was made, that no persons should be married during the more solemn seasons, either by licence or banns. But to prohibit marriage by banns, and admit of it by licence, seems not to be calculated for the increase of religion, but purely for the sake of enhancing the fees.

Rubric 2. The marriage to be solemnized in one of the churches where the banns were published.

II. *If the persons that are to be married dwell in diverse parishes, the banns must be asked in both parishes, and the Curate of the one parish is not to solemnize matrimony betwixt them, without a certificate of the banns being thrice asked from the Curate of the other*

[15] See Dr. Brett's Letters, entitled, Some Considerations on the Times wherein Marriage is said to be prohibited; and Mr. Johnson's Clergyman's Vade Mecum, c. 21. [16] Can. 52, tom. i. col. 1505, C. [17] Exod. xix. 15. Joel ii. 16. [18] 1 Cor. vii. 5. [19] 1 Sam. xxi. 4, 5. [20] Macrob. Saturn. l. 1, c. 15, p. 262, Lugd. Bat. 1670.

parish. This seems to suppose what both the ancient and modern canons enjoin, viz. that marriage shall always be solemnized in the church or chapel where one of the parties dwelleth. And by our own canons, whatever Minister marries them any where else, incurs the same penalty as for a clandestine marriage.[21] Nor is even a licence allowed to dispense with him for doing it.[22] And the late act for preventing clandestine marriages expressly requires, that, in all cases where banns have been published, the marriage be solemnized in one of the churches where such publication had been made, and in no other place whatsoever; and that no licence shall be granted to solemnize any marriage in any other church than that which belongeth to the parish, within which one of the parties to be married hath dwelt for four weeks immediately preceding. Formerly it was a custom, that marriage should be performed in no other church but that to which the woman belonged as a parishioner:[23] and the ecclesiastical law allowed a fee due to the Curate of that church, whether she was married there or not; which was generally reserved for him in the words of the licence: but those words have been omitted in licences granted since the Act 26 George II. took place, which gives no preference to the woman's parish.

SECT. II.—*Of the Rubric before the Preface*

The canonical hours of celebrating of matrimony.

FOR better security against clandestine marriages, the Church orders that all marriages be celebrated in the *day-time:* for those that mean honourably need not fly the light. By the sixty-second canon they are ordered to be performed in *time of divine service;* but that practice is now almost, by universal consent, laid aside and discontinued: and the rubric only mentions *the day and time appointed*, which the aforesaid canon expressly requires to be *between the hours of eight and twelve in the forenoon:* and though even a licence be granted, these hours are not dispensed with;[24]* for it is supposed that persons will be serious in the morning. And indeed formerly it

* The archbishop of Canterbury, in virtue, I suppose, of the old legantine power, claims a privilege of granting licences for persons to be married, *quolibet loco aut tempore honesto;* i. e. in any decent time or place. A privilege which I cannot but humbly conceive his Grace would be very backward of using, were he apprized what indecencies generally attend it.

N. B. *This is expressly reserved to the archbishop, by statute* 26 George II.

[21] Canon LXII. [22] Canon CII. [23] Clergyman's Vade Mecum, c. 21, p. 188.
[24] Canon CII.

was required that the bridegroom and bride should be *fasting* when they made their matrimonial vow;[25] by which means they were secured from being made incapable by drink, of acting decently and discreetly in so weighty an affair.

In what part of the church the marriage is to be solemnized.

§. 2. At the day and time appointed, the persons to be married are directed to come *into the body of the church*. The custom formerly was for the couple, who were to enter upon this holy state, to be placed at the *church-door*, where the Priest was used to join their hands, and perform the greatest part of the matrimonial office.[26] It was here the husband endowed his wife with the portion or dowry before contracted for, which was therefore called *Dos ad ostium ecclesiæ*, *The dowry at the church-door*.[27] But at the Reformation the rubric was altered, and the whole office ordered to be performed within the church, where the congregation might afford more witnesses of the fact.

And since God himself doth join those that are lawfully married, certainly the house of God is the fittest place wherein to make this religious covenant. And therefore, by the ancient canons of this Church, the celebration of matrimony in taverns, or other unhallowed places, is expressly forbidden:[28] and the office is commanded to be performed in the church, not only to prevent all clandestine marriages, but also that the sacredness of the place may strike the greater reverence into the minds of the married couple, while they remember they make this holy vow in the place of God's peculiar presence.

Who to be present at the solemnization.

§. 3. The persons to be married (saith the rubric) are to come into the church *with their friends and neighbours*, i. e. their relations and acquaintance, who ought to attend on this solemnity, to testify their consent to it, and to join with the minister in prayers for a blessing on it. Though it may not be improbable, but that by the *friends* here mentioned may be understood such as the ancients used to call *paranymphs*, or *bridemen*: some traces of which custom we find to be as old as the days of Samson, whose wife is

Paranymphs, or Bridemen, their antiquity.

[25] Synod. Winton. anno 1308. Spelman, tom. i. p. 448.

[26] See the old Manuals, and Selden's Uxor Ebraica, l. 2, c. 27, p. 203. And from hence Chaucer, an old poet in the reign of Edward III., in his Wife of Bath:

"She was a worthy woman all her live,
Husbands at the church-door had she five."

[27] See the Manuals, and Selden, as above. [28] Synod. Winton. ut supra. Synod. Exon. anno 1287, Can. 7. Spelm. tom. ii. Concil. Lond. anno 1200, ibid.

said to have been delivered to his companion, who in the Septuagint version is called Νυμφαγωγὸς, or brideman.[29] And that bridemen were in use among the Jews in our Saviour's time, is clear from St. John iii. 29. From the Jews the custom was received by the Christians, who used it at first rather as a civil custom, and something that added to the solemnity of the occasion, than as a religious rite; though it was afterwards countenanced so far as to be made a necessary part of the sacred solemnity.[30] An account of this custom as it prevailed here in the time of king Henry VIII. may be seen in Polydore Virgil.[31] Some remains of it are still left among us; but as to countenancing or discountenancing it, our Church has left it (as in itself) a thing indifferent.

§. 4. The remaining part of this rubric (which was added to the foregoing part at the Restoration) is concerning the *position* of the parties, whom it orders to stand, *the man on the right hand, and the woman on the left*, i. e. *the man on the right hand of the woman, and the woman on the left hand of the man*, as it is worded in the Salisbury Manual. The reason that is there given for it is a very weak one, viz. because the rib out of which the woman was formed was taken out of the left side of Adam. The true reason to be sure is, because the right hand is the most honourable place; which is therefore both by the Latin and Greek, and all Christian Churches, assigned to the man, as being the head of the wife.[32] The Jews are the only persons that I ever heard acted otherwise, who place the woman on the right hand of her husband, in allusion to that expression in the forty-fifth Psalm, *At thy right hand did stand the queen in a vesture of gold*, &c.

The position of the two parties.

SECT. III.—*Of the Preface and Charge, and the several Impediments to Matrimony.*

To prevent the vain and loose mirth which is too frequent at these solemnities, the office is begun with a grave and awful preface, which represents the action we are about, to be of so divine an original, of so high a nature, and of such infinite concernment to all mankind, that they are not only vain and imprudent, but even

The preface, or general exhortation.

[29] Judges xiv. 20, according to the Alexandrian copy, published by Dr. Grabe.

[30] Eucharist. Ep. ad Episc. Afric. Concil. tom. i. col. 543, C. Concil. Carthag. 4, cap. 13, tom. ii. col. 1201, A. [31] De Invent. Rerum, l. 1, c. 4, as cited by Selden in his Uxor Ebraica, page 205. [32] Manual. Sarisb. fol. 26. Eucholog. Offic. Sponsal. p. 380.

void of shame, who will not lay aside their levity, and be composed upon so serious and solemn an occasion. And to prevent any misfortune which the two parties might rashly or perhaps inconsiderately run into by means of their marriage, the Minister charges the congregation, *If they know any just cause why they may not be lawfully joined together, that they do now declare it*, before this holy bond be tied, since afterwards their discovering of it will tend perhaps more to the prejudice than to the relief of the parties.

The charge.

II. But though others are first called upon to discover the impediments (if any such be known) as being most likely to reveal them; yet the parties themselves are charged, in the next place, as being most concerned, to declare them. Since, should there afterwards appear any just impediment to their marriage, they must either necessarily live together in a perpetual sin, or be separated for ever by an eternal divorce. Besides which, by a provincial canon of our Church under archbishop Stratford, in the year 1342, (the sixteenth of Edward III.,) if the parties that marry are conscious of any impediment, they incur excommunication *ipso facto*.[33]

The impediments to matrimony.

III. The impediments which they are solemnly charged to reveal, are those, I suppose, which are specified in the hundred and second canon of our Church; viz. 1. a *preceding marriage* or *contract*, or any controversy or suit depending upon the same; 2. *consanguinity* or *affinity*; and, 3. want of the *consent* of their *parents* or *guardians*.

1. A preceding marriage or contract.

§. 1. The first is a *preceding marriage* or *contract*: for God made but one wife for Adam, and rather connived at *polygamy* in after-ages than allowed it. Under the Gospel dispensation it is absolutely forbidden.[34] And this, I think, on one side, is generally allowed. Nobody contends that the same woman may have plurality of husbands, and the New Testament is expressly against it:[35] but then we have libertines enough (though libertines, by the way, that often think one wife too many) who pretend that there is no prohibition against several; and yet the New Testament, if we duly attend to it, is as full and as clear against this as the former. Our Saviour

[33] See Bishop Gibson's Codex, vol. i. p. 494, or in Mr. Johnson, 1343, 11. [34] Matt. xix. 5, 9. Rom. vii. 3. 1 Cor. vii. 2. [35] Rom. vii. 2, 3. 1 Cor. vii. 39.

himself has expressly declared, that *whosoever shall put away his wife, and shall marry another, committeth adultery*.[36] If then it be adultery for a man to marry a second woman, after he has put away the first, would it be ever the less adultery to marry a second whilst he retains the first? Again, when St. Paul enjoins every man, for the avoiding fornication, to *have his own wife*, or (as the words ought to be translated) *a wife of his own*,[37] he also enjoins that every woman *have her own husband*, or (as these words ought also to be rendered) *a husband peculiar to herself*.[38]* So that *polygamy* is no more allowed to the husband than to the wife. And therefore if either of the parties that offer themselves to be married have a husband or wife living, this latter marriage is null and void, and they live in as manifest adultery as they would have done, though they had not been joined. Nay, if either of them be but contracted to another, the impediment is the same. For though such a contract be not properly marriage, yet it is so effective and binding, that unless they voluntarily release each other, it is adultery for either of them to marry any body else. Hence by the Levitical law it was death for any one to defile another man's spouse;[41] and the holy Virgin is called *Joseph's wife*, though she was only contracted to him.[42] Upon this account, marriages that have been made after any such contract have always been judged null and void. In our own land indeed, in king Henry the Eighth's time, an Act of Parliament was made, that marriages, when solemnized and afterwards consummated, should stand good notwithstanding any former precontract that had not been consummated.[43] But this was only done to gratify the king; and therefore, as soon as king Edward VI. succeeded him, the aforesaid Act was repealed, and the ecclesiastical judges were again empowered to give sentence in favour of such precontract, and to require

* The words in the original, are ἑκάστη τὸν ἴδιον ἄνδρα ἐχέτω, which any one that knows Greek will acknowledge to be imperfectly translated in our English Bibles. For as Dr. Wall[39] very well observes, when Aristotle says, ἴδιον τοῦτο τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, nobody would render it, *Men have this of their own;* but, *This is proper or peculiar to men*: so again when he says, ὁ δὲ βάτραχος ἰδίαν ἔχει τὴν γλῶσσαν,[40] it would not reach the sense to say, that *frogs make their own noise*, but that *frogs make a noise peculiar to themselves;* i. e. such a noise as no other creatures make. When therefore St. Paul uses the same phrase here, which is so emphatical and express, our English translation does not come up to his meaning, when it only says, *Let every woman have her own husband;* since the words plainly signify, that every woman should have a husband that should be *proper* or *peculiar to herself;* a husband in such sense her own, as not to be the husband of any one else.

[36] Matt. xix. 9. Mark x. 11. Luke xvi. 18. [37] Ἕκαστος τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γυναῖκα ἐχέτω. [38] 1 Cor. vii. 2. [39] History of Infant Baptism, p. i. c. 8, §. 5. [40] Ibid. [41] Deut. xx. 23, 24. [42] Matt. i. 20. [43] 32. Henry VIII. c. 38.

that matrimony should be solemnized and consummated between the persons so contracted, notwithstanding that one of them might have been actually married to, and have had issue by, another person.[44] But it hath been again enacted by statute 26 George II., that for the future no suit shall be had in any ecclesiastical court to compel a celebration of marriage *in facie ecclesiæ*, by reason of any contract of matrimony whatsoever.

2. Consanguinity or affinity.

§. 2. The second impediment, which the canon specifies, is *consanguinity* or *affinity*, i. e. when the parties are related to each other within the degrees prohibited as to marriage by the laws of God, and expressed in a table drawn up by archbishop Parker, and set forth by authority in the year of our Lord 1563.[45] This table is now very frequently printed at the end of Common Prayer Books, and therefore I need not enumerate the degrees within which marriage is forbid. But however, it may not be amiss to observe, that several degrees are expressed in the table, which are not mentioned particularly in the eighteenth of Leviticus, which is the place upon which the table is founded. But then they may be inferred from it by parity of reason. For that passage in Leviticus only mentions those relations evidently and expressly, which may help us to discover the like differences and degrees. So that for the right understanding of the eighteenth of Leviticus, and to bring it to an agreement with the table in our Common Prayer Books, we must observe two particular rules for our direction: viz. 1. That the same prohibitions that are made to one sex are undoubtedly understood and implied as to the other; and, 2. That a man and his wife are accounted one flesh: (so that whoever is related to one of them by means of *consanguinity* is in the same degree related to the other by means of *affinity*: insomuch that the husband is so much forbid to marry with his wife's relations, and the wife with her husband's, within the degrees prohibited, as either of them are to marry with their own.) Thus, for instance; though marrying a *wife's sister* be not expressly forbid in the eighteenth of Leviticus, yet by parity of reason it is virtually implied. For when God there commands[46] that a man shall not marry *his brother's wife*, which is the same as forbidding the woman to be married to her *husband's brother*; it follows of course, that a man is also forbid to marry his *wife's sister*. For between one man

What degrees are expressly forbid.

And what, by parity of reason, implied.

[44] 2 Edward VI. [45] Canon XCIX. [46] Verse 16

and two sisters, and one woman and two brothers, is the same analogy and proportion. Accordingly, this was always forbid under severe penalties by the primitive Church,[47] and has been declared unlawful by our own.[48] Thus again, though we are not forbid in terms to marry the *daughter of a wife's sister*; yet, by the like parity of reason, the same is implied in the prohibition of marrying one's *father's brother's wife*,[49] which is the same as to forbid the being married to a *husband's brother's son*. For between a *man and his wife's niece* is the same relation as between a *woman and her husband's nephew*; and therefore these also have been declared incapable of marrying by our courts of judicature.[50] And if this be granted, it can much less be doubted, whether the like rule, from parity of reason, doth not forbid the *uncle to marry his niece*; which, though not expressly forbidden, is to be sure virtually prohibited in the precept that forbids the *nephew to marry his aunt*.[51] Nor is it of any moment to allege, that the first is a more favourable case, because the *natural superiority* is preserved; since the parity of degree (which is the proper rule of judging) is the very same in both.

The case the same in unlawful conjunctions, as in lawful marriages.

Nor do these rules hold only in *lawful marriages*, but are equally binding in *unlawful conjunctions*: for by the same law that a man may not marry his *father's wife*, he ought not to take his *father's concubine*; and as the woman may not be married to her *daughter's husband*, so neither may she be married to one by whom her *daughter has been abused*.[52] Nor are *bastard children* any more at liberty to marry within the degrees of the Levitical law, than those that are legitimate. In this case *legitimacy* or *illegitimacy* makes no difference; for if it did, a mother might marry her bastard son, which is shocking to think of.[53]

And between bastard children, as between those that are legitimate.

The reasons of the prohibition.

The reasons why these prohibitions are made are easily to be accounted for: for, first, the marriage of parents or grandfathers with their children or grandchildren (setting aside the disproportion in time of age) is directly repugnant to the order of nature, which

[47] Can. Apostol. 18, et Concil. Elib. [48] See Bishop Gibson's Codex, vol. i. page 498. See also the Canons of 1571, in Bishop Sparrow, page 240. [49] Verse 14. [50] See Bishop Gibson, ibid. [51] Verse 12, 14. [52] See the Reformatio Legum, as cited by Bishop Gibson, page 499. [53] See Bishop Gibson, ibid. and Bishop Parker's Admonition in Bishop Sparrow's Collection, page 260.

hath assigned several duties and offices essential to each relation, that would thereby be inverted and overthrown. To which we may add the inconsistency, absurdity, and monstrousness of the relations to be begotten, if such prohibition were not absolute and unlimited. Much the same may be said in the next place, as to the marriage of uncles and aunts with their nephews and nieces. And, lastly, as to the marriage of brothers with sisters; the natural familiarities between equal relations, so suitable in years and temper, would produce intolerable effects in those who always converse together, if they were not prohibited matrimonial union. Upon these accounts, even among heathens, these marriages were accounted unlawful and forbidden, and were condemned under the name and title of *incest*, which signifies an inauspicious conjunction, made *sine cesto Veneris*, without the *cest* or *girdle of Venus*. For that goddess being not supposed to be present at such unchaste and dishonest marriages, the bride was not bound with her girdle as was usual, and therefore the marriage was called *incestuous*.[54] And by the ninety-sixth canon of our own Church, such marriages are also to be judged incestuous and unlawful, and consequently are to be dissolved as void from the beginning, and the parties so married are to be separated by course of law.

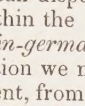
Such marriages why called incestuous.

From an observation of the above-mentioned passage in Scripture, as well as from the table at the end of our Common Prayer Books, we may perceive that it is only a vulgar mistake, which some have entertained, that *second cousins* may *not* marry, though *first cousins may*; it plainly appearing that no cousins whatsoever, whether in the first, or second, or third descent, are prohibited marriage, either by the laws of God or of the land. The more ancient prohibition indeed of the Canon Law was to the seventh generation: and the same was formerly the law of the Church of England, as appears by the canons of two different Councils.[55] But in the fourth Council of Lateran, which was held A. D. 1215, the prohibition was reduced to the fourth degree,[56] as appears not only by a statute in the thirty-second of Henry VIII.,[57] but also by the frequent dispensations for the fourth degree, (and no further,) which we

No cousins prohibited marriage.

[54] Lactantius Statii Scholiastes ad 2 Thebaid. v. 283, ut citat. in Fabri Thesauro, in vocem Cestus. [55] Of London and Westminster, as cited by Bishop Gibson in his Codex p. 497. [56] See Bishop Gibson as before. [57] Chap. 38.

meet with in our ecclesiastical records, as granted by special authority from Rome. But now this was only for the increase and augmentation of the Pope's revenue, who always took care to be well paid for his licence or dispensation. And therefore, at the Reformation, when we got free from our bondage and subjection to him, no marriages were prohibited but within the third degree, which are expressly prohibited by the laws of God, as well as by the dictates of right reason, and which therefore no power or authority can dispense with. But now none that we call cousins are within the third degree of kindred; even *first cousins*, or *cousin-germans*, are four removes distant. For to know their relation we must reckon through the grandfather, the common parent, from whence both parties are descended. Now reckoning thus between the children of two brothers, or of two sisters, or of a brother and sister, we must necessarily measure four degrees. For from a man to his father or mother is one degree; to his grandfather two; then down to his uncle or aunt three; and, lastly, to the daughter of his uncle or aunt, who is his cousin-german, four. This is exemplified in the margin, where A is the grandfather, B and C the children, and D and E the grandchildren or first cousins, who are disposed to marry. Now from D to B is one remove, to A a second, to C a third, and to E a fourth. And I have already observed, that there is no instance in the eighteenth of Leviticus of any prohibition in the fourth degree. It is to be noted indeed, as archbishop Parker tells us,[58] that marriages in the *direct line*, i. e. between children and their grandfathers, though ever so distant, are prohibited and forbid. For a father has a paternal right over ten generations, could he live to see them in a direct line, (his old age requiring respect and reverence, as often increased as the name of father comes between him and them.) And so uncles and aunts, since they are *quasi parentes*, in the place of fathers and mothers, must have the greater respect, by how much the name of uncle and aunt comes between them and their nephews and nieces. So that it would seem more absurd for a great uncle to marry his niece, than for an immediate uncle to marry his. Though we are told, that where the case in the spiritual court was, that one had married the *wife of his great uncle*, (which, by the foregoing rule,



[58] In Bishop Sparrow's Collection, p. 260.

that makes the case the same in affinity as consanguinity, is as near a relation as a great aunt by blood,) it was declared not to be within the Levitical degrees, and therefore a prohibition was granted to the process.[59]

3. Want of Parents' or Guardians' consent.

§. 3. The third impediment to the solemnization of marriage between the parties that offer themselves, is the *want of the consent of their parents or guardians*. But this by the hundredth canon seems only to be an impediment, when the persons to be married are *under the age of twenty-one years complete*, whom, by the sixty-second canon, no Minister is to marry, whether by banns or licence, before their *parents or governors have signified their consent*, though persons in widowhood are by the hundred and fourth canon particularly excepted.[60] The holy Scriptures, in several instances, inform us of this paternal right.[61] And the usual phrases of *giving a daughter in marriage*, and *taking a wife to a son*, plainly imply, that the consent of the parents is necessary in the marriage of their children. If we inquire into the practice of the heathens, we shall find them so severe upon the violation of this right, as to declare the marriage to be null, and the children to be bastards.[62] And the ancient canon-law of the Greek Church accounts all children that marry without their parents' consent, whilst they are under their power, to be no better than fornicators.[63] The Church of England hath ever taken all imaginable care beforehand to prevent such marriages, by requiring the oaths of sufficient witnesses, in case of a licence, that such consent was obtained;[64] and by the Act 26 George II. it is declared that *all marriages solemnized by licence, where either of the parties, not being a widower or widow, shall be under the age of twenty-one years, which shall be had without the consent of parents or guardians, shall be absolutely null and void.* And where there is no licence, the Church orders the publication of the banns, as has already been shewed, that so the parents may have notice and time to forbid it; and now finally charges the parties themselves, in the most serious and solemn manner that is possible, that they confess it is an impediment, if they want their superiors' consent.

[59] See Bishop Gibson's Codex, p. 409. [60] See also the Canons of 1597, in Sparrow, page 249. [61] Genesis xxiv. xxix. xxxiv. 4. Judges xiv. 2. [62] Apul. Metamorph. l. 6, Dig. lib. 23, tit. 2, et lib. 1, tit. 5, §. 11. [63] S. Basil. ad Amphiloch. Can. 38, et 40. Matth. Blaster. Syntag. Lit. T. c. 8, apud Bevereg. tom. ii. [64] Canon CIII.

IV. If any of the impediments above mentioned are alleged, and the person that declares it *will be bound and sufficient sureties with him to the parties, or else put in a caution (to the full value of such charges as the persons to be married do thereby sustain) to prove his allegation; then the solemnization must be deferred until such time as the truth be tried.* But *if no impediment be alleged*, the Curate is to proceed in manner and form as the next section will declare.

Rubric after the charge.

SECT. IV.—*Of the Espousals.*

I. THE solemnization of matrimony being a formal compact, it is requisite, in the first place, that the *mutual consent* of the parties be asked, which is so essentially necessary, that the marriage is not good without it. And therefore we find that Rebekah's friends asked her consent before they sent her away to Isaac.[65] And in the firmest kind of marriage among the Romans, which they called *coemption*, the parties themselves mutually asked this of each other.[66] This therefore being so momentous a custom, is for that reason taken into the Christian offices: only among Christians the question is proposed by the Priest, that so the declaration may be the more solemn, as being made in the immediate presence of God, and to his deputed Minister.

The asking their mutual consent.

The man therefore is asked, *Whether he will have this woman to his wedded wife;* and the woman, *Whether she will have this man to her wedded husband, to live together after God's ordinance in the holy state of matrimony.* And that they may the better know what are the conditions of this state, the Minister enumerates the duties which each of them by this covenant will be bound to perform.

§. 2. The man, for instance, is obliged, in the first place, to *love* his wife, which is the principal duty required by St. Paul,[67] and is here mentioned first, because if the man hath this affection, he will perform with delight all the other duties; it being no burden to do good offices to those whom we heartily and sincerely love. 2. He must *comfort her*, which is the same that St. Paul expresses by *cherishing*,[68] and implies here, that the husband must support his wife under all the infirmities and sor-

The husband's duty.

[65] Gen. xxiv. 58. [66] Boeth. Comment. in Topic. Ciceron. p. 157. Venet. 1583. Alex. ab Alex. Gen. Dier. l. 2, c. 5. [67] Ephes. v. 25. [68] Ephes. v. 29.

rows, to which the tenderness of her sex often makes her liable. 3. He is to *honour* her, which is also directly commanded by St. Peter:[69] for though the wife, as he says, be the *weaker vessel*, yet she must not be despised, for those unavoidable weaknesses which God has been pleased to annex to her constitution, but rather respected for her usefulness to the man's comfortable being.* 4. He must *keep her in sickness and health*, which in St. Paul's phrase is to *nourish*,[70] or to afford her all necessaries in every condition. Lastly, he must consent to be faithful to her, and *forsaking all other, keep himself only to her so long as they both shall live*:[71] which is added to prevent those three mischievous and fatal destroyers of marriage, adultery, polygamy, and divorce.

The wife's duty.

§. 3. There is no difference in the duties, nor consequently in the terms of the covenant between a man and his wife; except that the woman is obliged to *obey* and *serve* her husband. Nor is this a difference of our own devising, but is expressly ordered by God himself, who, in those places of Scripture where he enjoins husbands to love their wives, commands the wives to be *subject* and *obedient* to their husbands.[72] The rules also of society make it necessary; for equality, saith St. Chrysostom,[73] breeds contention, and one of the two must be superior, or else both would strive perpetually for the dominion. Wherefore the laws of God, and the wisdom of all nations, hath given the superiority to the husband. Among the Romans, the wife was obliged by law to be subject to her husband, and to call him *lord*;[74] but then they had a peculiar magistrate to take care that the men did not abuse this power, but that they should rule over their wives with gentleness and tenderness.[75] Wherefore women may and ought to pay all that obedience which the Gospel requires of them: nor have they any reason (especially with us) to complain with Medea, that *they are sold for slaves with their own money*,[76] because there is really no slavery in obedience which springs from love, and is paid

* If the Greek of this verse was differently pointed, the foundation of the "honour" to be given unto the "wives" would not be their weakness, but their being coheirs with their husbands of "the grace of life;" which seems to make the Apostle's meaning clearer. "Likewise ye husbands dwell with your wives according to knowledge, the female being the weaker vessel, giving them honour, as being heirs together of the grace of life."

[69] 1 Peter iii. 7. [70] Ephes. v. 29. [71] Mal. ii. 15, 16. 1 Cor. vii. 10. [72] Ephes. v. 22, 24. Col. iii. 18. Tit. ii. 5. 1 Peter iii. 1, 5. [73] In 1 Cor. xi. 3. [74] Ulpian. L. alia 14, D. solut. Matrimon. Et L. ea quæ 57, D. de Donat. inter Virum et Ux. itemque Servius ad l. 4, Æneid. [75] Cicero de Repub. lib. 4. [76] Eurip. in Medea.

in respect to the nobler sex, and in requital for that protection which the weaker sex both needs and enjoys in the state of matrimony. So that it is not only an impious contempt of divine authority, but egregious pride and folly, for any woman to refuse either to promise or pay this obedience; which is her chief advantage, if she hath wisdom to understand, or skill to manage it right.

The answer of the parties.

§. 4. The whole matter being thus proposed to each party, they should each of them seriously weigh and consider it. And if they like this state of life, and the duties annexed to it; if they neither of them have any objection against the person of the other, but are persuaded they can each of them love the other, and that for ever, in all conditions of life; let each of them answer as the Church directs them, *I will*; which are the proper words that oblige in compacts,[77] but which can never lay a more solemn obligation than when they are pronounced upon this occasion. For if we start back after speaking them here, we shall have as many witnesses of the falsehood, as there are persons present at the solemnity, viz. God and his angels, the Minister and the congregation: and therefore in regard to so venerable an assembly, let them here be pronounced with all deliberate gravity, and for ever made good with all possible sincerity.

Espousals, what they were formerly.

§. 5. This solemn declaration of the parties' consent seems to be the remains of the old form of *Espousals*, which was different and distinct from the office of *Marriage*, and which was often performed some weeks, or months, or perhaps years before;[78] and, as Florentinus defines them, were no more than *the promise of future marriage*;[79] which however they thought was not proper to be left to be made in private, as a mere civil contract; and therefore they ordered that it should be solemnly made in the presence of a Minister, who should use prayers and blessings suitable to the occasion. And hence it is that, in the Greek Church, there are to be seen to this day two different offices, viz. the one of *Espousals*, and the other of *Marriage*.[80] But it oftentimes happening that the deferring the marriage caused the parties espoused to break their engagement, Leo Philosophus, an emperor of the East, commanded by an edict, that the Espousals and Marriage should

[77] Justinian. Institut. l. 3, de Verb. Oblig. Tit. 16. [78] Carol. Mag. Leg. l. 1, c. 163.
[79] Florentin. l. 1, D. de Sponsal. [80] Vide Euchologion.

be both performed on the same day.[81] Some attempts indeed were made by Alexius Comnenus to restore the old custom of having some time intervene between them.[82] But it does not appear that he succeeded in his attempts; for Goar tells us, (and the present Greek rubric hints as much,[83]) that the usual custom of the modern Greeks is to use both offices at the same time. And it is probable that in the West, as well as in the East, the custom of celebrating the Espousals and Nuptials at the same time did long obtain, and at last occasion both offices to be united in one. So that this declaration is the remains of the ancient office of the *Espousals*, and the following stipulation the *Marriage* properly so called. Accordingly the declaration is made in the *future* tense, by which Espousals used to be made;[84] whereas the stipulation runs in the *present* tense, which is necessary to make and confirm a marriage.[85] Besides, the declaration is made without any ceremony, simply and directly like the ancient Espousals;[86] whereas the mutual stipulation is accompanied with divers significant rites, such as the delivering the woman into the hands of the man, joining their hands, and the like, which are the known and proper ceremonies of marriage. And indeed that the declaration is not properly a circumstance of the marriage, is plain from the Minister's asking, after it is made, *Who giveth the woman to be married to the man?* For that evidently implies that she is even yet in the power of another, and consequently that she is still to be married to the man.

And how supplied now.

SECT. V.—*Of the Solemnization of the Marriage.*

The solemnization of the marriage.

I. THE two parties having now declared their consent to take each other for husband and wife, and having solemnly engaged that they will each of them observe the duties which God has annexed to that state; they proceed, in the next place, to the immediate celebration of the Marriage itself, which is introduced with a very ancient and significant ceremony; I mean, the *father's or friend's giving the woman in marriage*. The antiquity of which rite is evident from

The father or friend to give the woman.

[81] Leo Philos. Imp. Novel. 74. [82] Alex. Comnen. Novel. de Sponsal. l. 2, Jur. Orient. [83] Εἰ μὲν βούλονται ἐν τ' αὐτῷ στεφανωθῆναι. Rubric. ante Offic. Coronat. Eucholog. p. 385. [84] Decret. Greg. l. 4, de Sponsal. et Matrimon. tit. 1, c. 15. Pet. Lombard. l. 4, dist. 28. [85] Constit. Richard. Ep. Sarum. apud Spelman. Concil. tom. ii. A. D. 1217. [86] Franc. Hotman. de Sponsal. p. 375.

the phrase so often used in Scripture, of *giving a daughter to wife*:[87] and the universality of it appears from its being used both by heathens and Christians in all ages.[88] The foundation of the practice seems to be a care of the female sex, who are always supposed to be under the tuition of a father or guardian, whose consent is necessary to make their acts valid.[89] And therefore before the Minister proceeds to the Marriage, he asks, *Who gives the woman to be married to the man?* Which shews too, by the way, that the woman does not seek a husband, but is given to one by her parents or friends, whose commands in this affair she seems rather to follow than her own inclinations.[90] For which cause, among the nuptial rites of the old Romans, the bride was to be taken by a kind of violence from her mother's knees;[91] and when she came to her husband's house, she was not to go in willingly, but was to be carried in by force;[92] which, like this ceremony of ours, very well suited with the modesty of her sex.

§. 2. But besides this, there is a further meaning intended by the Church: for it is to be observed, that the woman is to be given not to the *man* but to the *Minister*; for the rubric orders, that the *Minister shall receive her at her father's or friend's hands*: which signifies, to be sure, that the father resigns her up to God, and that it is God who, by his Priest, now gives her in marriage, and who provides a wife for the man, as he did at first for Adam.[93]

And the Minister to receive her.

II. Accordingly the Minister, who has now the disposal of her, delivers her into the possession of the man, as he afterwards does the man into the possession of the woman, by causing each of them to *take the other by the right hand*. The *joining of hands* naturally signifies contracting a friendship, and making a covenant:[94] and the *right hand* especially was esteemed so sacred, that Cicero calls it the *witness of our faith*;[95] and therefore the joining of these being used in all covenants, no wonder it should be observed in the solemn one of marriage. Accord-

Joining of right hands an ancient ceremony.

[87] Gen. xxix. 19. xxxiv. 16. Josh. xv. 16. 1 Sam. xvii. 25. xviii. 17. Psal. lxxviii. 63. Luke xvii. 27. 1 Cor. vii. 38. [88] Cic. Orat. pro Flac. Apul. Apol. 2. Præscr. Aug. de Genes. ad lit. l. 11, c. 41, tom. iii. par. 1, col. 295, C. [89] See Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity, l. 5, §. 73. [90] Ambros. de Abraham. l. 1, c. 9, tom. i. col. 201, l. [91] Virg. Æneid. 10, ver. 79. [92] Plut. Quæst. Rom. tom. ii. p. 271, C. D. Francof. 1620. [93] Genesis ii. 23. [94] 2 Kings x. 15. Prov. xi. 21. [95] Dextræ quæ fidei testes esse solebant. Cicero. See also Virgil. En. dextra, fidesque. See also Alex. ab Alex. Gen. Dier. l. 2, c. 19.

ingly we find it has been used, upon this occasion, by Heathens,[96] Jews,[97] and Christians in all ages.[98]

The mutual stipulation.

III. The Minister therefore having thus joined their right hands, causes them, in the next place, *to give their troth*, by a mutual stipulation. And as our lawyers tell us, that in a deed of conveyance four things are necessary, viz. 1. The *Premises*, containing the names of the person, and of the thing to be conveyed; 2. The *Habendum* and *Tenendum*; 3. The *Limitations*; and, 4. The *Sealing*:[99] so here the compact seems to be drawn up exactly answerable to these four rules. For, first, each party name themselves, and specifying the other, as the individual person whom they have chose, declare the end for which they take, viz. *to be wedded husband and wife*. Secondly, The manner of taking is expressed in those ancient words, *to have and to hold*, which are words (saith Littleton)[100] of such importance, that no conveyance can be made without them: and therefore they ought not to be omitted here, because the man and the woman are now to put themselves into the power and possession of each other: insomuch that after this stipulation *the wife hath not power of her own body, but the husband; and likewise the husband hath not power of his own body, but the wife*.[1] Thirdly, the time of entering upon, and the time of enjoying, the possession conveyed, is here expressly declared. It is to begin immediately from the nuptial day, and to continue during their mutual lives, *From this day forward—till death us do part*. And lest any inconveniences appearing afterwards should be alleged for the breaking this sacred contract, here is added a protestation, that the obligation shall continue in full force, notwithstanding any future unexpected changes. They are to have and to hold for *better for worse*, in respect of their mind and manners; *for richer for poorer*, in respect of their estate; and whether in *sickness or in health*, in respect of their body. Now all these are added to prevent the scandalous liberties of divorce, which was practised upon every trifling occasion among Jews and Romans:[2] insomuch that one of their rabbies had impiously affirmed it to be sufficient for divorce, if another woman was

[96] Alex. ab Alex. l. 2, c. 5. Xenophon. Cyropæd. l. 8. Servius in Virgil. Æn. 4, ver. 104. [97] Tobit vii. 13. [98] Greg. Naz. Ep. 57, ad Anys. [99] Lord Coke on Littleton's Tenures, c. 1. [100] A aver et tener, Littl. c. 1, p. 1. Lord Coke on Littleton's Tenures, c. 1. [1] 1 Cor. vii. 4. [2] Matt. xix. 3.

better liked by the man.[3] But this being so contrary to the nature of marriage, it is necessary it should be removed from all Christian societies: which cannot be more effectually done than by a particular recital at the time of marriage, of all the cases which may be pretended as the causes of a future dislike. And to prevent any objection, I suppose, that might afterwards be imagined from either party's declining in their comeliness or beauty, the York Manual, that was used in the northern parts of England before the Reformation, had an addition of the words, *for fairer for fouler*, (for it must be observed, that this mutual stipulation was always in English amongst our English papists, even when all the office besides was in Latin,) which Mr. Selden translates, *sive pulchrior fueris, sive invenustior:*[4] i. e. whether thou shalt be more or less handsome or comely. In all these conditions the engagement is the same, viz. the man is to *love and to cherish his wife*, and the woman to *love*, *cherish*, *and to obey her husband:* i. e. each of them must have the same regard for the other, and pay those duties which I have already shewed to be necessary and indispensable, whatsoever accidental varieties may happen. In the old Salisbury Manual, (that was used in the southern parts of England in the times of popery, as I have observed the York Manual was in the northern,) instead of the woman's stipulating to *love*, *cherish*, *and to obey* her husband, she engaged *to be bonair and buxum in bedde and at borde:* and so in the York Manual the Minister, in asking the woman's consent, instead of demanding of her, whether she would *serve* and *obey* her husband, asked her, whether she would be *buxum* to him. From whence we may observe, that whatever meaning those words have been perverted to since, they originally signified no more than to be *meek* and *obedient*. Accordingly, *meek* and *obedient* are added in the margin of the Manual, to explain them; and so they are interpreted in the Saxon dictionaries, agreeably to which they are translated by Mr. Selden, *Ero officiosa ac obediens*.[5] But to return to our present form: the next particular is the rule by which the compact is made, viz. *according to God's holy ordinance*. The words before the Reformation were, *if holy Church it woll ordaine*,[6] i. e. I suppose, if

[3] Rabbi Akiba, as cited by Dr. Comber on the Common Prayer, folio edition, p. 667
[4] Seld. Uxor. Ebraic. l. 2, c. 27, p. 197. [5] Uxor. Ebraic. l. 2, c. 27, p. 194.
[6] See the old Manuals, and Selden, ut supra, p. 194.

there be no ecclesiastical law to the contrary. But I think the modern words are better: which may either be referred to every part of the present stipulation, so as to imply that all the branches thereof are agreeable to the divine institution; or else they may be peculiarly applied to the two last clauses, that each of the parties will *love and cherish*, &c. the other *till death part them*; which, I have shewed, is according to the ordinance of God. Lastly, here is the ratification of all the former particulars in the ancient form, *and thereto I plight*, (as the man says;) or, (as the woman,) *I give thee my troth*; i. e. for the performance of all that has been said, each of them lays their faith or truth to pledge: as much as if they had said, If I perform not the covenant I have made, let me forfeit my credit, and never be counted just, or honest, or faithful more.

The ring the remains of the old coemption.

IV. But besides the invisible pledge of our fidelity, the man is also obliged to deliver a visible pledge: which the rubric directs shall be a *ring*; which, by the first Common Prayer Book of king Edward VI., was to be accompanied with *other tokens of spousage, as gold or silver*. This lets us into the *meaning* and *design* of the ring, and intimates it to be the remains of an ancient custom, whereby it was usual for the man to purchase the woman, laying down for the price of her a certain sum of money,[7] or else performing certain articles or conditions, which the father of the damsel would accept of as an equivalent.[8] Among the Romans this was called *coemption* or purchasing, and was accounted the firmest kind of marriage which they had; and from them was delivered down amongst the western Christians, by whom the custom is still preserved in the ring;[9] which is given as a pledge, or in part of payment of the dowry that the woman is to be entitled to by the marriage; and by the acceptance of which the woman, at the same time, declares herself content, and in return espouses or makes over herself to the man. Accordingly in the old Manual for the use of Salisbury, before the Minister proceeds to the marriage, he is directed *to ask the woman's dowry*, viz. *the tokens of spousage: and by these tokens of spousage are to be understood rings, or money, or some other things to be given to the woman by the man; which said giving is called subarration*,

[7] Gen. xxxiv. 12. Exod. xxii. 17. Deut. xxii. 29. [8] Gen. xxix. 18, 27, 30. 1 Sam. xvii. 25. and chap. xviii. 17, 25. [9] Selden. Uxor. Ebraic. l. 2, c. 25, page 183, 184.

(i. e. wedding or covenanting,) *especially when it is done by the giving of a ring.*

The reason why a ring was pitched upon for the pledge, rather than any thing else, I suppose, was, because anciently the ring was a *seal*, by which all orders were signed, and things of value secured ;[10] and therefore the delivery of it was a sign that the person, to whom it was given, was admitted into the highest friendship and trust.[11] For which reason it was adopted as a ceremony in marriage, to denote that the wife, in consideration of her being espoused to the man, was admitted as a sharer in her husband's counsels, and a joint partner in his honour and estate : and therefore we find that not only the *ring*, but the *keys* also were in former times delivered to her at the marriage.[12] That the ring was in use amongst the old Romans, we have several undoubted testimonies.[13] And that the use of it was not owing to any superstition amongst them, we have the authority of Tertullian, a very ancient Father of the Christian Church.[14] Pliny indeed tells us, that in his time the Romans used an *iron* ring, without any jewel :[15] but Tertullian hints, that in the former ages it was a ring of *gold ;*[16] which being the nobler and purer metal, and continuing longer uncorrupted, was thought to intimate the generous, sincere, and durable affection which ought to be between the married parties.[17] As to the form of it, being *round* (which was the most perfect of all figures, and was used by the ancients as the hieroglyphic of eternity) was understood to imply, that the conjugal love should never have an end.[18]

Why a ring rather than any thing else.

Why a gold one.

What intimated by its roundness.

But these seem only allegorical significations ; the use of it, we have seen, was instituted at first to imply something more ; viz. that the woman, in consideration of a certain dowry contracted for by the man, of which the ring is delivered as an earnest and pledge, espouses and makes over herself to him as his wife. With this signification it has been used by Christians in all ages, and all parts of the Church :[19] and for the same intent it is prescribed

An ancient and universal rite.

[10] Gen. xxxviii. 18. Esther iii. 10, 12. 1 Maccab. vi. 15. [11] Gen. xli. 42. [12] Ant. Hotman. de Vet. Rit. Nuptiar. c. 25. [13] Juvenal. Sat. vi. ver. 26, 27. Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 3, c. 1. Tertull. Apol. c. 6, p. 7, A. [14] De Idol. c. 16. [15] Plin. ut supra. [16] Apol. c. 6, page 7, A. [17] Scalig. Poet. l. 3, c. 100. [18] Scalig. ib. Isid. de Divin. Offic. l. 2, c. 15. Vide et Rationalia Divin. Offic. [19] Clem. Alex. Pædag. l. 3, c. 11, p. 245, C. Ambr. l. 14, Ep. 34. Isidor. Hyspal. Etymol. l. 19, c. 32 p. 268, et de Offic. Eccl. l. 2, c. 19, p. 608, col. 2, C. et D.

by our own, as is evident from the words which are spoken at the delivery of it, and from the prayer which follows immediately after; where the *giving and receiving it is called a token and pledge of the vow and covenant betwixt them made.* The same is practised by the modern Jews,[20] who it is not likely would have taken up the custom in imitation of the Christians, and who therefore probably received it from their forefathers. Good reason therefore had our judicious reformers to retain a rite so ancient and universal, and which even Bucer himself (who, one would think, was as scrupulous as any man need to be) thought fit to approve of as decent and proper.[21]

Why laid upon the book.

§. 2. Before the ring may be given to the woman, the man must *lay it upon the book, with the accustomed duty to the Priest and Clerk.* And the Priest taking the ring shall deliver it unto the man, intimating, to be sure, that it is our duty to offer up all we have to God as the true proprietor, before we use them ourselves; and to receive them as from his hand, to be employed towards his glory.

Why put upon the fourth finger of the woman's left hand.

§. 3. When the man espouses his wife with it, he is to *put it upon the fourth finger of her left hand.* The reason of this, the rubric of the Salisbury Manual says, is because from thence there proceeds a particular vein to the heart. This indeed is now contradicted by experience: but several eminent authors, as well Gentiles as Christians, as well physicians as divines, were formerly of this opinion; and therefore they thought this finger the properest to bear this pledge of love, that from thence it might be conveyed, as it were, to the heart.[22] However, the moral may safely be retained, viz. that the husband hereby expresses the dearest love to his spouse, which ought to reach her heart, and engage her affections to him again. If we should add the other reason of placing the ring upon this finger, viz. its being the least active finger of the hand least used, upon which therefore the ring may be always in view, and yet least subject to be worn out; this also may teach us, that the two parties should carefully cherish each other's love, that so it may endure and last for ever.

[20] Buxtorf. Synag. Judaic. c. 39, p. 633, and Ockley's History of the present Jews, p. 170, 171. [21] Bucer. Censur. p. 488. [22] Alex. ab Alex. Gen. Dier. l. 2, c. 19. Appian. in lib. Egypt. et ex eo. Aul. Gel. Noct. Attic. l. 10, c. 10. Isidor. Hyspal. in locis supra citatis, Durand. Rational. l. 3, c. 14. Atrejus Capit. in Macrob. Saturn. l. 7, c. 13. Levinus Lemn. et Forrestus ap. Brown.

§. 4. The *man holding the ring therefore upon this finger, being taught by the Priest*, and speaking to his wife, he assures her, that this is a visible pledge that he now takes her to his wedded wife: *With this ring I thee wed*, or make a covenant with thee, (for so the word signifies,[23]) that all the rights and privileges of a lawful wife do from this instant belong to thee. After these words, in the first book of king Edward VI. followed, *This gold and silver I thee give:* at the repeating of which words it was customary to give the woman a purse of money, *as livery and seisin of their estate:* but this was left out of the second book, probably because it was more than some people could perform. Besides, by what has been said, it appears that the design of it is fully enough answered by the delivery of the ring.

The words explained.

With this ring I thee wed;

The man therefore having wedded her with the ring, in the next words proceeds to assign over the rights accruing to her thereby. The first of these is *honour*, and therefore he immediately adds, *With my body I thee worship:* i. e. with my body I thee *honour:* for so the word signifies in this place; and so Mr. Selden,[24] and before him Martin Bucer,[25] who lived at the time when our Liturgy was compiled, have translated it. The design of it is to express that the woman, by virtue of this marriage, has a share in all the titles and honours which are due or belong to the person of her husband.[26] It is true the modern sense of the word is somewhat different: for which reason I find that at the review of our Liturgy, after the restoration of king Charles II., *worship* was promised to be changed for *honour*.[27] How the alteration came to be omitted I cannot discover: but so long as the old word is explained in the sense that I have given of it, one would think no objection could be urged against the using it.

With my body I thee worship;

But to proceed: the second right accruing to the wife by virtue of her marriage is *maintenance:* and therefore the husband adds in the next place, *With all my worldly goods I thee endow*. And those that retain the old custom of giving the woman gold and silver, take the opportunity of these words to deliver to

And with all my worldly goods I thee endow.

[23] See the Saxon dictionaries. [24] Corpore meo te dignor. Uxor. Ebraic. l. 2, c. 27, p. 206. [25] Cum meo corpore te honoro. Bucer. Script. Anglican. p. 443. [26] Hooker's Ecclesiast. Polity, l. 5, §. 73. [27] See the Papers that passed between the Commissioners, &c., page ult.

her a purse. But I have shewed that formerly other words were provided for the doing of this: and the design of the words I am now speaking of is not so much to *invest* the woman with a right to all her husband's goods, as to *declare* that by marriage she has acquired such right. For from the very instant of their making the mutual stipulation, the woman has a right to sue for a maintenance during the life of her husband, should he be so brutish as to deny it; and after his decease, is entitled to a third, or perhaps a larger share (according to the laws of the place where she lives) in all her husband's goods and chattels, and may further demand what the law calls her *quarentine*, which is lodging and maintenance in his best mansion-house for forty days after his death.[28]

Nor is this either a new or an unreasonable privilege; for it was a law of Romulus, the first king of the Romans, that the wedded wife who was married to a man according to the sacred laws, was to have all that he had in common with himself.[29] And the same is affirmed long after by Cicero, viz. that they ought to have one house, and all things common.[30] For this reason the Roman laws would not allow of donations to be made between a man and his wife, because they were to enjoy their estates in common;[31] which community of goods they also expressed by offering the wife *fire* and *water* at her first coming into her husband's house, and by that usual expression, *Ubi tu Caius, ego Caia*, Where you are master, I am mistress.[32] Nor did this only continue during his life: for the laws of Rome appointed the wife to be the sole heir, when her husband died without issue; and if he left children, she was at least to have a child's part, and to be reckoned as a daughter.[33] Only it is to be noted, that during the husband's life, the wife has no power to alienate or dispose of any thing without her husband's consent, but only to enjoy and use it as there is occasion. The same privileges undoubtedly belong to the wives of Christians; and indeed reason determines very strongly on their side. The woman assigns all that she is possessed of to her husband at the marriage; and what less can the man do in return of such kindness, and in compensation for what he enjoys by her, than invest her with the enjoyment of what is his? Even the barbarous Gauls were used

[28] Selden, Uxor. Ebraic. l. 2, c. 27, p. 202. [29] Dion. Halicarn. l. 2. [30] Offic. l. 1. [31] Plut. L. de Præcept. Connub. [32] Ant. Hotman. de Vet. Rit. Nupt. c. 18. [33] Dion. Halicarn. l. 2. Ulpian. Fragm. tit. 22, §. sui Hæredes. Aul. Gel. l. 18, c. 6.

to give as much out of their own estates as they received in portion with their wives, and out of those two sums to make provision for the woman, if she survived the man.[34] And surely Christians should not come behind the heathens in such reasonable duties, it being unjust and unworthy to suffer any person to sustain damage by their kindness, where we are able to requite them.

In the name of the Father, &c.

But to conclude: the last part of these words, *In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, Amen*, are a solemn confirmation of the engagement here made, being an invocation of the sacred Trinity as witness to this compact, who will therefore undoubtedly revenge the perjury on those who break it.

The prayer.

V. And now the covenant being finished, it is very requisite we should desire a blessing on it; for even the heathens looked upon their marriage-covenant as inauspicious, if it were not accompanied with a sacrifice.[35] And therefore Christians sure can do no less than call upon the divine Majesty upon the like occasion. For this reason, *the man leaving the ring upon the fourth finger of the woman's left hand, and both of them kneeling down*, the Minister begs for them the blessing of God, that they may always perform and keep the covenant which they have now been making.*

The ratification.

VI. And as it was an ancient custom among the Romans, and other heathens, for masters to ratify the marriages of their servants; so, since we profess to be the servants of God, it is necessary that he should confirm our contract. To which end the Priest, who is his representative, *joining the right hands* of the married persons together, declares, in the words of our blessed Lord,[36] that they are joined by God, and that therefore no human power can separate them: *those whom God hath joined together, let no man put asunder.*

The publication.

VII. And now the holy covenant being firmly made, it ought to be duly published and proclaimed: and therefore the Minister, in the next place, *speaking unto the people*, and recapitulating all that has been done between them, makes proclamation that the marriage is legal

* In this prayer, as it stood in king Edward's first Liturgy, there was a parenthesis, I suppose alluding to the ring, which was afterwards left out, viz. "That as Isaac and Rebekah (after bracelets and jewels of gold given of the one to the other for tokens of their matrimony) lived faithfully together; so these persons," &c.

[34] Cæsar. de Bell. Gallic. lib. 6. [35] Ant. Hotman. de Vet. Rit. Nupt. c. 29, apud Grævii Thesaur. Antiq. Roman. tom. viii. col. 1141, C. [36] Matt. xix. 6.

and valid, and *pronounces that they be man and wife together, in the name*, and by the authority, *of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.*

The blessing.

VIII. With a blessing from whom, this part of the office is in the next place concluded. For the covenant being made by the authority of God, the institution being his, the method his, and he being the author, witness, and ratifier of this contract; what could be added more properly at the conclusion, than a solemn benediction from that holy, blessed, and undivided Trinity, who is so many ways engaged to bless it?

SECT. VI.—*Of the Introits, or Psalms.*

Why to go to the Lord's table.

THE marriage-covenant being now completed, *the Minister and clerks* (of whom I have taken occasion to speak before[37]) *are to go to the Lord's table.* For by all the Common Prayer Books till the last review, the new-married persons were obliged to receive the holy Communion the same day of their marriage.[38] Our present rubric indeed does not insist upon this; for what reason it does not, I shall shew by and by.[39] But it still declares *it is convenient* they should do so; and therefore, that they may not omit it for want of being reminded, they are ordered to accompany the *Minister and the clerks to the Lord's table.*

A psalm, why to be said whilst going to the Lord's table.

§. 2. And whilst they are *going*, either *the Minister or clerks are to say or sing* a proper psalm, which was appointed, I suppose, instead of the introit, which, I have already shewed,[40] was a psalm some way or other proper to the day, and said or sung whilst the Priest was going to the altar.

How proper to the solemnity.

§. 3. And it is certain that psalms are very fit to attend a marriage solemnity, which was ever reputed a time of joy, and generally attended with songs and music. Solomon's spouse was brought to him with joy and gladness;[41] and in the nuptials of the Gentiles, nothing was more usual than minstrels and musical instruments, songs to Hymen, Epithalamiums, and Fescennine verses.[42] But these being expressions of a looser mirth than becometh Christians, the Church hath hallowed our joy, by choosing holy psalms for the exercise and expression of it, in

[37] See pages 153, 154. [38] See the Rubric at the end of the office, in the old Common Prayer Books. [39] In the last section. [40] Page 204. [41] Psalm xlv. 15, 16. [42] Terent. Adelph. act. 5, scen. 7. Vide et Brisson. de Ritu Nuptiar. p. 83, et p. 90, 91.

obedience to the precept of the Apostle St. James, who, *when we are merry*, bids us *sing psalms*.[43]

§. 4. There are two appointed in this place for variety: but the first is generally used, as being more proper for the occasion, being thought by some to have been drawn up for an Epithalamium or marriage song,[44] and for that reason taken into the marriage office by all Christians in the world.[45] Psalm cxxviii.

§. 5. The other is proper to be used sometimes, when the age of the parties perhaps, not giving a prospect of the blessings mentioned in the foregoing psalm, renders that not so suitable to the occasion. Psalm lxvii.

SECT. VII.—*Of the Supplications and Prayers to be used at the Lord's Table.*

I. THE Minister being got into the choir, and *the man and the woman kneeling before the Lord's table*, the Priest, before he proceeds to the office for the Communion, (which I have already hinted was the design of their coming hither,) offers up some further prayers and supplications for a blessing upon the parties. These are introduced with the ancient form, *Lord have mercy upon us*, &c. To which is immediately subjoined the Lord's Prayer, which sanctifies and makes way for all the rest. And being thus prepared, we proceed to some supplications chosen out of the Psalms,[46] and put into the form of versicles and responses, that all the company may shew their love and affection to their friends, by publicly joining in these short petitions for them. The Lord's Prayer and responses.

II. After these follow three prayers to be used by the Minister alone; the first being a prayer for spiritual blessings;* the second for the temporal blessing of children, which is the chief end of marriage, and which is the blessing that God pronounced at first to Adam and Eve,[47] and which all mankind hath ever since wished to new-married persons,[48]† and which is therefore always The three prayers.

* In the first of these prayers, instead of the words—"And as thou didst send thy blessing upon Abraham and Sarah, to their great comfort;" in the Common Prayer of 1549, the expression was—"And as thou didst send thy angel Raphael to Tobie and Sarah the daughter of Raguel, to their great comfort:" but this alluding to an apocryphal instance, it was, at the review in 1551, better changed for a canonical one.

† In all the former books this was a hearty prayer for a long life to the new-married

[43] James v. 13. [44] Vide Mull. et Musc. in Ps. cxxviii. [45] Vide Eucholog. Offic. Coron. p. 386, et Manual. Sarisb. Ord. Sponsal. fol. 39. [46] Ps. lxxxvi. 2. xx. 2. lxi. 3. lxi. 1. [47] Gen. i. 28. [48] Gen. xxiv. 60. Ruth iv. 11, 12.

to be asked at the solemnization of a marriage, except the advanced age of the persons makes our prayers unlikely to prevail, in which case our rubric has therefore ordered it to be omitted. The last prayer is made for the accomplishing of those duties which are aptly signified and implied by marriage.

The blessing.

III. Last of all there is added a blessing, the words of which have an evident respect to the prayer immediately foregoing; which was offered up upon such excellent grounds, and with so very great a probability of success, that the Priest may boldly venture to pronounce and insure it to the parties, if they are but duly prepared to receive it.

SECT. VIII.—*Of the Exhortation.*

The Communion Service to begin here.

IN all the old Common Prayer Books (i. e. till the last review) the rubric before this Exhortation was worded thus:

¶ *Then* [*shall begin the Communion. And**] *after the Gospel shall be said a Sermon, wherein ordinarily* (*so oft as there is any marriage*) *the office of a man and wife shall be declared, according to holy Scripture; or, if there be no Sermon, the Minister shall read this that followeth.*

Why the rubric was altered, shall be shewn in the next section. In the mean while I shall observe, that if the married persons are disposed to communicate, the office for the Communion must still begin immediately after the forementioned blessing. And after the Gospel and Nicene Creed, if there be no Sermon declaring the duties of man and wife, the Exhortation here appointed is to be read instead of it.

The design of the Exhortation.

§. 2. For the married persons having mutually engaged to live together *according to God's holy ordinance*, i. e. according to those laws which he has ordained in his word; it is very necessary they should hear and know what those laws are which they have engaged to perform. It was God's own command, that the kings of

couple, the latter petition requesting, "that they might live together so long in godly love and honesty, that they might see their children's children, unto the third and fourth generation, to God's praise and honour," &c. In the following prayer also one of the petitions was a little differently expressed, viz. "And also that this woman may be loving and amiable to her husband as Rachel, wise as Rebecca, faithful and obedient as Sarah: and in all quietness," &c.

* In the first book of king Edward the words between the crotchets [ ] were not inserted: but the design was the same, the Gospel being ordered upon account of the Communion, which was also enjoined by the last rubric of that book as well as of the rest.

Israel should have a copy of the law delivered to them at their coronation;[49] and there is the same reason to give this abstract to those that have taken upon themselves the state of matrimony. For which reason, instead of the Epistle and Gospel used in the offices of the Greek and Roman Churches,[50] here is a full collection of the duties of both parties, drawn from the Epistles of two great Apostles, St. Peter and St. Paul, in imitation of the practice of the primitive Church, which, always after the celebration of a marriage, exhorted the parties to keep their matrimonial vow inviolate.[51]

SECT. IX.—*Of the last Rubric.*

How this rubric was worded formerly.

AT the end of the whole office is added a rubric, declaring, that *it is convenient that the new-married persons should receive the holy Communion at the time of their marriage, or at the first opportunity after their marriage.* In all the former Common Prayer Books this rubric was more positive, fixing and appointing the day of marriage for the time of communicating. *The new-married persons, the same day of their marriage, must receive the holy Communion.* And it was upon this account, as I have already observed, that the latter part of the office was ordered to be performed at the Lord's table, and that the Communion should be begun immediately after the blessing.

The occasion of the alteration was an exception that was made against this rubric by the Dissenting Ministers, at the Conference at the Savoy. They objected, that "this either enforced all such, as were unfit for the Sacrament, to forbear marriage, contrary to Scripture, which approves the marriage of all men; or else compelled all that should marry to come to the Lord's table, though never so unprepared. And for this reason, they desired the rubrics relating to the Communion might be omitted; and the rather, because that marriage-festivals are too often accompanied with such divertisements, as are unsuitable to those Christian duties, which ought to be before, and follow after, the receiving of that holy Sacrament."[52] To this the Episcopal Ministers answered, "That this rubric enforced none to forbear marriage, but presumed (as well it might) that all persons marriageable ought to be also fit to receive the holy Sacrament. And marriage being

[49] Deut. xvii. 18, 19. 2 Kings xi. 12. [50] Vide Eucholog. et Missal. [51] Aug. de Civ. Dei, l. 1, c. 27. [52] See an Account of the Proceedings of the Commissioners of both Persuasions, &c. p. 29. London, printed in 4to. 1661.

so solemn a covenant of God, they that undertook it in the fear of God, would not stick to seal it by receiving the holy Communion, and accordingly prepare themselves for it; and therefore it would have been more Christian to have desired that those licentious festivities might be suppressed, and the Communion more generally used by those that married, of which the happiness would be greater than could easily be expressed."[53] For which they quote that passage in Tertullian, *Unde sufficiam ad enarrandam felicitatem ejus Matrimonii, quod Ecclesia conciliat, et conformat Oblatio?*[54]

This was an answer which the Presbyterians knew not how to get over; and therefore, as usual, they only return an unmannerly reply. However, to oblige them, the rubric is altered, and persons are not now expressly required to communicate at their marriage, but only reminded that it is *convenient* so to do.

The advantage of communicating on the day of marriage.

But no serious person surely will think the Communion less proper or requisite, because the Church has left it more to their discretion. As to the objection of these Puritans, that "marriage-festivals are too often accompanied with such divertisements as are unsuitable to the Sacrament;" a sober man would be apt to think, that this should rather be a reason why the Sacrament should be joined to this office, viz. that the reverence of this holy institution might banish those vain and wicked revels from Christian marriages. And certainly since one must be spared, it is much better to part with a licentious custom, than a religious duty. The passage of Tertullian, cited above, shews what opinion the primitive Church had of a marriage so decently solemnized; and no office, I believe, but the Geneva Order,[55] ever forbad, nor no Christians, I believe, but the English Puritans, ever found fault with, the administering of the Eucharist upon the wedding-day: and neither of these, I dare say, will influence the good dispositions of considerate men. The sober and serious will still believe, that when this holy Sacrament attends the Nuptials, the office will be esteemed more sacred and venerable, the persons will act more considerately and gravely, and the marriage-vow receive new strength from its being confirmed by so solemn an engagement.

[53] See the Papers that passed between the Commissioners, &c. p. 122. [54] Tertull. ad Uxor. l. 2, c. 8, p. 171, D. [55] Ordin. Eccles. Genev. 134.

CHAPTER XI.

OF THE ORDER FOR THE VISITATION OF THE SICK.

THE INTRODUCTION.

In a world so full of casualties as this we live in, in which sickness and even death sometimes interrupts the marriage solemnities, it should be no matter of surprise that this melancholy office is placed immediately after that of matrimony. The eastern emperors thought it not unsuitable to choose their sepulchre on the day of their coronation.[1] And it would not a little tend to temper and moderate the exuberant joys which sometimes attend the festivities of marriage, if by casting an eye on the following form, we should call to mind, that the next and longer scene may be calamitous.

Why this office is placed next to that of matrimony.

§. 2. It is certain that no age nor sex, no state nor condition, can secure us from sickness; and therefore, as no man should forget that it will, one day or other, come to be his own lot; so should all men take care to comfort those who at present lie under this calamity. So that this is a duty which all Christians are obliged to, and to which great promises are annexed,[2] and which was therefore always esteemed, by the ancient Fathers of the Church, to be one of the most solemn exercises of religion.[3]

Visiting the sick a duty incumbent upon all.

§. 3. The Clergy more especially are expressly required to perform this duty by a divine command. For though private friends may pray for us, and with us, yet we can by no means place such confidence in their prayers, as we may in those that are sent to heaven in our behalf, by such as are peculiarly commissioned to offer them. For this reason it is enjoined by Saint James,[4] that *if any be sick, they call for the elders of the Church.* From whence we may observe that the care of sending for the Minister is left to the sick. For the Priest himself, it is very probable, may never have heard of his sickness; or, if he has, may not be so good a judge when his visit will be seasonable, or when the party is best able to join with him.

Especially upon the Clergy;

Whom the sick are to send for,

[1] Dionys. Carthus. de 4. Noviss. Art. 14. [2] Matt. xxv. 44, 45. Heb. xiii. 3. James i. 27. Ecclus. vii. 35. [3] Tertull. de Cult. Fœm. l. 2, c. 11, p. 159, C. [4] James v. 14, 15.

At the beginning of their sickness;

§. 4. For this reason it is ordered by the rubric, that *when any person is sick, notice shall be given thereof to the Minister of the parish:* i. e. not when the person is just expiring, (as is too often the case,) but when the distemper or disease first discovers its approach. To put it off to the last scene of life, is to defer the office till it can do no good. For when the distemper is grown past recovery, to pray for his restoration is only to mock the Almighty: and what spiritual advantage can be proposed or expected from the Minister's assistance, to one who is unable to do any thing for himself? For this reason it is the advice of the wise man, that in the time of our sickness we take care of our souls in the first place, and then afterwards give place to the physician.[5] And among the ancient constitutions of this Church, *a strict charge is laid upon the bodily physicians, that, when they are at any time called to the sick, they do before all things persuade them to send for the physician of souls, that, when care is taken for the sick man's spirit, they may more successfully proceed to the remedies of external medicines.*[6]

Who are to go without delay.

§. 5. It is the sick person's duty therefore to give the Minister notice, and the Minister's to go when notice is given: for by the sixty-seventh canon of the Church, it is ordered, that *when any person is dangerously sick in any parish, the Minister or Curate (having knowledge thereof) shall resort unto him or her (if the disease be not known, or probably suspected to be infectious) to instruct and comfort them in their distress, according to the order of the Communion Book, if he be no Preacher; or if he be a Preacher, then as he shall think most needful and convenient.* Which last words evidently allow a *preaching* Minister (that is, a Minister who is licensed to preach) the liberty of using either this order, or any other, as he shall see convenient. And it is certain that the order prescribed by the Common Prayer Book is very deficient in several cases. For which reason bishop Andrews and others have drawn up offices to supply the defect; though it may be questioned, whether, by the Act for the Uniformity of public prayers, we be not restrained from private forms. At least it were to be wished

Whether the Minister be confined to the present order.

[5] Ecclus. xxxvii. 9, 10, 11, 12.

[6] Constit. Richard. Episc. Sarum. A. D. 1217. apud Spelm. Concil. tom. ii.

that some more copious office was provided by authority, which might take in the various conditions of the sick, for which they that confine themselves to the present order are often at a loss.

SECT. I.—*Of the Salutation.*

THE minister of the parish coming into the sick man's house, is to say, *Peace be to this house, and to all that dwell in it:* which is the same salutation that our Saviour commanded his Apostles to use to every house into which they should enter.[7] And (which is particular to our purpose) one main part of the Apostles' errand was to *heal the sick*.[8] We know indeed the Apostles worked miraculous cures: however, when the gift was ceased, the salutation remained; which therefore we use to this very day in visiting the sick, since we still go on the same charitable account, though not endued with the same power. And the sense of the words is very suitable: for *peace* signifies all outward blessings, though, when used in salutations, it generally imports *health*. For which reason, in Joseph's inquiry[9] after the health of his father, though the Hebrew text expresses it, *Is there peace to your father?* our translation renders it, *Is your father well?* to which the Septuagint reading also exactly corresponds, viz. *Is your father in health?* When therefore a family is visited with sickness or distress, what better salutation can we use than this, viz. that they may all have *peace*, i. e. health and prosperity? And as the apostolical salutation was not a mere compliment, but a real benediction to those that were worthy;[10] so shall this of ours prevail for what we ask to that house which is prepared to receive it. For which reason the family should receive it with thankfulness and faith, and welcome with joy the ambassador of heaven, who in the time of their calamity comes with health and salvation to their dwelling.

The Salutation.

SECT. II.—*Of the Supplications and Prayers.*

I. WHEN the Minister is come into the sick man's presence, he is to begin the Supplications. By the first book of king Edward, these were introduced with the hundred and forty-third Psalm; which, upon whatever occasion it was composed, is very proper and

Psalm cxliii. used formerly.

[7] Luke x. 5. [8] Ver. 9. [9] Genesis xliii. 27. [10] Luke x. 6.

applicable to any state of affliction. But at the next review this Psalm was left out, and the office has ever since begun with the sentence out of the Litany. For the Litany being designed for the averting of evil, and the proper office for a state of affliction, would have been very proper to be used here entirely, but that it is supposed the sick man cannot attend so long. For which reason there is only one sentence taken out of the whole, to deprecate both *our own* and the *iniquities of our forefathers*, which so long as God remembers, his holiness and justice will oblige him to punish us more and more. And because all of us equally deserve to be afflicted, as well as the person for whom we are going to pray, therefore all that are present join to say both for themselves and him, *Spare us, good Lord.*

The Sentence out of the Litany.

II. And as all that came to JESUS for help used to cry, *Lord have mercy upon us;*[11] so do we here, on the like occasion, supplicate and beseech the whole Trinity for *mercy*, in that ancient form of which we have already spoken.[12]

Lord have mercy upon us, &c.

III. When we have thus prayed against evil, we proceed to petition for those good things which the sick man's condition makes him stand in need of. And that our prayers may be the more prevailing, they are introduced as usual with the *Prayer of our Lord*, which is more particularly proper here, as being very suitable to a state of trouble.

The Lord's Prayer.

IV. This is followed by some short *Responses*, in which all that are present are to join with the Priest in behalf of the sick, who will doubtless be refreshed by the charity and devotion of so many supplicants, with united requests, petitioning the throne of grace for him.*

The Versicles and Responses.

V. After this the Minister proceeds to collect the requests of the people into a short prayer; wherein he begs, that whilst the sickness remains, it may be made easy to bear, by the comforts of divine grace continually bestowed upon the person that suffers.

The first Collect.

VI. And then, in another prayer, he proceeds further to beg that the correction may be sancti-

The second Collect.

* The places of the Psalms, whence they are taken, have already been shewed upon the office of Matrimony:[13] here is only one added for the preservation of the sick from the malice of the devil, which is taken from Psalm lxxxix. 23, according to the old Latin translation.

[11] Matt. ix. 27. xv. 22. xvii. 15. xx. 30, 31. [12] Page 152, 153. [13] Page 423.

fied, so that, whether it end in life or death, it may turn to his advantage.

§. 2. This last prayer was shorter before the last review: how it ran then may be seen in the margin,* where the instances borrowed from the Roman offices, being examples of miraculous cures which are not now to be expected, were prudently left out, and supplied with some other more suitable petitions; which must be allowed to be a good improvement of the form. How this prayer was worded formerly.

SECT. III.—*Of the Exhortation.*

IT is a part of the Minister's office to exhort, as well as to pray for their people, and that not only in time of health, but also in sickness:[14] for then they stand in most need of directions, and are then most likely to follow wholesome advice. The Church therefore, being unwilling to lose so likely an opportunity of doing good, when the sufferings of the patient make him tender and tractable, hath drawn up a proper and pious Exhortation, to improve that happy temper for his soul's salvation. The form here prescribed exactly agrees with the heads of Exhortation, which the Priest was ordered to use to the sick by an ancient Council above eight hundred years ago.[15] It consists first of *Instructions*, concerning the author of afflictions, the ends for which they are sent, the manner how we are to bear them, and the benefits of improving them. And here, *if the person be very sick, the Curate may end his Exhortation.* The first part.

But if his distemper will allow him to proceed, the Minister is to admonish and stir him up to the practice of those virtues which are now especially needful: such as, in the first place, is *patience;* since, till his mind is made calm, it is vain to press him either to faith or repentance. For which reason this second part of the Exhortation we are speaking of endeavours to cheer up the spirits of the sick, by proper arguments, precepts, and examples. The second part.

* After the words—"grieved with sickness," it ran thus: "Visit him, O Lord, as thou didst visit Peter's wife's mother, and the captain's servant. [And as thou preservedst Tobie and Sarah by thy angel from danger;] so visit and restore unto this sick person his former health, (if it be thy will,) or else give him grace so to take thy visitation, that after this painful life ended, he may dwell with thee in life everlasting. Amen." But note, the clause within the crotchets [ ] concerning Tobie and Sarah, was only in the first book of king Edward, which also omitted the words "visit and," and instead of "visitation" read "correction."

[14] 1 Thess. v. 14. 2 Tim. iv. 2. [15] Concil. Nannetens. c. 4, apud Binium, tom. iii. par. 2, pag. 131.

The examination of the sick.

And now, being in hopes that his mind is composed, the Minister proceeds to give him such advice as is proper for one that is preparing for death. And since at his Baptism he made a solemn vow to God, which he promised to keep all the days of his life; it is fit he should examine, now the end of his life may probably draw near, how he has performed and discharged that promise. And because one part of his vow was, *to believe all the Articles of the Christian faith*, therefore the Priest particularly inquires into the sick man's belief. For to doubt of or deny any of these articles, is declared to be a dangerous and damnable state. It is to forsake the faith into which he was baptized: and what else is this but to cut himself off from all the privileges and advantages to which his baptism entitled him? For which reason it is necessary that our brother should shew that he has kept this faith entire, that so we may be satisfied that he dies a sound member of the Catholic Church, out of which no salvation can ordinarily be obtained.

SECT. IV.—*Of the Examination and Exhortation according to the direction in the Rubric.*

The discretional examination of the sick person.

THE former Exhortation agrees to all sick persons in general, and is therefore prescribed in a set form. But since the cases and tempers of men in sickness are very different, the Church leaves it to the discretion of the Minister who visits, to assist and direct them in other matters, as he sees the particular case requires. She only prescribes the heads of Examination, and leaves the management and expression to the prudence of the Minister, since no form could possibly be contrived, that should suit all the variety of circumstances that happen.

1. As to his repentance.

§. 1. The first direction given (which was added at the last review) is, that the *Minister shall examine whether he repent him truly of his sins*. For it is very certain that all have sinned,[16] and consequently that all have need of repentance; and therefore before the Minister can give the sick man comfort upon any good grounds, it is fit that he should be satisfied of the truth of his repentance.

2. As to his charity.

§. 2. In the next place he is to examine, *Whether he be in charity with all the world, exhorting him to forgive, from the bottom of his*

[16] Rom. iii. 23.

heart, all persons that have offended him. For there is not any duty more enforced in the Gospel, than that of brotherly reconciliation, or forgiving of injuries, which even in the prayer that our Lord has taught us is made the condition of God's forgiving us. The example therefore of our Lord and his first martyr St. Stephen, who prayed for their murderers, at the very instant of their death, should always be considered upon these occasions. *Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do*;[17] and, *Lord, lay not this sin to their charge*,[18] which were their dying words, should always be ours. For sure it is high time for men to forget their resentments against their neighbours, when they are just going to answer for their own misdoings: especially when we are taught so plainly by our Saviour, that unless we have compassion on our fellow-servants, our Lord will exact from us all that we owe to him, and will deliver us over to the tormentors till we shall have paid what is due.[19]

But besides the sick person's forgiving those that have offended him, *if he has offended any other, he must ask them forgiveness; and where he hath done injury or wrong to any man, he must also make amends to the uttermost of his power.* For he who refuses to do this is not a penitent for the injury he has done, but would certainly do more, if he had time and opportunity; and therefore he can expect nothing but condemnation from that Judge, who knows the tendency and temper of his mind. Our Lord, we know, did not receive Zacchæus into the number of his followers or disciples, till he had made profession of his willingness to restore:[20] who then can expect to be received into his kingdom, that refuses so necessary a part of justice? Since therefore the sick person may now, for what he knows, be going to appear before the Judge of all the world, from whom *he that doth wrong shall receive for the wrong which he hath done, without respect of persons*;[21] how much doth it concern him to *agree with his adversary while he is yet in the way with him, lest afterwards the adversary deliver him to the judge, and the judge deliver him to the officer, and so he be cast into prison, from whence he shall by no means come out till he has paid the uttermost farthing.*[22] So necessary is it even for those who but suspect themselves of any wrongful deed, to judge and examine them-

[17] Luke xxiii. 34. [18] Acts vii. 60. [19] Matt. xviii. 23, &c. [20] Luke xix. 8. [21] Col. iii. 25. [22] Matt. v. 25, 26.

selves with all possible strictness, and by public acknowledgments and tender of satisfaction to declare their unfeigned and hearty repentance.

He must be exhorted to settle his worldly affairs;

§. 3. After the exercise of these two branches of charity, should follow the third, viz. that of giving to the poor: but before the sick man be exhorted to this, it is necessary that he should know what is his own to give. For which reason, *if he has not before disposed of his goods, he is then to be admonished to make his will, and to declare his debts, what he oweth and what is owing unto him, for the better discharging of his conscience, and the quietness of his executors.* And though the making of a will be a secular matter, which does not relate to those spiritual concerns which the Minister comes to the sick man about; yet since the affairs of intestates are generally left in so confused a manner, that strifes and contests are often the result, it is very prudently enjoined by our Church, that the Minister should remind them of settling their affairs. *Men indeed should often be put in remembrance, to take order for the settling of their temporal estates whilst they are in health:* for no man is sure but that he may be taken off suddenly, without having time to perform it; or though he may be seized with a lingering disease, yet it may be such a one as may incapacitate him from doing it. Or supposing the best, that he may have timely notice or warning of his death, and his understanding hold good and perfect to the last; yet sure it must be a disturbance to a dying man, to have those moments taken up in ordering and disposing of his worldly affairs, which ought to be employed in preparing him for eternity. However, if our carelessness has deferred it till then, it must by no means be omitted now. We must not leave our friends and relations involved in endless suits and contentions; none of our family must be left unprovided for, through our neglect of assigning their portion; nor must our creditors be defrauded of their just demands, for want of our clearing or declaring our debts. If in any of these cases our last act be unjust, we leave a blot upon our name in this world, and can expect nothing but a sad doom in the next.

(But this may be done before the Minister begins his prayers.)

For this reason the Church makes it a part of the Minister's care. And by an ancient constitution made in the year 1236, people were forbid to make their Wills without the presence of the

Parish-Priest, as they desired that their Wills might be fulfilled.[23] However, if the Minister think this a matter of too secular a nature to be mingled with his discourses concerning his spiritual concerns, he is allowed to manage and despatch this first before he begins the holy office. For that is the intent of the following rubric, which allows, that *the words before rehearsed may be said before the Minister begin his prayer, as he shall see cause.* Which, if compared with king Edward's Common Prayer Books, plainly refers to the man's disposal of his goods; against which part of the direction the contents of this rubric are printed in the margin.*

§. 4. The man's affairs being now settled, and his circumstances known, the Minister, in the next place, is *not to omit earnestly to move him, if he be of ability, to be liberal to the poor.* By the old canon law every one was obliged to leave such a proportion of his goods or estate to charitable uses, as he bequeathed to each of his children.[24] This moiety, which belongeth to the Church, was laid up by the Bishop for the maintenance of the Clergy, the repair of the fabric, and the like. But we are only enjoined to put the rich in mind of the poor, that out of the abundance which they are going to leave, they should bestow some liberal largess on them. And indeed, of all our treasures, that alone which we thus dispose of is laid up in store for ourselves. Our good works are our only movables that shall follow us to the grave: and therefore there is no time more seasonable for them than sickness, when we are preparing to be gone.

And to be liberal to the poor.

§. 5. Besides the Examination and Exhortation above mentioned, the sick person is further *to be moved to make a special confession of his sins, if he feel his conscience troubled with any weighty matters;* i. e. I suppose, if he has committed any sin for which the censure of the Church ought to be inflicted, or else if he is perplexed concerning the nature, or some nice circumstances of his crime. It was upon the former of these cases, that private confession seems at first to have been appointed; for in the early ages of the Church, when the public humiliation of scandalous offenders was observed to be attended with some great advantages, many persons of zeal would not only rank themselves in the class of public penitents

The sick man to confess his sins.

* *This may be done before the Minister begin his prayers, as he shall see cause.*

[23] See Mr. Johnson's Ecclesiastical Laws, A. D. 1236, 29. [24] Decret. Par. 2, Caus. 13, Qu. 2.

for sins done in secret, but would even solemnly confess before the congregation the particular crime, for which they desired to make satisfaction, by submitting to penance. Now though it was fit that what had been openly committed in the face of the world should be openly retracted, that so the scandal might be removed; yet it might often happen, that in the case of secret sins, it would be better that the particulars should be kept concealed. For this reason a *Penitentiary*, or *Confessor*, was early appointed in every diocese, to whom persons in doubt should resort, and consult with him, what on the one hand might be fit for publication, and what on the other would be better kept secret. So that though public penance was still generally assigned for grievous offences that were privately committed; yet the person that confessed did not always make a public declaration of the fact, for which they appeared in the rank of penitents. The congregation to be sure knew that something had been committed which deserved that correction: but what the thing was, they were no otherwise acquainted with, than as the Penitentiary should advise or forbid the discovery. This is the best conjecture we are able to make concerning the rise of the Penitentiary's office; though we have some footsteps of private and secret confessions before we read of any stated confessor. For Origen, who lived at the beginning of the third century, speaks of private confessions as the received usage in his time, and only advises the choice of a person that was fit to be trusted.[25] And St. Cyprian, that lived much about the same time, commends the zeal of those that laid open even their thoughts and intentions of offering sacrifice to idols (though they had not yet proceeded to the fact) with grief and sincerity before the Priest.[26] And much the same advice is given by others, who mention private confession as a general and well-known practice, and only caution the penitents to choose such persons to consult with, as will be careful and tender of their reputation and safety.[27] And it was an imprudent direction of the penitentiaries at Constantinople, for the public confession of a sin which had been better concealed, that caused Nectarius, who was then bishop

The state of confession in the primitive Church.

[25] Origen. in Psal. xxxvii. Hom. 2. [26] Cypr. de Laps. [27] Greg. Nyssen. contra Eunom. Orat. 11, tom. ii. p. 705, de Pœnit. tom. ii. p. 175, 176. Paulin. in Vit. Ambros Basil. Regulæ Breviores, p. 614. Interrogat. 229, tom. ii. Lucian. in Parænes. sive Libell. ad Pœnit. Hieron. in Matt. xvi.

of that city, to abolish the office, and to strike the name of Penitentiary out of the ecclesiastical roll.[28] It appears indeed from St. Chrysostom,[29] that the public discipline of the Church was the same after this accident as it was before: only the confession of secret sins, which gave no scandal, was left from that time to the discretion and conscience of those who had committed them; who should judge for themselves, whether they should resort to, or abstain from, the holy Communion. Not but that they were at liberty, after the abolishing of this office, as much as they were before, to use the advice of a ghostly counsellor, if they found themselves in want of it: but then there was no peculiar officer, whose distinct business it should be to receive such applications; but every one was left to choose a confessor for himself, in whom he might safely confide.[30] And how far even this came to be afterwards abused, is too well known to need any proof: but no argument sure can be drawn, that because a practice has been abused, it should therefore cease to be used. The abuses of it should be reformed, but not the practice discontinued.

How far enjoined by the Church of England.

And therefore the Church of England at the Reformation, in the particular now before us, freed it from all the encroachments with which the Church of Rome had embarrassed it, and reduced confession to its primitive plan. She neither calls it a sacrament, nor requires it to be used as universally necessary: *but because it is requisite that no man should come to the holy Communion, but with a full trust in God's mercy, and with a quiet conscience;* she therefore advises, *that if there be any who is not able to quiet his own conscience, but requireth further comfort or counsel, he should come to his own, or some other discreet and learned Minister of God's word, and open his grief, that, by the ministry of God's holy word, he may receive the benefit of absolution, together with ghostly counsel and advice, to the quieting of his conscience, and avoiding of all scruple and doubtfulness.*[31] Here we see there is nothing arbitrarily prescribed, but every one is left to his own discretion: all that was absolutely enjoined, was only a mutual forbearance and peace; for the security of which a clause was added in the

[28] Socrat. Hist. Eccl. l. 5, c. 19, et Soz. l. 7, c. 17. [29] In Ep. ad Innocent. et in Ep. ad Hebræ. Hom. 4, et in 2 Cor. Hom. 4, et 18, et in Ephes. Hom. 3. [30] See all these particulars more largely treated of in Dr. Marshal's Penitential Discipline, chap. 2, part 1, §. 1. [31] See the conclusion of the first Exhortation to the holy Communion.

first book of king Edward, *requiring such as shall be satisfied with a general confession, not to be offended with them that do use, to their further satisfying, the auricular and secret confession to the Priest: nor those also which think needful and convenient, for the quietness of their own consciences, particularly to open their sins to the Priest, to be offended with them that are satisfied with their humble confessions to God, and the general confession to the Church. But in all things to follow and keep the rule of charity, and every man to be satisfied with his own conscience, not judging other men's minds or consciences; whereas he hath no warrant of God's word to the same.* What could have been added more judiciously than this, to temper, on the one hand, the rigours of those who were too apt at that time to insist upon confession as always absolutely necessary to salvation; and to prevent, on the other hand, a carelessness in those who, being prejudiced against the abuse, were apt indiscriminately to reject the thing, as at no time needful or useful to a penitent? So that we may still, I presume, wish, very consistently with the determination of our Church, that our people would apply themselves, oftener than they do, to their spiritual physicians, even in the time of their health; since it is much to be feared, they are wounded oftener than they complain, and yet, through aversion to disclosing their sore, suffer it to gangrene, for want of their help who should work the cure.

The benefits and advantages of it.

But present ease is not the only benefit the penitent may expect from his confessor's aid: he will be better assisted in the regulation of his life; and when his last conflict shall make its approach, the holy man, being no stranger to the state of his soul, will be better prepared to guide and conduct it through all difficulties that may oppose. However, if we have neglected to communicate our doubts and scruples in our health, we have more need of following the Apostle's advice when we are sick, viz. *to call for the elders of the Church, and to confess our faults* in order to engage their *fervent prayers*.[32] For this reason, though our Church leaves it in a manner to every one's discretion, in the time of health, whether they will be satisfied with a general confession to God and the Church; yet when they are sick, she thinks it proper that they *be* MOVED *to make a special confession of their sins to the Priest, if they feel*

[32] James v. 14, 16.

their consciences troubled with any weighty matter. For how will he be able to satisfy their doubts, if he be not let into the particulars of their case? Or with what assurance can he absolve them, or admit them to the peace and communion of the Church, before he is apprized how far they have deserved its censure and bonds? If then they are desirous of the following consolations which the Church has provided for their quiet and ease, it is fit they should first declare and make known what burden it is, from which they want to be freed. How far the Church can assist or relieve them, or what consolations they are which she administers, the *Absolution* here prescribed will lead us to consider; which, with the *Collect* that follows, shall make the subject of the next section.

SECT. V.—*Of the Absolution and the Collect following.*

The form of the absolution.

AFTER the sick person has made a special confession of his sins, as has been mentioned above, the Priest is *to absolve him, if he humbly and heartily desire it, after this sort:*

Our Lord Jesus Christ, who hath left power to his Church to absolve all sinners, who truly repent and believe in him, of his great mercy forgive thee thine offences: and by his authority committed to me, I absolve thee from all thy sins, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.

Seems only to respect the censures of the Church.

Now whether the Church designs, by this form, that the Priest shall directly convey God's pardon to the conscience of the sinner, for his sins and offences committed against him; or whether that he shall only remit the censures of the Church, and continue him in the privilege of Church-communion, which he may be supposed to have forfeited by the sins he has confessed, is thought by some not to be clearly or determinately expressed. But if we look forward to the *Collect* immediately after to be used, it looks as if the Church did only intend the remission of ecclesiastical censures and bonds. For in that prayer the penitent is said still *most earnestly to desire pardon and forgiveness:* which surely there would be no occasion to do, if he had been actually pardoned and forgiven by God, by virtue of the absolution pronounced before. Again, the Priest offers a special request, that God would *preserve and continue him in the unity of the Church;* which seems to sup-

pose, that the foregoing Absolution had been pronounced in order to restore him to its peace. And therefore since the form will bear this sense, without straining or putting any force upon the words, I hope it will be no offence to interpret them so, as is most consistent with the original commission given by our Lord, and the exercise of it in the purest ages of the Church.

What power given to the Church by our Saviour.

§. 2. Now it is plain that the authority first promised to St. Peter,[33] and afterwards in common to all the Apostles,[34] was a power of admitting to, or excluding from, Church-communion: for it is expressed by *the keys of the kingdom of heaven*. Now *the kingdom of heaven* being, in the Scriptural sense, the Church of Christ, of which heaven is the metropolis or principal part; and *the keys* (which are a token or ensign of power) being also used in Scripture to denote the conferring of authority to some chief officer in a family, to take in and exclude from it whom he should judge convenient;[35] it must follow, that by *the keys of the kingdom of heaven* must be meant a power of admitting into, and shutting out of, the Christian Church. Accordingly the exercise of this power is called *binding* and *loosing*, which were terms used by the Jews, to signify the same things with what we now express by *excommunicating* and *absolving*.[36] And our Saviour gives in charge, that whosoever is thus bound should be looked upon by his disciples as *a heathen man and a publican*; which seems naturally to import, that from a state of communion with the Christian Church, he should be reduced into the state of heathens, and such other profligate men, who were not admitted into their places of worship, nor so much as received into common conversation.[37]

St. John indeed tells us, that our Saviour, after his resurrection, and when he seemed to be giving his final commission, endued his Apostles with a power expressed by the terms of *remitting* and *retaining sins*.[38] But now it is the opinion of Dr. Hammond,[39] and from him of a late author of not inferior judgment,[40] that this passage has much the same signification

[33] Matt. xvi. 19. [34] Matt. xviii. 18. [35] Isa. xxii. 22. Rev. iii. 7, and xx. 1, 2, 3. [36] Vide Selden. de Synod. veter. Ebræor. l. 1, c. 7, et Morin. de Administrat. Pœnitent. l. 4, c. 23. [37] Matt. ix. 11. Acts xi. 3. xxi. 28. Gal. ii. 12. [38] John xx. 23.

[39] See his notes upon the text. [40] Dr. Marshal's Penitential Discipline of the Primitive Church, p. 12, 13. See also Bishop Potter's Discourse of Church-government, ch. 5, page 345, &c., where the bishop gives the same interpretation of this text with Dr. Hammond.

with the former, and that the terms in St. John, of *retaining* and *remitting*, are equivalent to those in St. Matthew, of *binding* and *loosing*. They only observe that *retaining* is more emphatical than *binding*, and that it signifies properly *to keep bound*, and the word *remit* refers to sin as a *debt*, whereas the word *loose* refers to it as a *bond* or *chain*. And if this be the sense of the words in St. John, then it is plain that this commission, as well as the former in St. Matthew, confers only a power of excommunicating and absolving; and consequently that no authority can be urged from hence for the applying of God's pardon to the conscience of a sinner, or for absolving him any otherwise than from the censures of the Church.

And indeed that these words give no power to us, in the present state of the Church, to forgive or remit sins in the name of God, so as immediately to restore the person absolved to his favour and grace, I humbly presume to join my opinion with theirs. But yet, with due submission, I cannot forbear thinking, that such a power was intended to be given by them to the *Apostles*. For I observe, that wherever else in the New Testament we meet with the word ἀφίημι, (which we render *remit* in the text,) applied to sins, as it is here, it is constantly used to express the remission and forgiveness of them, or the entire putting them away; and therefore the use of the same terms, in the text I am speaking of, inclines me to interpret the commission there given, of a power to remit sins, even in relation to God; insomuch that those sins which the Apostles should declare forgiven by virtue of this commission, should be actually forgiven by God himself, so as to be imputed no more. Not that I believe this power extended to the remitting all sins indiscriminately, and in whomsoever they pleased: but only that when some temporal calamity or disease had been inflicted upon a man as a punishment for his sins, the Apostles, if inwardly moved by the Spirit, had power to declare that his sins were forgiven, and as a testimony thereof to remove his calamity. That which inclines me to put this sense upon these words is my observing, that when our Saviour vouchsafed to heal the paralytic, he first pronounced that *his sins were forgiven him*:[41] and that when St. James also is speaking of a sick man's being raised by *the prayer of faith*, from his bodily disease, he adds, that *if he*

[41] Matt. ix. 2, &c.

had committed any sins, (which were the cause of it,) *they also should be forgiven him.*[42] Now from hence I would infer, that the power of healing diseases, and the power of remitting sins, were generally consequent one of the other. And therefore since it is evident that the Apostles and others, in the first ages of the Church, could heal diseases, it seems not unlikely that they did it by virtue of a power that was invested in them of forgiving sins. And consequently, if they had a power of forgiving sins, that power must be conferred upon them by this commission in St. John, where our Saviour sends them with the same plenitude of power with which he himself was sent of the Father, and explains that power by the express and open terms of *remitting and retaining sins*. And if this be the sense of this text in St. John, then it is only to be interpreted of an extraordinary power which accompanied the inflicting, or continuing, or removing diseases, (as the occasion required,) which our Saviour thought fit, for the readier progress of the Gospel, to intrust with the Apostles and first preachers of Christianity.

The internal effects of excommunication and absolution.

§. 3. However, that these words were never understood by the primitive Christians to imply a standing authority in the Ministers of the Gospel, to pardon or forgive sins immediately and directly in relation to God, and as to which the censure of the Church had been in no wise concerned, I think may fairly be urged from there being no mention made, in any of the ancient Fathers, that any such authority was ever pretended to by any Church whatever, for a great many centuries after Christ. And therefore, if they relate to any standing authority, which was designed to continue through all ages of the Church, they must necessarily be interpreted in the above-mentioned sense; which makes them equivalent to the texts in St. Matthew, which, I have already shewed, have an evident relation to excommunicating and absolving, or to the inflicting and removing Church-censures. Not that the favour or displeasure of God is wholly unconcerned in these acts of the Church; for the contrary of this is evidently declared by our Lord himself: *whatsoever*, saith he, *ye shall bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven: and whatsoever ye shall loose on earth, shall be loosed in heaven:* which must at least imply, that whatever sentence shall be duly passed by the go-

[42] James v. 14, 15.

vernors of the Church, shall be ratified by him whom they represent; insomuch that whosoever is, by virtue of such sentence, cut off from the Church, not only loses the benefit of Church-communion, (which is ordinarily the necessary means of salvation,) but will also, if he dies in a state of impenitence, be looked upon by God to have forfeited all the privileges of his baptism, and consequently to be as much without the pale of the Church, as if he had never been admitted into it. Nay, further, though even an innocent man should, through wrong information, or some other mischance, be unjustly excommunicated, he must, with due respect and submission to the authority, plead his innocence, and use all proper means that offer, to bring his judges to a sense of their mistake. And if, after all, his sentence is, for want of opportunities to clear himself, ratified and confirmed, he is obliged to acquiesce in it: for should he, upon such occasion, behave himself unduti-fully to the ministers of Christ, he will undoubtedly incur the same sentence in heaven, which the courts on earth would pass on those who should offer to abuse and revile their judges; i. e. he will be condemned for his disobedience to them, let him be ever so innocent as to the crime laid to his charge. So that though a man may have committed no real offence against God, yet if he falls under the censure of the Church, it will be imputed to him as a sin even by God himself, if he does not obtain, or by all due humiliation endeavour to obtain, her absolution and forgiveness. And for this reason the absolution of the Church ought always to be sued for with prayers and tears, whenever we have done any thing that may give her offence. And therefore all I aim at is only to shew, that it does not appear from this text in St. John, nor from any of the others that have been spoken to above, that any absolution pronounced by the Church can cleanse or do away our inward guilt, or remit the eternal penalties of sin, which are declared to be due to it by the sentence of God, any further than by the prayers which are appointed to accompany it, and by the use of those ordinances to which it restores us, it may be a means, in the end, of obtaining our pardon from God himself, and the forgiveness of our sin as it relates to him.

The power of Absolution, in what sense exercised by the primitive Church.

§. 4. And this, upon inquiry, we shall find to be all that the Church laid claim to for divers ages after our Saviour. For if we look into her practice for the first four centuries, we shall always find absolution co-relative to public discipline.

The peace of the Church was never ordinarily given but to such as were under its censures before; nor was any loosed, or had his sins remitted, but who had before been bound, or had his sins retained. It is true, at such times, prayers were always used, for the obtaining to the penitent the forgiveness of God, and for restoring him again to his favour and grace. And indeed it does not appear, that in those primitive ages there was any other ceremony used, at the instant of re-admitting a penitent to the peace of the Church, than intercessions and prayers offered to God on his behalf, together with the imposition of the Bishop's hands; which, by the way too, were all along applied to him throughout the whole course of his penitential separation: so that this sin was *gradually* expiated by the deprecations of the Minister, during the whole time of his being under the state of penance; and was then judged to be *fully expiated*, when the term of his sentence was quite expired, and he had for the last time received the imposition of hands, upon which he was immediately reinstated in all the privileges of full communion.[43] In some time after the *optative* form was gradually introduced, and mixed with the *precatory*, much as it is in the form of absolution used by our own Church in the office of Communion.[44] But as to the *indicative* form, it does not appear to have been generally introduced till about the middle of the twelfth century; and then it was made use of only to reconcile the penitent to the Church, whilst the *deprecatory* was what was supposed to procure his pardon from God.[45] Within a century afterwards, indeed, it was a ruled case in the Church, that such as received the confession of penitents should, by an indicative form, absolve them from their sins:[46] and the Priests were supposed to have a power invested in them, to release a sinner from the wrath of God, purely by pronouncing this form over him.

But I have already observed, that as to the pardon of God, and applying it directly to the sinner's conscience, the power of the Priest is only *ministerial;* and therefore one would think that, in the exercise of that power, the form should be rather precatory than peremptory. But in restoring a man to the peace of the Church, (which he may appear by his confession to have forfeited, though sentence was never denounced

[43] See Dr. Marshal's Penitential Discipline, p. 84, &c. [44] See this proved by Dr. Marshal, in his Penitential Discipline, chap. 3, §. 4. [45] See Dr. Marshal, as before. [46] See the Constitution of Othobon, A. D. 1268, in Bishop Gibson's Codex, Tit. 21, cap. i. p. 487.

against him,) there the form may decently enough be absolute and indicative: for the Minister in this case has a *judicial* authority, and so is at liberty to use fuller terms.

§. 5. And that the form of absolution, of which we are now discoursing, is only designed to remit to the penitent the censures that might be due from the Church to his sins, may not only be inferred from the expressions I have already taken notice of in the Collect that is appointed to be used immediately after it,[47] but may also further be argued from the end and design for which that Collect was originally composed. For in the Penitential of Ecbert, who was archbishop of York in the middle of the eighth century, the reader may find this very prayer, with a very little variation, to have been one of the ancient formularies for clinical absolution:[48] for even in the primitive Church, absolution was granted to a sick-bed penitent, though neither excommunication nor penance had preceded before. Penance indeed was in such cases assigned him, and he stood bound, upon his recovery, to comply with the conditions upon which it was granted him, and to perform it publicly in the face of the Church: but since he was not at present in such a state or capacity, he was by no means whatever to be denied a reconciliation, but was admitted to the one, upon a presumption that, if he lived, he would perform the other.[49] And as this was the ancient usage of the Church, and as our own Church has made choice of a form that was used upon these occasions, to be used to a penitent in the same circumstances; why may we not suppose that her design was to accommodate, as far as she could, our modern office to the ancient ones? If the Minister that visits will use his endeavours, he may certainly bring it very near: for he may assign the party that confesses to him, certain penitential mortifications to be undergone by him, as soon as he recovers and is able, though they be not publicly submitted to in the face of the congregation: and he may insist with him, that he shall give some proof of his repentance, before he offers to receive the Communion in the Church. And if the penitent promises to submit to these conditions, the Minister may proceed, with a great deal of hope and satisfaction to himself, and with a great deal of comfort and advantage to the penitent, to reconcile

What intended by the present form.

[47] See page 439. [48] See the form in Dr. Marshal's Appendix to his Penitential Discipline, p. 54. [49] See Dr. Marshal's Penitential Discipline, p. 104, &c.

him to the Church in the absolution itself, and to intercede with, and to recommend him to the throne of grace in the prayer that follows. And if this too were done before a few chosen serious witnesses, it would still bear a nearer resemblance to the ancient practice. For Tertullian observes, that *the Church may subsist in a few of her members;*[50] and our Saviour has promised, that *where two or three are gathered together in his name, he will be there in the midst of them,*[51] and (which to our purpose is somewhat remarkable) that promise follows close after the power he had just before been promising to his disciples of binding and loosing.[52]

Private Absolution formerly enjoined.

§. 6. By the first book of king Edward VI. *the same form of Absolution* was ordered *to be used in all private confessions:* i. e. I suppose, whenever any person, *whose conscience was troubled and grieved in any thing lacking comfort or counsel, should* (as it was then worded in the Exhortation to the Communion) *come to some discreet and learned Priest taught in the law of God, and confess and open his sin and grief secretly; that he might receive such ghostly counsel, advice, and comfort, that his conscience might be relieved, and that of him (as of the Minister of God and of the Church) he might receive comfort and absolution, to the satisfaction of his mind, and avoiding of all scruple and doubtfulness.* But in the review of the Common Prayer, in the fifth year of that prince, our reformers (observing, as I suppose, that this form of Absolution was not very ancient, and that persons might place too much confidence and security in it, as thinking that the bare pronouncing it over them cleansed them from their inward pollution and guilt, and entirely remitted their sins before God) left out that rubric in the office appointed for the Visitation of the Sick, and in the Exhortation to the Communion mentioned above, somewhat altered the expressions, to shew that *the benefit of Absolution* (of Absolution, I presume, from inward guilt) was not to be received by the pronouncing of any form, but by a due application *and ministry of God's holy word.*[53] So that all that the Minister seems here empowered to transact, in order to quiet the conscience of a person that applies to him for advice, is only to judge by the outward signs and fruits of his repentance, whether his conversion be real and sincere; and

[50] Tertull. de Pœnit. c. 10. [51] Matt. xviii. 20. [52] See Dr. Marshal, as before, pp. 219, 220. [53] John xv. 3. 2 Cor. v. 19.

if upon examination it appears to be so, he is then to comfort him, with an assurance that his sins are remitted even in the court of heaven, and that he is restored to the grace and favour of Christ. But then this he is to deliver, not absolutely, but conditionally; i. e. upon the presumption that his repentance is as sincere as he represents it. He must by no means pronounce it as a final judge; because Christ alone can discern whether his conversion be feigned or real; and consequently he only can absolutely determine the state of the man towards God.

The present form not to be pronounced, unless heartily desired.

§. 7. As to the form of Absolution, of which we are now discoursing, a parenthesis was added at the last review, to intimate, that this is not to be used even over the sick, unless *he humbly and heartily desire it.* For it is fit a man should shew an earnest desire, and a due sense of so great a benefit, before it is offered him. And then if he be rightly instructed in the end and design of it, and the form itself be applied with that prudence and caution above described, the use of it surely may not only tend to the good of the penitent, but may also prove of singular service and advantage to the Church.

SECT. VI.—*Of the Psalm and Blessings.*

The seventy-first Psalm.

I. AFTER the sick person is absolved by the Church, and recommended to the pardon and grace of God, the Minister is directed to use in his behalf the Seventy-first Psalm; which is so very apt and proper to express the sick man's desires and wants, and at the same time to exercise his faith, to inflame his love, to uphold his patience, and revive his hope, that not only our own, but the eastern,[54] western,[55] and most Churches in the world, agree in the choice of it for this office. At the review at the Restoration indeed the five last verses were left out of our own, as supposing the person restored to his former state and prosperity, and so not being suitable to be used over one whose case is languishing and dangerous.

The three blessings.

II. And now to take leave with a valedictory Blessing; as it is very fit and decent at all times, so it is necessary, when we depart from a friend, whose case is such as that perhaps we may see his face no more. For this reason the office is concluded with three

[54] Eucholog. p. 418, 419. [55] Manual. Sarisb. fol. 37.

solemn blessings; the first of which is an address to God the Son, the second to the Father, and the third (which was added at the last review) to the holy and undivided Trinity: and all assist to procure to the patient the greatest blessings he can need or desire.

SECT. VII.—*Of the Unction prescribed by the first Common Prayer Book of king Edward VI.*

Unction of the sick prescribed by the first Common Prayer Book of king Edward VI.

AFTER the second of the aforesaid blessings, i. e. at the end of the ordinary office for the Visitation of the Sick in king Edward's first Liturgy, *If the sick person desired to be anointed, the Priest was to anoint him upon the forehead or breast only, making the sign of the Cross, saying thus:*

As with this visible oil thy body outwardly is anointed, so our heavenly Father, Almighty God, grant of his infinite goodness, that thy soul inwardly may be anointed with the Holy Ghost, who is the Spirit of all strength, comfort, relief, and gladness. And vouchsafe for his great mercy (if it be his blessed will) to restore unto thee thy bodily health and strength to serve him; and send thee release of all thy pains, troubles, and diseases, both in body and mind. And howsoever his goodness (by his divine and unsearchable providence) shall dispose of thee, we his unworthy Ministers and Servants humbly beseech the eternal Majesty, to do with thee according to the multitude of his innumerable mercies, and to pardon thee all thy sins and offences committed by all thy bodily senses, passions, and carnal affections; who also vouchsafe mercifully to grant unto thee ghostly strength, by his Holy Spirit, to withstand and overcome all temptations and assaults of thine adversary, that in no wise he prevail against thee, but that thou mayest have perfect victory and triumph against the devil, sin, and death, through Christ, our Lord; who by his death hath overcome the Prince of death, and with the Father and the Holy Ghost evermore liveth and reigneth God, world without end. Amen.

After this followed the thirteenth Psalm, *How long wilt thou forget me, O Lord?* &c.

This seems to have been the remains of both the ancient and popish unction of the sick; which I shall shew by and by differed one from the other, as well as it will appear they both did from the primitive. But to give the reader a distinct view

of the case, it will be necessary to begin from the famous passage in St. James, upon which they were each of them founded and built. Now in the last chapter of that Epistle, among several other instructions which the Apostle was giving to the Jewish converts, this, it seems, was one, viz. that *if any was sick among them, he should call for the elders of the Church, who should pray over him, anointing him with oil in the name of the Lord:* the effect of which he declared would be that *the prayer of faith should save the sick, and the Lord should raise him up; and if he had committed sins, they should be forgiven him.*[56] This is the place on which those that contend for the unction of the sick (whether popish or ancient) lay all their stress, urging it as a standing precept of St. James, which was to continue in force through all ages of Christianity.

§. 2. But now if we compare these words with the context, together with the primitive practice of the Church, it will evidently appear, that they were only designed as a *temporary* institution, proper to the time in which the Apostle lived, and suited as well to an ancient practice of the Jews, as to a miraculous dispensation which was then vouchsafed by the Holy Ghost, to the first believers of the Gospel. For that the Apostles and others, in the first ages of the Church, were endued with several extraordinary gifts, almost every page in the New Testament declares: and that the power of healing, or miraculously recovering sick persons from their diseases, was one of these gifts, is also too evident to need any proof.[57] It is sufficient therefore to note, that though these operations were effected wholly by virtue of that power with which the Apostles and others at that time were endued, (insomuch that we read of some that were healed by the bare *speaking of a word*,[58] of others that were cured by *handkerchiefs*, or *aprons*,[59] and of others again that were recovered by the *imposition of hands*,[60] or by the mere *shadow* of an Apostle as he was passing by;[61]) yet since it was customary for the Jews to apply *oil* to the sick, as an ordinary medicine to heal their diseases;[62] therefore the Apostles, in working the cures upon those of their own nation, did often make use of the same application. For

Oil used by the Apostles in healing the sick; and why.

[56] James v. 14, 15. [57] See 1 Cor. xii. 9, 28, 30. [58] Acts ix. 34. [59] Acts xix. 11, 12. [60] Mark xvi. 18. Acts xxviii. 8. [61] Acts v. 15, 16. [62] See Dr. Lightfoot's Works, vol. i. page 333; and upon Mark vi. 13, vol. ii. page 343.

thus we are told, that when the twelve were sent forth by our Lord with power, *they anointed with oil many that were sick, and healed them.*[63] Not that they used oil, as having any natural force in it to procure the effect; but only as a symbol or sign of a miraculous recovery; for that the virtue, which attended the unction used by the Apostles, was supernatural, and derived from him who sent them, was plain enough from hence, that the same means, which at other times were at best but of doubtful success, always produced a certain cure when applied by them.

Why prescribed by St. James, and in what sense.

§. 3. Anointing of the sick therefore being customary among the Jews, and such anointing, when performed by those that were endued with the gift of healing, being attended with extraordinary and miraculous cures, it was very natural for St. James, when he was writing to the *twelve tribes which were scattered abroad*,[64] and giving them instructions for the behaviour of the sick, to advise them to send for *the elders of the Church*, and to commit the application of the oil to *them*. Not that he promised that the ordinary use of it should always produce such a miraculous effect; but only that since the elders of the Church were the persons on whom the gift of healing was generally bestowed, the happiest event from the anointing with oil might reasonably be expected when it was done by *them*. And indeed that the Apostle gave this advice upon supposition that their following it would often be attended with miraculous cures, is plain from the words in the following verse, where he says, that *the prayer of faith shall save the sick, and the Lord shall raise him up*. Now faith, we know, is often used in Scripture for an inward persuasion, that one should be enabled by God to do a miracle;[65] and therefore *the prayer of faith* must be a prayer accompanied with such a persuasion. Consequently the meaning of St. James, when he says, *the prayer of faith shall save the sick*, must be, that when *the anointing with oil*, which he directs the elders to perform, should be attended or accompanied with *the prayer of faith*, it should save or recover the sick from his disease, and prevail with the Lord to raise him up. For it is not to be supposed, that they who were endued with this gift, could exercise or exert it upon whom they pleased; but only that when they knew, by

[63] Mark vi. 7, 13. [64] James i. 1. [65] Matt. xvii. 20. xxi. 21. Mark xi. 23. Luke xvii. 6. 1 Cor. xii. 9, and xiii. 2.

the impulse of the Spirit, that the Lord designed to save any person whom they were called upon to anoint, they prayed to him with full assurance of success, and the sick was accordingly restored to health. And this being done generally to those on whom sickness had been inflicted as a chastisement for some sins which they had committed, (which was a very common case in the beginning of the Church,[66]) therefore it is added, that *if he have committed sins, they should be forgiven him*; i. e. not only his affliction or disease should be removed, but his sins, which were the cause of it, should also be taken away.

But further, that *the prayer of faith*, to which the Apostle here attributes the recovery of the sick, is a prayer offered up by the extraordinary impulse of the Spirit, may be gathered from what he adds by way of confirmation at the sixteenth verse, viz. that *the inspired prayer of a righteous man availeth much*: for so the word ἐνεργουμένη is often used to signify, and so the context shews it ought to be translated in this place. For that the prayers of Elijah (which the Apostle brings for an example in the two following verses) were prayers of faith in the sense mentioned above, is plain from the history of that prophet in the first Book of Kings; for as we know from St. James, that he prayed that it might not rain, and again that it might rain; so we know by that history, that he expressly and absolutely foretold to Ahab both the one and the other.[67] And this too being an instance of the prevalency of prayer, in producing of strange and sudden events, shews clearly what was meant by the Apostle in this place, when he says, that *the inspired prayer of a righteous man availeth much*, viz. that it avails to the procuring temporal effects of a strange, and surprising, and wonderful nature.

I am sensible that, in this interpretation of St. James, I differ in one point from several of the most eminent divines of our Church: and that is, in supposing the unction here mentioned was to be applied indifferently towards *all* that were sick: whereas Dr. Clagget,[68] Dr. Bennet,[69] and others, are of opinion that it was not to be used to any but those on whom the elders were assured the gift of healing should take place. What inclines me to give a different interpretation of this

[66] See 1 Cor. xi. 30, 31, 32. and John v. 15. [67] 1 Kings xvii. 1. and xviii. 1, 41.
[68] See his Discourse of Extreme Unction, pages 14, 26, 27. [69] Confutation of Popery, p. 307.

passage, is the fourteenth verse, which seems to be expressed in very general terms. *Is any sick among you? let him call for the elders of the Church, and let them pray over him, anointing him with oil in the name of the Lord.* This seems, I say, to imply, that all that were sick were to send for the elders of the Church; that the elders of the Church were to pray over all that sent for them; and that they were to anoint with oil all whom they prayed over; and consequently that they were to anoint all in general that were sick. The following verse indeed, which is concerning *the prayer of faith*, must necessarily be restrained to those only who were to be miraculously healed: for I have shewed, that *the prayer of faith* was a prayer accompanied with a persuasion that the sick should recover; and therefore such a prayer could never be used, but over such as the Lord had designed to raise. So that though, I suppose, what the Apostle said of unction was a general direction to all that were sick; yet I do not understand him to promise any cure by it, but when it should be accompanied with the prayer of faith. Nor yet do I believe that this direction was intended to oblige any other branches, or distant ages of the Church; but rather that it was designed as a temporary institution suited to the custom of anointing the sick, which I have observed was, at that time, the ordinary practice of the Jews; and which the Apostle did not concern himself either to abolish or confirm; but only to require, that if the use of it was continued among the converts to Christianity, it should always be performed, not by Jewish, as formerly, but by Christian elders or priests. But now this, when the Jewish economy ceased, was no longer of use to the Christian Church. Most of those who afterwards came over to Christianity were infidels or heathens: who having no such rite amongst them in the state they were in before, did not think that they were obliged, by this direction of St. James, to take it up when they were Christians.

What anointing was used in the primitive Church.

§. 4. Accordingly, if we search into the ancient writers of the Church, we shall never find any mention of anointing, but when it was used as a rite of the gift of healing. As the gift of healing indeed was frequent for several ages after the Apostles; so we grant that the unction was often made use of to denote the miraculousness of the cure:[70] but then as an or-

[70] Tertull. ad Scap. c. 4. Hieron. in Vita Hilarionis. Sulpit. Sever. in Vita Mart.

dinary rite, used in the Visitation of the Sick, there is not a hint of it to be met with for above six hundred years after Christ: though it is well known that the Christian writers, within that compass of time, discourse very frequently and plainly concerning the sacraments and rites of the Church. Nay, further, though the manner and circumstances of the deaths of many holy persons within those centuries are described; yet there is not the least intimation any where to be met with that so much as one of them was anointed.

What was afterwards used by the ancient Church.

§. 5. About the seventh century, it is true, the anointing of all sick persons whatsoever began to take place: the chief inducement to which seems to have been the observation of those cures by anointing that were wrought by such as had the gift of healing. And indeed, if we look back into the history of those times, we shall find that very small inducements were sufficient to dispose men to seek for temporary relief, from things that were consecrated to the uses of religion, especially when there were some notable examples of success. And thus in the case before us, the gift of miraculously healing with oil being not yet quite ceased,[71] the Christians in this century, that laboured under any calamity or disease, chose rather to seek for relief and recovery by the use and application of the holy oil, than by any other means. And as this too seemed to be countenanced by the text in St. James, and also to express the reposing greater confidence in God than in the force of natural remedies, it therefore passed off with the less opposition. So that from this time the anointing was not only of those who were to be healed of their diseases by *the prayer of faith*, but of all sick persons in general, who were anointed of course, in bare hopes of receiving by it some bodily relief.[72] And perhaps some casual cures which sometimes followed this unction, but which yet might have happened without any unction at all, did not a little contribute to support the reputation of it.

How abused by the Church of Rome.

§. 6. However, in after-ages another use of it was discovered; for when they began to be convinced that it did no good to the body, they con-

c. 15. August. de Civitat. Dei, l. 22, c. 8. Vide et Rosweid. in Vit. Patrum, pag. 211, 343, 451, &c. Vide et Dallæum de Extrema Unctione, p. 85, 86, 87. et Baron. A. C. 63, n. 4. [71] See Dr. Clagget of Extreme Unction, pages 94, 95. [72] Vide Menardi Not. in Sacram. Gregorii, p. 341. See also the Defence of the Exposition of the Order of the Church of England, p. 45, &c.

cluded that at least it must have a wonderful virtue towards the saving of the soul: so that about the twelfth century it was improved into what it is now in the Church of Rome, and applied, not for the recovery of bodily health, but to cleanse the soul from its sins, and to prepare it for the next life. For this reason it was not now used as before, to those of whose recovery they had any reasonable hopes, but to those only who were looked upon to be at the point of departure. Nor was the unction applied to those parts of the body which were the seat of the disease; but to the eyes, ears, and nostrils, to the mouth, hands, and feet, and lastly to the reins, as the several seats of sin. And this is the unction which to this day is practised by the Church of Rome; having been first publicly owned by Eugenius IV. at the close of the Florentine Synod, to be the fifth sacrament; and then, in the next age, being established by the Council of Trent under the severest anathemas or curses.[73] But this only relates to the Church of Rome; for though the Greek Church hath in some things been guilty of modern innovations; yet their unction is apparently that unction which began in the seventh age after Christ.[74] So that the practice of the Greeks has some antiquity to plead; whereas that of the Church of Rome came in but lately in comparison, and may almost be called an invention of yesterday.

How far countenanced at the Reformation.

§. 7. For this reason, when our reformers came to draw up an office for the Visitation of the Sick, as they had some reasons to induce them not to lay aside the rite of anointing entirely; yet they changed it from the popish to that of the ancients. It is true, in the prayer which they appointed to be used, there is a petition for the *pardon of all the sins and offences committed by the bodily senses, passions, and carnal affections* of the patient: but this is so worded, as not to have any necessary reference to the oil; which may well enough be understood to be applied to the sick, in order *to restore to him his bodily health and strength*. Besides, the unction here allowed could not be called *extreme*, because it might be ministered to any that were sick: nor yet was it to be applied to all the organs of sense, but only to the *forehead* or *breast* of the patient. But, in short, and once for all, the unction in that book was

[73] Vide Canones et Decreta Concil. Trident. Sess. 14. [74] Vide Simeon. Thessalonic. in Arcud. de Extr. Unct. c. 7, sect. His ita, &c. Vid. et Eucholog. per Goar. p. 408, &c.

not so much as enjoined or prescribed, but only indulged to such as might probably, in the infancy of the Reformation, be uneasy without it: for the rubric does not order nor suppose any unction, unless the sick person himself desire it: and therefore when Bucer found fault with it in his Censure,[75] it was entirely discontinued in the second book of king Edward. And indeed if that reformer had never attempted any worse amendments, he had betrayed less want of learning, and done more service to the Church.

SECT. VIII.—*Of the Occasional Prayers.*

How needful, and when first added.

THERE is so much variety in the state of sickness, that it is impossible one form, though it were ever so complete, should be contrived to fit all particular occasions. As to those whose distemper lies chiefly in the body, and who are of an age that is capable of comfort and advice, and have also their senses and understandings entire, and faculties and time enough to exercise all the forementioned duties of religion; the former office is very suitable and proper. But there are singular cases which require peculiar prayers, and more indeed than it is easy to provide for in any stated forms: however, there are four which our Church took notice of at the last review, and for which therefore she hath provided four suitable prayers.

The prayer for a sick child.

I. The first of these is *for a sick child:* in which case, as the fondness and love of the parents will direct them to use all human means for its recovery; so Christianity should instruct them to turn the violence of their passion into fervent addresses to Almighty God to help it. He gave it at first, and He only can preserve it: and it was the trust of the Shunamite in his power to save, that encouraged her to apply herself to the prophet Elisha, even when her son was actually dead, which procured for her a success as wonderful as her faith.[76] And though when Jairus went to Jesus for his dying child, the disease proved swifter than his utmost haste; yet our Lord rewarded the faith of the parent with the restoration of the daughter's life.[77] Such miracles indeed we must not now expect: but yet, if we seek the prayers of the Church with due humility and faith, there is no doubt but they will assist very much in the cure; and that if any means can move God to spare them, this will.

[75] Bucer, page 489. [76] 2 Kings iv. [77] Matt. ix.

The prayer for a sick person, when there appeareth small hope of recovery.

II. The second of these prayers is *for a sick person, when there appeareth small hope of recovery*. For when the disease hath almost got the victory of the sick, it is not to be expected that the man should do much on his part for the bettering of his future state. And therefore since (it is to be hoped) he hath already gone through the preparatory exercises of patience and submission, of faith and repentance, of thankfulness and charity; but is now rendered incapable of any other office; the Minister must take care that at least he do not want such further benefits as the Church has provided for him in this excellent form: which is also very proper to be used, when any sudden disease puts a man beyond all hopes of recovery at the first assault; or when any, though visited with a lingering disease, have yet wretchedly deferred to send for a Minister, till there is as little to be done for the procuring their salvation, as there is for the restoring of their bodily health. However, since they are now incapable of those other comforts and advantages which this office directs, it is fit we should do all that possibly we can, and that is to pray for them heartily in this form, the only means left in such an emergency.

The Commendatory Prayer for a sick person at the point of departure.

III. The third is *a Commendatory Prayer for a sick person at the point of departure:* for we know that *when the dust returns to the earth as it was, the spirit returns unto God that gave it:*[78] and therefore our Saviour himself, when he was expiring on the cross, cries out to his Father, *Into thy hands I commend my spirit.*[79] And that we are to imitate his holy example, is evident from the practice of his first martyr St. Stephen, who also at his death commended his soul into the hands of his Redeemer.[80] Accordingly the succeeding ages of the Church always observed the same religious rite:[81] and indeed it is unlikely that any one should omit it, who believes, as they did, that every one that dies before he can reach the seat of bliss, must pass through the dominion of evil spirits, who are ready, to be sure, to snatch at and seize all unhappy souls who approach their territories, without a guard of holy angels to preserve them from their power, and to conduct them safe to a place of repose.[82] For this reason,

[78] Eccles. xii. 7. [79] Luke xxii. 46. [80] Acts vii. 59. [81] Hieron. in Psal. xxx. [82] Vide Just. Mart. Dial. cum Tryph. p. 333. Compare also Eph. ii. 2, and vi. 12, with Luke xvi. 22.

because there are but few, who, at the instant of departure, are able to implore this protection for themselves; therefore our Church, in imitation of the saints of former ages,[83] calls in the Minister, and others who are at hand, to assist their brother in his last extremity. In order to this she directs, that *when any is passing out of this life, a bell shall be tolled, and the Minister shall not then be slack to do his last duty.*[84] The passing-bell indeed is now generally disused, and only the short peal continued, which the canon orders *to be rung after the party's death.* But the former was certainly of much more use, to give notice to all within the sound of it, to put up their last and most affectionate prayers for their dying neighbour, and to help their friend in those extremities which themselves must assuredly one day feel. However, if *their* prayers are wanted, it is more requisite that the Minister should be more diligent in *his*, who should therefore constantly be sent for, when these agonies approach, that so, by the use of this excellent composure, he may assist the dying soul in its flight to God, and alarm the living by such an example of mortality.

The passing bell, why ordered.

IV. The fourth and last of these prayers is *for persons troubled in mind or conscience.* For when any become melancholy through bodily distempers, or by evil principles are troubled with dismal and false apprehensions of God, or are too much disturbed in their inward peace and quiet, through a dreadful sense of their former sins; it is fit that the spiritual physician should be called, that he may discreetly apply the promises of God, and endeavour to obtain his consolation and mercy for the dejected penitent's deplorable state: to which purpose the prayer that is here provided, is very pertinent and useful.

The prayer for persons troubled in mind and in conscience.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XI.

OF THE COMMUNION OF THE SICK.

SECT. I.—*Of the General Rubric.*

Forasmuch as mortal men be subject to many sudden perils, diseases, and sicknesses, and ever uncertain what time they shall depart out of this life; therefore to the intent they may be always in a readiness

The general rubric for communicating the sick.

[83] Possidon. in Vita August. c. 31. [84] Canon LXVII.

to die, whensoever it shall please Almighty God to call them, the Curates are diligently from time to time (but especially in the time of pestilence or other infectious sickness) to exhort the parishioners to the often receiving of the holy Communion of the Body and Blood of our Saviour Christ, when it shall be publicly administered in the Church; that so doing they may, in case of sudden visitation, have the less cause to be disquieted for lack of the same. But if the sick person be not able to come to the Church, and yet is desirous to receive the Communion in his house, then he must give timely notice to the Curate; who, in such a case, is here directed to celebrate and administer this holy Sacrament to him; which is exactly conformable to the most early practice of the primitive Church: for there is nothing more frequently mentioned by the ancient writers than the care of the Church to distribute the Eucharist to all dying persons that were capable of receiving it. They esteemed it the greatest unhappiness that could be, for any one to die before he had been supplied with this Ἐφόδιον, or *Viaticum*, (as the ancient canons[85] frequently call it,) i. e. the *necessary preparation* or *provision for the road*, for those that are going to their eternal home. For this reason even those who were under the censures of the Church, and were suspended from the Eucharist in the time of their health, were yet allowed to communicate, if any danger of death surprised them, before they had finished their stated penance.[86] Nay, about the fifth century this was carried so high, that some were for forcing the elements into the mouths of those that were *dead:* but this was soon censured by several Councils, which ordered that practice to be discontinued.[87] However, the care of the Church to communicate the *sick* has been equally the same in all ages. And indeed that she looks upon this not only as convenient, but as highly necessary, may be gathered from the dispensation that she grants with the canons, purely to secure it.

Agreeable to the practice of the primitive Church.

§. 2. For though administering the Communion in private houses be forbid by the canons of 1603,[88] as well as by those of ancient times,[89] under the severest penalties; yet there is an excep-

Private consecration of the elements, how far allowed.

[86] Concil. Nicen. 1, Can. 13. Concil. Araus. 1, Can. 3. Concil. Agathens. Can. 11.
[85] Vide Canones citat. in not. (q) et Greg. Nyss. Ep. ad Letoium Melitens. Can. 5, tom. 1. p. 953, A. [87] Concil. Carthag. 3, Can. 2. Concil. Trull. Can. 83. [88] Canon LXXI. [89] Concil. Trull. Can. 31.

tion made in the case of sickness: upon which occasion, both the canons above mentioned, and this present rubric, allow the Curate (*having a convenient place in the sick man's house, with all things necessary so prepared, that he may reverently minister*) *there to celebrate the holy Communion.* This indulgence was rare in the primitive Church: however, some instances may be produced, even from thence, of private consecrations upon great emergencies.[90] But, generally speaking, it was usual for the Ministers to reserve some part of the elements that had been consecrated before, in the church, to be always in a readiness upon such like occasions.[91] Agreeably to which in this very rubric (as it was worded in king Edward's first Common Prayer) it was ordered, that *if the same day* (on which the person was to be visited) *there was a celebration of the holy Communion in the church, then the Priest was to reserve* (*at the open Communion*) *so much of the Sacrament of the Body and Blood, as would serve the sick person, and so many as were to communicate with him,* (*if there were any:*) *and so soon as he conveniently could, after the open Communion ended in the church, he was to go and minister the same,* &c. But then this reservation was not allowed, unless there was a Communion at the church on the same day on which the sick person was to be visited: for by another rubric it was ordered, that *if the day were not appointed for the open Communion in the church, then* (*upon convenient warning given*) *the Curate was to go and visit the sick person afore noon: and having a convenient place in the sick man's house* (*where he might reverently celebrate*) *with all things necessary for the same, and not being otherwise letted with the public service, or any other just impediment, there to celebrate the holy Communion.* And even the elements that were consecrated thus privately were to be reserved, if there was any occasion to administer the sacrament again that day. For so it was ordered by a third rubric of this office in the same book, that *if there were any more sick persons to be visited the same day that the Curate celebrated in any sick man's house; then the Curate was there to reserve so much of the Sacrament of the Body and Blood, as would serve the other sick persons, and such as were appointed to communicate with them,* (*if there were any,*) *and immediately to carry it and minister it unto them.* So that

[90] See Bingham's Antiquities, book xv. chap. 4, §. 10. [91] Bingham, ibid. §. 9 and 11.

from all these rubrics compared together, we may observe, first, that though anciently it was usual for the Ministers to reserve some part of the consecrated elements, either in the church or at their houses, to be always in a readiness for any that should want to receive, before the time came to consecrate again;[92] yet after the Reformation it was never allowed to reserve them longer than that day on which they were consecrated, nor indeed to reserve them at all, unless the Curate knew beforehand that some sick person was that day to be visited. We may therefore, secondly, suppose, that it was not the design of our reformers to attribute more power or efficacy to the sacrament, when it was consecrated in the church, than it had when it was consecrated in a private house; but rather that the sick, by partaking of the elements which had been consecrated elsewhere, and of which his fellow-parishioners or neighbours had been partakers before him, might join as it were in the same Communion with the rest of the congregation, though his present infirmity hindered him from attending the public service of the church. And this, it seems, was generally the motive why the sacrament was sent about to one another in the primitive Church.[93] Nor do I find that Bucer had any objection to it in his Censure upon our Liturgy. However, in the second book of king Edward VI. all these rubrics, as far as they relate to the reservation, were laid aside. Though in a Latin translation of the Common Prayer Book, which was put out by authority in the second year of queen Elizabeth, for the use of the universities and the colleges of Winchester and Eton, the rubric for the reservation is inserted at large. The reason of this difference might probably be this, viz. that the reservation having been abused by some ignorant and superstitious people, just after the Reformation, was the cause why it was discontinued in the English Common Prayer Book: but the Latin Book being designed for the use of learned societies, the reservation might safely enough be trusted with them, upon a presumption that they, who enjoyed so much light, would be the less liable to abuse it to error and superstition. Though it is not unlikely that this might be indulged those learned bodies, in order to reconcile them the easier to reformation: for it was the design of queen Elizabeth (as I have more than once observed) to contrive the Liturgy so, as to oblige as many of each party

[92] See Mr. Bingham, as before, §. 11.

[93] See Mr. Bingham, as before, §. 8.

as she could. However (except in this Latin translation of it) there has been no mention of the reservation in any of the Common Prayer Books since the first of king Edward. But the rubric has constantly enjoined the holy Communion to be celebrated, on such occasion, *in the sick man's house.*

Timely notice to be given to the Curate.

§. 3. When the sick person desires to receive the Communion in his house, *he must give timely notice to the Curate;* which ought to be some time *over-night, or else early in the morning* of the same day, as it was expressed in this rubric in all the Common Prayer Books till the last review: since otherwise the Curate, through other necessary avocations, may, for want of such notice, be out of the way at the time that he is wanted.

How many required to communicate with the sick.

§. 4. When the sick person gives notice, he is also to *signify how many there are to communicate with him;* which was ordered (as appears by the first Common Prayer) that the Minister might know how much of the sacred elements to reserve. It is also plain by the first and last of those rubrics, which I have above transcribed out of that book, that the Minister was allowed, in all cases of sickness, to communicate alone with the sick man, if there were none else to receive with him. For they order him to reserve so much of the Sacrament as shall serve the sick person, and so many as shall communicate with him, (*if there be any;*) which plainly supposes that, if there were none, he was only to reserve enough for himself and the sick man. And so in the rubric relating to the manner of the Minister's distributing; he was first to receive the Communion himself, then to minister to those that were appointed to communicate with the sick, (*if there were any,*) and then to the sick person. However, it followed in that rubric, that *the sick person should always desire some, either of his own house, or else of his neighbours, to receive the holy Communion with him; for that would be to him a singular great comfort, and of their part a great token of charity.* But at the second review, these parentheses were all thrown out, and in all our Common Prayers ever since till the Restoration, *a good number* was required by this general rubric to receive the Communion with the sick person, without determining what number should be esteemed *a good one.* But the Scotch Common Prayer is a little more explicit, and orders *a sufficient number, at least two or three;* and from thence, I suppose, our own

rubric, at the Restoration, ordered that there should be *three, or two at the least*, i. e. at least three, including the sick, to communicate with the Minister, which is the same number that is required to a Communion in the Church.[94] However, at the same time that such a number was required in all ordinary sicknesses, (i. e. in the fifth year of king Edward,) there was a rubric added at the end of this office, (which has continued ever since,) that *in the time of the plague, sweat, or such other like contagious times of sickness or diseases, when none of the parish or neighbours can be gotten to communicate with the sick in their houses, for fear of the infection, upon special request of the diseased, the Minister alone may communicate with him.* But this is only indulged in such extraordinary cases; for in other ordinary diseases, *lack of company to receive with the sick person* is mentioned as a just impediment why the Sacrament should not be administered to him.[95]

SECT. II.—*Of the form of Administering.*

The Collect, Epistle, and Gospel.

THE Curate *having a convenient place in the sick man's house, with all things necessary so prepared, that he may reverently minister*, he was by the first Common Prayer to introduce the office with the hundred and seventeenth Psalm, which was instead of the introit, and then to use the short Litany, *Lord have mercy upon us*, &c., with the usual salutation, *The Lord be with you*, &c. But introits now being laid aside, he is to begin immediately with the Collect, that is very proper to the occasion, which is followed by two passages of Scripture for an Epistle and Gospel, which evidently tend to comfort and deliver the sick man from the fears which he may be too apt to entertain.

How much of the Communion-office to be used.

After which he is to proceed, according to the form before prescribed for the holy Communion, beginning at these words [Ye that do truly, &c.]

How much of the Visitation-office at such time may be omitted.

§. 2. *And if the sick person is visited, and receiveth the holy Communion all at one time;* then the Priest, *for more expedition, is to cut off the form of Visitation at the Psalm,* [In thee, O Lord, have I put my trust;] i. e. when he comes to that Psalm, he is not to use it, but to go *straight to the Communion.*

[94] See the third rubric after the Communion-office. [95] See the third rubric at the end of the Communion of the Sick.

In what order the Minister is to deliver the elements.

§. 3. *At the time of the distribution of the holy Sacrament, the Priest is first to receive the Communion himself, and after to minister unto them that are appointed to communicate with the sick, and last of all to the sick person.* The Minister, we know, is always to receive the Communion himself, before he proceeds to deliver it to others: but the reason perhaps why the sick man is to receive last, may be, because those who communicate with him, through fear of some contagion, or the noisomeness of his disease, may be afraid to drink out of the same cup after him.

The rubric of instructions for those who have no opportunity of receiving.

§. 4. Lastly, because it may happen sometimes that a sick person, who desires to receive the Communion, may yet, by some casualty, be hindered from doing it; therefore here is a rubric added for their comfort, and to remove all fears that may arise on such occasions: by which the Curate is directed, that *if a man, either by reason of extremity of sickness, or for want of giving warning in due time, or for lack of company to receive with him, or by any other just impediment, do not receive the Sacrament of Christ's body and blood, he is to instruct him, that if he do truly repent him of his sins, and steadfastly believe that Jesus Christ hath suffered death upon the cross for him, and shed his blood for his redemption, earnestly remembering the benefits he hath thereby, and giving him hearty thanks therefore, he doth eat and drink the body and blood of our Saviour Christ profitably to his soul's health, although he do not receive the Sacrament with his mouth.* For the means, whereby we partake of the benefits of this Sacrament, is *a lively faith:* and therefore as our Church asserts in her Articles[96] that *the wicked, and such as be void of a lively faith, although they do carnally and visibly press with their teeth (as St. Augustine saith) the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ; yet in no wise are they partakers of Christ, but rather to their condemnation do eat and drink the sign and sacrament of so great a thing;* so here she declares, that if a sick man be hindered by any just impediment from receiving the sacrament of Christ's body and blood; yet by faith and repentance, and by mentally laying hold of the benefits obtained for him by Christ, *he doth eat and drink the body and*

[96] Article XXIX.

blood of our Saviour Christ profitably to his soul's health, although he do not receive the sacrament with his mouth.

The last rubric.

§. 5. The last rubric, which is concerning the Minister's communicating alone with the sick person, in times of contagious sickness, has already been spoken to in §. 4, of the foregoing section.

CHAPTER XII.

OF THE ORDER FOR THE BURIAL OF THE DEAD.

THE INTRODUCTION.

The care of dead bodies an act of religion.

If all our prayers and endeavours for our friend prove unavailable for the continuance of his life, we must with patience submit to the will of God, *to whom the issues of life and death belong:* and therefore, after recommending his soul to God, which immediately upon its dissolution returns to him, it is fit we should decently dispose of his body, which is left to our management and care. Not that the dead are any thing the better for the honours which we perform to their corpses, (for we know that several of the ancient philosophers cared not whether they were buried or not;[1] and the ancient martyrs of the Christian Church despised their persecutors for threatening them with the want of a grave.) But those who survive could never endure that the shame of nature should lie exposed, nor see the bodies of those they loved become a prey to birds and beasts.[2] For these reasons the very heathens called it a divine institution,[3] and a law of the immortal gods.[4] And the Romans especially had a peculiar deity to preside over this affair.[5] The Athenians were so strict, that they would not admit any to be magistrates, who had not taken care of their parents' sepulture;[6] and beheaded one of their generals after he had gotten a victory, for throwing the dead bodies of the slain, in a tempest, into the sea.[7] And Plutarch relates, that before they engaged with the Persians, they took a solemn oath, that if they were conquerors, they would bury their foes; this being a privilege

[1] Plato in Phæd. 182. Cicer. Tusculan. Quæst. [2] See 2 Sam. xx. 10, and Lactant. l. 6. [3] Isocrat. Panath. [4] Eurip. in Supplic. Sophocl. in Antigon. [5] Plut. Vit. Numæ. [6] Xenoph. Rer. Memorabil. p. 587. [7] Valer. Max. l. 9, c. 8.

which even an enemy hath a right to, as being a debt which is owing to humanity.

§. 2. It is true indeed, the manner of funerals has varied according to the different customs of several countries; but all civilized nations have ever agreed in performing some funeral rites or other. The most ancient manner was by *burying them in the earth;* which is indeed so natural, that some brutes have been observed, by mere instinct, to bury their dead with wonderful care.[8] The body, we know, was formed of the dust at first, and therefore it is fit it should *return to the earth as it was;*[9] insomuch that some heathens have, by the light of reason, called burying in the earth, the being *hid in our mother's lap*, and the being *covered with her skirt.*[10] And that *interment*, or enclosing the dead body in the grave, was used anciently by the Egyptians and other nations of the East, is plain from the account we have of their embalming, and from their mummies, which are frequently found to this day whole and entire, though some of them have lain above three thousand years in their graves. That the same practice of burying was used by the patriarchs, and their successors the Jews, we have abundant testimony from the most ancient records in the world, the books of Moses; by which we find that their funerals were performed, and their sepulchres provided with an officious piety:[11] and that it was usual for parents to take an oath of their children (which they religiously performed) that they should bury them with their fathers, and carry their bones with them, whenever they quitted their land where they were.[12] In succeeding ages indeed it became a custom in some places to *burn* the bodies of the dead; which was owing partly to a fear that some injury might be offered them if they were only buried, by digging their corpses again out of their graves; and partly to a conceit, that the souls of those that were burnt were carried up by the flames to heaven.[13]

Funerals variously performed.

Viz. Sometimes by burying, which was the most ancient and natural;

And sometimes by burning.

§. 3. But though other nations sometimes used *interment*, and sometimes *burning*, yet the Jews confined themselves to the former alone. There

Burying always used by Jews and Christians.

[8] Orig. in Cels. l. 4. Ælian. Hist. Animal. 5, 49. [9] See Gen. iii. 19. Eccles. xii. 7. [10] See the Notes upon Grotius de Veritat. Relig. Christian. l. i. §. 26, p. 40, edit. Cler. Amstel. 1709. [11] Gen. xxiii. 4. xxv. 9. xxxv. 29. xlix. 31. [12] Gen. xlvii. 29, 30, xlviii. 29 to 33. l. 25, 26. Exod. xiii. 19. See also Josh. xxiv. 32. Acts vii. 16. Heb. xi. 22. [13] Plin. Nat. Hist. l. 7, c. 54.

is a place or two indeed in our translation of the Old Testament,[14] which might lead us to imagine that the rite of *burning* was also used by them sometimes. But upon consulting the original texts, and the customs of the Jews, it does not appear that the burnings there mentioned were any thing more than the burning of odours and spices about their bodies, which was an honour they usually performed to their kings.[15] So that, notwithstanding these texts, we may safely enough conclude, that *interment* or *burying* was the only rite with them; as it was also in after times with the Christian Church. For wherever paganism was extirpated, the custom of burning was disused; and the first natural way of laying up the bodies of the deceased entire in the grave, obtained in the room of it.

Always performed with due solemnity.

§. 4. And this has always been done with such solemnity, as is proper to the occasion. Sometimes indeed it has been attended with an expensive pomp, that is *unseemly* and *extravagant*. But this is no reason why we should not give all the expressions of a *decent* respect to the memory of those whom God takes from us. The description of the persons who interred our Saviour, the enumeration of their virtues, and the everlasting commendation of her who spent three hundred pennyworth of spikenard to anoint his body to the burial, have always been thought sufficient grounds and encouragements for the careful and decent sepulture of Christians. And indeed, if the regard due to a human soul rendered some respect to the dead a principle that manifested itself to the common sense of heathens, shall we think that less care is due to the bodies of Christians, who once entertained a more glorious inhabitant, and were living temples of the Holy Ghost?[16] to bodies which were consecrated to the service of God; which bore their part in the duties of religion; fought the good fight of faith and patience, self-denial and mortification; and underwent the fatigue of many hardships and afflictions for the sake of piety and virtue? to bodies which, we believe, shall one day be awakened again from their sleep of death; have all their scattered particles of dust summoned together into their due order, and be *fashioned like to the glorious body of Christ*,[17] *as being* made partakers of the same glory with their immortal

[14] 1 Sam. xxxi. 12. Amos vi. 10. [15] See 2 Chron. xvi. 14. xxi. 19. Jer. xxxiv. 5.
[16] 1 Cor. vi. 19. [17] Phil. iii. 21. See also 1 Cor. xv. 42, 43, 44.

souls, as once they were of the same sufferings and good works? Surely bodies so honoured here, and to be so glorified hereafter, and which too we own even in the state of death to be under the care of a divine providence and protection, are not to be exposed and despised by us as unworthy of our regard. Moved by these considerations, the primitive Christians, though they made no use of ointments whilst they lived, yet they did not think the most precious too costly to be used about the dead.[18] And yet this was so far from being reproached with superstition, that it is ever reported as a laudable custom, and such as had something in it so engaging, so agreeable to the notions of civilized nature, as to have a very considerable influence upon the Heathens, who observed and admired it; it becoming instrumental in the disposing them to a favourable opinion at first, and afterwards to the embracing of the Christian religion, where these decencies and tender regards to deceased friends and good people were so constantly, so carefully, and so religiously practised.[19]

§. 5. To say exactly what was the *Primitive Office* or *Form* at the committing a Christian to the ground, is a difficult matter: but we are sure that Psalms were a principal part of it, from the concurrent testimonies of ancient writers.[20] Not but that these were accompanied with suitable prayers for the restitution of the deceased, with praises of those virtues which they were eminent for whilst living, and with ample recommendations of their good example to those who survived. And how agreeable our present office is to this, will be best seen by taking a distinct view of its particulars, which I shall now proceed to do in the same order that they lie.

The ancient form of burial.

SECT. I.—*Of the first Rubric.*

THOUGH all persons are, for decency, and some other of the reasons that have been mentioned above, to be *put under ground*; yet it appears by the rubric, (which was prefixed to this office at the last review,) as well as by the canons of the ancient Church, that

Christian burial denied to some sorts of persons.

[18] Minut. Felix, c. 12, p. 69. Arnob. l. 5. Clem. Alex. Pædagog. l. 2, c. 8, p. 176, A.

[19] This was observed by Julian the Apostate, who, writing to an idolatrous high-priest, put him in mind of those things by which he thought the Christians gained upon the world, and recommends them to the practice of the heathen priests, viz. the gravity of their carriage, their kindness to strangers, and their care for the burial of the dead. Epist. 49, ad Arsatium. [20] Const. Ap. l. 6, c. 30, p. 351, 359. Chrys. Hom. 4, in Ep. ad Hebr. tom. iv. p. 453, lin. 35. Concil. Tolet. 3, Can. 22, tom. v. col. 1014, D.

some are not capable of Christian burial. *Here it is to be noted, that the office ensuing is not to be used for any that die unbaptized or excommunicate, or have laid violent hands upon themselves.*

As, first, to such as die unbaptized.

I. The prohibiting the Burial-office to be used for any of these, is exactly agreeable to the ancient practice of the Church. For, first, in relation to such as die *unbaptized*, the first Council of Bracara, which was held A. D. 563, determines, that *there should be no oblations or commemorations made for them, neither should the office of singing be used at their funerals.*[21] Not that the Church determines any thing concerning the future state of those that depart before they are admitted to baptism: but since they have not been received within the pale of the Church, we cannot properly use an office at their funeral, which all along supposes the person that is buried to have died in her communion.

Whether persons baptized by the dissenters are here excluded.

§. 2. Whether this office is to be used over such as have been baptized by the dissenters or sectaries, who have no regular commission for the administering of the sacraments, has been a subject of dispute; people generally determining on one side or the other, according to their different sentiments of the validity or invalidity of such disputed baptisms. But I think that for determining the question before us, there is no occasion to enter into the merits of that cause: for whether the baptisms among the dissenters be valid or not, I do not apprehend that it lies upon us to take notice of any baptisms, except they are to be proved by the *registers* of the Church. Unless therefore we ourselves betray our own rights, by registering spurious among the genuine baptisms, persons baptized among the dissenters can have no just claim to the use of this office. For the rubric expressly declares, that *it is not to be used for any that die unbaptized:* but all persons are supposed to die unbaptized, but those whose baptisms the registers own: and therefore the registers not owning dissenting baptisms, those that die with such baptisms must be supposed to die unbaptized. But indeed the best way to put an end to this controversy, is to desire those that have separate places of worship, to have separate places for burial too; or at least to be con-

[21] Concil. Bracar. I, Can. 17, tom v. col. 841, C.

tent to put their dead into the ground, without requiring the prayers of a Minister, whose assistance in every thing but in this and marriage they neglect and despise.

Secondly, to such as die excommunicate.

II. The next persons, to whom the Church here denies the office of burial, are those that die *excommunicate;* i. e. those who die excommunicated with the *greater excommunication*, as it is expressed by the sixty-eighth canon. And to such as these Christian burial has ever been denied by the Catholic Church.[22] The intent of which penalty is to bring the excommunicate to seek the absolution and peace of the Church, for the health of his soul, before he leaves the world; and if not, to declare him cut off from the body of Christ, and by this mark of infamy to distinguish him from an obedient and regular Christian.

Whether an ipso facto excommunication seclude a man from Christian burial, before sentence is pronounced.

§. 2. The learned Mr. Johnson is of opinion,[23] that persons notoriously guilty of any of those crimes, for which excommunication *ipso facto* is decreed against them by the canons of our Church,[24] are really excommunicated, though they be not particularly by name published or declared to be so; and that therefore a Minister may refuse to bury them, if they die in this condition, and no one be able to testify of their repentance. To confirm which, he observes from the canonists, that it is a sufficient denunciation, if it come to the knowledge of the person excommunicated:[25] so that the Curate, who has taken care that his parishioners who are guilty of those crimes be made sensible that they are excommunicated by canon, seems to be under no obligation to bury them when they are dead. And yet this learned gentleman observes just before,[26] that the judges have declared that excommunication takes no effect as to the common law, till it be denounced by the Ordinary and Curate of the place where the offender lives. He also refers to Lyndwood,[27] to shew, that if the fact be not notorious or evident beyond exception, then it must be proved, and the sentence passed in the ecclesiastical court, before the criminal be taken for excommunicated *in foro Ecclesiæ.* Now certainly before he be taken for excommunicated he is not to be denied Christian burial, which

[22] Synes. Ep. 58, p. 203, A. Concil. Bracar. 1, Can. 16, tom. v. col. 841, E. Decretal. l. 3. Tit. 39, c. 12, et l. 5. Tit. 53, c. 5. [23] See Clergyman's Vade Mecum, p. 185, of the fifth edition. [24] See Canon II. III. IV. V. VI. VII. VIII. IX. XII.
[25] Lyndw. in Gloss. l. 3, T. 28, c. Seculi Principes v. Excommunicati. [26] Ibid. p. 183. [27] L. 1, T. 2, Gloss. vers. finem.

is treating him as excommunicated. It is true, Mr. Johnson is here speaking of a case where the fact is *not* notorious; but then he goes on to prove from the same author,[28] that though the fact *be* notorious, yet the offender must be publicly declared excommunicated, before it can be criminal for other persons to converse with him. From whence I would infer, that so long as he is allowed the conversation of Christians, he may also be indulged with a Christian burial. But he further observes from the same place in Lyndwood, that when the fact *is* notorious, the Curate of the parish may denounce the excommunication, without any special order from his superior. If so, then nobody, I suppose, will deny, that, when the Curate has denounced it, he is to be refused the use of this office of burial by the injunction of the canon,[29] and the rubric before us. But the greatest difficulty is in what he asserts in the following paragraph, viz. That the offender is to be deemed excommunicate, before such publication is made; which he founds upon supposition, that if it were otherwise, there would be no difference between *Constitutio Sententiæ latæ*, and *Constitutio Sententiæ ferendæ*. But, with submission to this gentleman, I can conceive a difference between these constitutions, without deeming an offender excommunicate before publication is made. For *Constitutio Sententiæ latæ* may signify, that the criminal, as soon as ever he is convicted and found guilty of the crime alleged against him, incurs the penalty inflicted by the canon, without any further sentence pronounced, than a declaration that he actually is and has been under the censure of the said canon: whereas *Constitutio Sententiæ ferendæ* may require not only that the criminal should be convicted, but also that after his conviction the sentence should be pronounced solemnly and in form, notwithstanding the canon may expressly declare what the punishment shall be. And this I take to be the sense in which Lyndwood and other lawyers understand it, whom certainly we must allow to be the best judges in the case. And this will explain what Mr. Johnson observes the canonists say, viz. that *Excommunicatio ipso facto* is *Excommunicatio facta nullo ministerio hominis interveniente*; that an *ipso facto excommunication* is an excommunication that takes effect without the intervention of any man's ministry. For whenever a canon says, that a criminal is *ipso facto excommunicated*, the

[28] Lyndw. l. 3, T. 28, vers. finem. [29] Canon LXVIII.

excommunication takes place as soon as he is tried, and found guilty of the crime, without any one's pronouncing any other sentence upon him, than that, by virtue of his crime, he is, and has been excommunicated by the canon; and that not only from the time that he is proved convict, but from the very time that he committed the fault: insomuch that all the advantages, penalties, and forfeitures that may be taken and demanded of a person excommunicated, may be taken and demanded of such a person quite back to the time when he committed the fact, for which he is now declared excommunicate. But still, though a criminal becomes liable to this censure from the very instant he commits the crime; yet he cannot legally be proceeded against, nor treated as excommunicate, before he is actually convicted and declared so to be. It is true the canonists suppose that a man may and ought to *shun the company* of one, whom he knows to have incurred excommunication; but private conversation is what any one may withhold from whomsoever he pleases, and what therefore a man ought to withhold from such a one as he knows, or believes, he is able to convict of having incurred a greater penalty. But this does not affect the question between Mr. Johnson and me. The question between us is about denying a man the sacraments and public offices of the Church, which the canonists[30] assert every man may claim, till it appears legally that he has forfeited his right to them. And therefore (which is the principal point here concerned) no man can be refused Christian burial, however subject he may have rendered himself to an *ipso facto excommunication*, unless he has been formally tried and convicted, and actually pronounced and declared excommunicate, and *no man is able to testify of his repentance.* By this clause in the canon,[31] indeed, one would be apt to imagine, that if any *were able* to testify of his repentance, the man has a right to Christian burial, though his sentence was not reversed: and to some such testimonies perhaps it might be owing, that since the Reformation, as well as before, commissions have been granted not only to *bury* persons who died excommunicate, but in some cases to *absolve* them, in order to Christian burial.[32] But the rubric speaks indefinitely of all that die excommunicate, and so seems to include all whose sentence was not reversed in their lifetime,

[30] Decr. Par. 2, Caus. 6, Quæst. 2, c. 3, verb. placuit.
[31] Canon LXVIII.
[32] See Bishop Gibson's Codex, Tit. 23, cap. 2, p. 540.

without supposing any benefit to be obtained by an absolution afterwards.

Thirdly, to such as lay violent hands upon themselves.

III. The last persons mentioned in the rubric we are discoursing of, are such *as have laid violent hands upon themselves;* to whom all Christian Churches, as well as our own, have ever denied the use of this office.[33] And indeed none have been so justly and so universally deprived of that natural right which all men seem to have in a grave, as those who break this great law of nature, the law of self-preservation. Such as these were forbid both by Jews and Heathens to be put under ground, that their naked bodies might lie exposed to public view.[34] And the indignity which (if I mistake not) our own laws enjoin to the bodies of those that murder themselves, viz. that they shall be buried in the high-way, and have a stake drove through them, though it is something more modest, yet is not less severe.

Whether a person that kills himself, being non compos mentis, be excluded by this rubric.

§. 2. This indignity indeed is to be only offered to those who lay violent hands on themselves, whilst they are of sound sense and mind: for they who are deprived of reason or understanding cannot contract any guilt, and therefore it would be unreasonable to inflict upon them any penalty. But then it may be questioned, whether even these are not exempted from having this office said over them; since neither the rubric nor our old ecclesiastical laws[35] make any exception in favour of those who may kill themselves in distraction, and since the office is in several parts of it improper for such a case. As to the coroner's warrant, I take that to be no more than a certificate that the body is not demanded by the law, and that therefore the relations may dispose of it as they please. For I cannot apprehend that the coroner is to determine the sense of a rubric, or to prescribe to the Minister when Christian burial is to be used. The scandalous practice of them and their inquests, notwithstanding the strictness of their oath, in almost constantly returning every one they sit upon to be *non compos mentis*, (though the very circumstances of their murdering themselves are frequently a proof of the soundness of their senses,) sufficiently shew how much their verdict is to be

[33] Vide Concil. Bracar. 1, Can. 16, ut supra, L. L. Edgari, c. 15, in Can. de modo imponendi Pœnitentiam. Concil. tom. ix. col. 690, B. [34] Joseph. Bell. Judaic. l. 3, c. 14. Plin. Nat. Hist. l. 36, c. 15. Aul. Gel. Noct. Attic. l. 15. c. 10. Servius in Æneid. 12. [35] See Mr. Johnson, A. D. 740, 96, in the CCCC MS. and 963, 24.

depended on. It is not very difficult indeed to account for this: we need only to be informed, that if a man be found *felo de se*, all he was possessed of devolves to the king, to be disposed of by the lord almoner, according to his discretion: and no fee being allowed out of this to the coroner, it is no wonder that the verdict is generally for the heirs, from whom a gratuity is seldom wanting. They plead indeed, that it is hard to give away the subsistence of a family: but these gentlemen should remember, that they are not sworn to be charitable, but to be just; that their business is to inquire, not what is convenient and proper to be done with that which is forfeited, but how the person came by his death; whether by another or himself; if by himself, whether he was *felo de se*, or *non compos mentis*. As the coroner indeed summons whom he pleases on the jury, and then delivers to them what charge he pleases, it is easy enough for him to influence their judgments, and to instil a general supposition, that a self-murderer must needs be mad, since no one would kill himself, unless he were out of his senses. But the jury should consider, that if the case were so, it would be to no purpose for the law to appoint so formal an inquiry. For, according to this supposition, such inquiry must be vain and impertinent, since the fact itself would be evidence sufficient. It is true indeed, there may be a *moral* madness, i. e. a misapplication of the understanding, in all self-murderers: but this sort of madness does not come under the cognizance of a jury; the question with them being, not whether the understanding was *misapplied*, but whether there was *any* understanding at all. In short, the best rule for a jury to guide themselves by in such a case, is to judge whether the signs of madness, that are now pretended, would avail to acquit the same person of murdering another man: if not, there is no reason why they should be urged as a plea for acquitting him of murdering himself. But this is a little wide from my subject: however, it may be of use to shew, what little heed is to be given to a coroner's warrant, and that there is no reason, because a coroner prostitutes his oath, that the clergy should be so complaisant as to prostitute their office.

SECT. II.—*Of the second Rubric.*

BEFORE the burial a *short peal* is to be rung,[36] to give the relations and neighbours notice of the

A peal to be rung before the Burial.

[36] Canon LXVII.

time, and to call them to pay their last attendance to their deceased friend.

The time for funerals.

§. 2. The *time* generally appointed for this is late in the *evening*, from whence the *bearers* had the name of *vespillones*. And as death is a *sleep*, and the grave a *resting-place*, the *night* is not improper for these solemnities. The primitive Christians indeed, by reason of their persecutions, were *obliged* to bury their dead in the night; but when afterwards they were delivered from these apprehensions, they *voluntarily* retained their old custom; only making use of *lighted torches*, (which we still continue,) as well, I suppose, for convenience, as to express their hope of the departed's being gone into the regions of light.[37]

The manner of the procession.

§. 3. The friends and relations being assembled together, the body is brought forth, and in some places is still, as anciently it was every where, laid upon the shoulders of some of the most intimate friends of the deceased:[38] though there have generally been some particular bearers appointed for this office, who were called by the Greeks Κοπιῶντες, or Κοπιαταὶ,[39] and *vespillones* by the Latins, for the reasons before named. The body being in a readiness, and moving towards the church, the chief mourners first, and then all the company follow it in order, intimating that all of them must shortly follow their deceased friend in the same path of death.[40]

Rosemary, why given at funerals.

§. 4. But to express their hopes that their friend is not lost for ever, each person in the company usually bears in his hand a sprig of *rosemary*: a custom which seems to have taken its rise from a practice among the heathens, of a quite different import. For they having no thoughts of a future resurrection, but believing that the bodies of those that were dead would for ever lie in the grave, made use of *cypress* at their funerals, which is a tree that being once cut never revives, but dies away.[41] But Christians, on the other side, having better hopes, and knowing that this very body of their friend, which they are now going solemnly to commit to the grave, shall one day rise again, and be reunited to his soul, instead of *cypress*, distri-

[37] Chrys. Hom. 4, in Hebr. tom. iv. p. 453, lin. 34, et Hom. 116. Greg. Nyss. in Vit. S. Macrinæ in Append. p. 201, B. Hieron. Ep. 27, de Paula, c. 13. [38] Greg. Naz. Orat. 20, tom. i. p. 371, C. Greg. Nyss. et Hieron. ut supra. [39] Epist. ad Antiochen. Ignat. adscripta, p. 88, edit. Voss. Lond. 1680. Epiphan. Compend. Doctr. Fid. Cathol. [40] Euchol. Græc. per Goar. p. 526. Alex. ab Alex. l. 3, c. 7. Donat. in Terent. Andr. act. 1, scen. 1, p. 20. [41] Plin. l. 16, c. 33, et Serv. in Æneid. 3, v. 70. See also Kennet's Roman Antiquities, p. 343.

bute *rosemary* to the company, which (being always green, and flourishing the more for being cropt, and of which a sprig only being set in the ground will sprout up immediately, and branch into a tree) is more proper to express this confidence and trust;[42] a custom not unlike that practised by the Jews, who, as they went with a corpse to the grave, plucked up every one a handful of grass, to denote that their brother was but so cropt off, and should again spring up in his proper season.[43]

The Priest and Clerks to meet the corpse at the entrance of the churchyard.

§. 5. The corpse having been brought in this manner or procession to the *entrance of the churchyard*, or to the *church-stile*, (as it was expressed in king Edward's first book,) *the Priest* in his *surplice*,[44] and the *Clerks*, of whom I have spoken before,[45] are ordered by the rubric there to *meet it*; so that the attendance of the Minister at the house of the deceased, and his accompanying it all the way from thence, is a mere voluntary respect, which he is at liberty to pay or refuse as he pleases. For, as it was expressed in the Injunctions of king Edward VI., *Forasmuch as Priests be public Ministers of the Church, and upon the holy-days ought to apply themselves to the common administration of the whole parish; they are not bound to go to women lying in child-bed, except in time of dangerous sickness, and not to fetch any corpse before it be brought to the churchyard.*[46] And so by our present canons,[47] *the corpse must be brought to the church or churchyard, and convenient warning too must be given the Minister beforehand*, or else there is no penalty lies upon him for either delaying or refusing to bury it.

And to go before it to the church or grave.

§. 6. But the corpse being capable of Christian burial, and having been brought in due form, and after due notice given, to the *entrance of the churchyard*; there the Minister must *meet it*,[48] and, as the present rubric further directs, *go before it either into the church, or towards the grave*; i. e. (if I rightly understand the words) if the corpse be to be buried within the church, he shall go directly thither; but if in the churchyard, he may first go to

[42] Durand. Rational. Divin. Offic. l. 7, c. 35, num. 38, fol. 457. [43] See Mr. Gregory's Sermon on the Resurrection, among his Posthumous Works, p. 70, and Leo Modena's Rites of the present Jews, published by Mr. Ockley, page 228. [44] See chap. 2, sect. 4, p. 102. [45] See page 154. [46] Bishop Sparrow's Collection, p. 11. [47] See Canon LXVIII. [48] Under pain of suspension from his ministry by the space of three months. See Canon LXVIII.

the grave:[49] for now, according to the general custom, every one is at liberty to be buried in which he pleases.

In what places the dead were used to be buried.

And indeed all nations whatsoever, Jews, Heathens, and Christians, have ever had solemn places set apart for this use; but in permitting their dead to be buried either in or near their places of worship, the Christians differ from both the former. For the Jews being forbid to touch or come near any dead body, and it being declared that they who did so were defiled, had always their sepulchres without the city:[50] and from them it is probable the Greeks and Romans derived, not only the notion of being polluted by a dead corpse, but the law also of burying without the walls.[51] For this reason the Christians, so long as the law was in force throughout the Roman empire, were obliged, in compliance with it, to bury their dead without the gates of the city:[52] a custom which prevailed here in England till about the middle of the eighth century, when archbishop Cuthbert of Canterbury obtained a dispensation from the pope for making churchyards within the walls.[53] However, that the Christians did not do this out of any belief that the body of a dead Christian defiled the place or persons near it, may be inferred from their consecrating their old places of burial into places of divine worship, and by building their churches, as soon as they had liberty, over some or other of the martyrs' graves.[54] After churches were built, indeed, they suffered no body to be buried in them; but had distinct places contiguous to them appropriated to this use, which, from the metaphor of *sleep*, by which death in Scripture is often described, were called κοιμητήρια, i. e. *cemeteries*, or *sleeping-places*. The first that we read of, as buried any where else, was Constantine the Great, to whom it was indulged, as a singular honour, to be buried in the *church-porch*.[55] Nor were any of the Eastern emperors, for several centuries afterwards, admitted to be buried any nearer to the church; for several canons had been made against allowing of this to any person, of what dignity soever:[56] and even in our own Church we find, that in the end of the seventh century, an archbishop of Canterbury had not been buried within

[49] See more of this below, in sect. IV. [50] See Luke vii. 12. [51] L. L. 12, Tabul. ut in Alex. ab Alex. l. 3, c. 2. [52] Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. 10. Vide et Baron. Annal. tom. ii. ad ann. 130. [53] See Godwin's Life of Cuthbert. [54] Chrys. tom. v. Hom. 3. [55] Chrys. Hom. 26, in 2 Cor. tom. iii. page 687. Callisth. Hist. Eccl. l. 14, c. 58, tom. ii. page 582, B. [56] Concil. Bracar. Can. 18, tom. v. col. 842. Concil. Nannetens. c. 6, et Concil. Tribur. Can. 17.

the church, but that the porch was full with six of his predecessors that had been buried there before.[57] By a canon made in king Edgar's reign, about the middle of the tenth century, "no man was allowed to be buried in the church, unless it were known that he had so pleased God in his lifetime, as to be worthy of such a burying-place;"[58] though above a hundred years afterwards we meet with another canon, made at a council at Winchester, that seems again to prohibit all corpses whatsoever, without any exception, from being buried in churches.[59] But in later times, every one, that could pay for the honour, has been generally allowed it; but since all cannot purchase it, nor the churches contain all, there is a necessity of providing some other conveniences for this use. And this has generally been done, as I observed before, by enclosing some of the ground round the church, for a burying-place, or churchyard; that so, as the faithful are going to the house of prayer, they may be brought to a fit temper and disposition of mind, by a prospect of the graves and monuments of their friends: nothing being more apt to raise our devotion, than serious thoughts upon death and mortality. I need not say now whether the church or churchyard be the most ancient and proper place for burial; nor have I any thing left to say further on this head, than that in whichever the grave is, the Priest is to *go before*, and to lead the company thither, and to conduct, and introduce, as it were, the corpse of the deceased into its house of rest.

SECT. III.—*Of the Sentences to be used in going to the Church, or the Grave.*

The Sentences.

SINCE the following a dear and beloved friend to the grave must naturally raise in us some melancholy and concern, the Church calls in the aids of religion to raise and cheer our dejected hearts. It was with this design that pious antiquity carried out their dead with hymns of triumph, as conquerors that had gloriously finished their course, and were now going to receive their crown of victory.[60] To this end again were those hallelujahs sung of old, as they went to the grave;[61] a custom still retained in many parts of this nation, where they divert the grief of the friends and mourners by singing psalms from the house to the very *entrance of the churchyard*. And here the

[57] See Bishop Godwin's Life of Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury. [58] Mr. Johnson's Laws, 960, 29. [59] Ibid. 1071, 9. [60] Chrys. Hom. 4, in Ep. ad Hebr.
[61] Hieron. ad Eustoch. Ep. 27, et ad Oceanum, Ep. 30.

holy man comes forth to meet us, and immediately salutes us with the gospel of peace. And indeed whither should we go for consolations on this occasion, but to that storehouse of comfort, which is furnished with remedies for every grief?

John xi. 25, 26. I. He begins with the words which were spoken at first by the blessed JESUS, as he was going towards the grave of a beloved friend, with intent to comfort a pious mourner; words so proper to the occasion, that they have been used in the Burial-office of almost all Churches whatever.[62] Poor Martha's affection and sorrow for her brother had almost swallowed up her faith in JESUS, and it is not unusual for the same passions still to prevail to the same excessive degree: but our Lord here comforts both her and us, by reminding us of his omnipotence, and absolute power to raise the dead, and restore them to life, as well in a natural as a spiritual sense. If then we can recover but the exercise of our faith, we shall be much more at ease; as remembering that the soul of our deceased friend, though parted from his body, is still alive, and that even his corpse, which we follow, shall live again as soon as ever Christ shall call it.

Job xix. 25, 26, 27. II. As a noble example of the exercise of that faith, which the foregoing sentence was designed to raise in us, Job is proposed to us in this that follows. And surely if he, who lived among the Gentiles so long before the revelation of Christianity, could sustain his spirit with the hopes of a resurrection; it will be no small reproach to us, who have fuller and better assurances of it, to be slower in our belief of this article than he. The old translation of these verses in Job, (which was retained in our office till the last review, when from the Scotch Liturgy it was changed for the new one,) as it was more agreeable to the ancient versions and the sense of the Fathers, so was it more applicable to the present occasion. The words, as they stood then, ran as follow: *I know that my Redeemer liveth, and that I shall rise out of the earth in the last day, and shall be covered again with my skin, and shall see God in my flesh; yea, and I myself shall behold him, not with other, but with these same eyes.* Thus the Fathers read it, and accordingly explained it of a particular resurrection of this very body.[63] And in this sense it is an admirable consolation to all that mourn for the

[62] Aug. Verb. Apost. Serm. 35. Durand. Rational. l. 7, c. 35. Eucholog. Offic. Exequ. pag. 527. [63] Chrys. et Hieron. in loc. Aug. de Civ. Dei, 22, 29, et Serm. 2, de Nat. Dom.

loss of friends, viz. to believe with holy Job, that the same person we are now laying in the earth, there to crumble and moulder into dust, shall in due time, by the power of God, arise from his grave, and live again. We lose indeed the sight of him for a season, but *we know that* JESUS *our Redeemer liveth*, who will in due time raise us all from the dust, when both our friend and we shall all behold him, and even know and distinguish each other again with these very eyes.

III. The next grace to be exercised at this time is *patience*, which, upon these occasions, is often violently assaulted by worldly considerations: for when we reflect on *our own* loss in being deprived of a friend; or descend lower, to reflect upon the comforts of the world which *he* hath left behind him, our passions are apt to overflow. But here a third sentence comes in to allay both these griefs. We have lost, perhaps, a tender, dear, and useful friend: but what then? we brought no friends with us into the world, nor can we carry them out from hence. They were given us by God, who can raise up others in their stead; and they are taken away by him, to wean our affections from any thing here. We should therefore rather bless the Giver for the time we have enjoyed them, than murmur at his taking them, after he has lent them us so long. 1 Tim. vi. 7, and Job i. 21.

Again, as to our friend, it is true, he is going naked to the grave: but alas! he goes no otherwise than he came: for (saith the Wise Man) *as he came forth of his mother's womb, naked shall he return to go as he came, and shall take nothing of his labour, which he may carry away in his hand.*[65] *He shall carry nothing away with him* (saith the Psalmist) *when he dieth, neither shall his pomp follow him.*[66] Whatever he had, or possessed here, was only useful to him so long as he stayed: where is the misfortune then, if, upon removing from hence, he leaves that behind him, which will be of no service to him in the place he is going to? Whilst he was engaged on this stage of the world, God furnished him with a habit suitable to the part which he expected him to perform: shall any of us therefore think it strange, that the actor is undressed when his part is done? In a word, let us consider ourselves under what character we please, there is still the same reason to join with the holy penmen in these noble reflections; *We brought nothing into the world, and it is certain we can carry*

[65] Eccl. 5. 15. [66] Psalm xlix. 17.

nothing out; the Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away; blessed be the name of the Lord.

SECT. IV.—*Of the Psalms and Lessons.*

Psalms always used at Christian funerals.

THOUGH joy, at the first glance, may seem unsuitable to a funeral solemnity; yet, upon due reflection, we shall be of another opinion. The wiser sort of heathens bury their dead with expressions of joy, lamenting themselves for staying behind, whilst their friend is gone to be immortalized above.[67] And that hymns and psalms were always used upon the like occasions by the primitive Christians, is abundantly testified by the ancient writers.[68] In the Greek Church the order is much the same as in ours, viz. that *when they come into the church, the body shall be set down in the lower end thereof, and then they shall begin the ninetieth psalm.*[69] This, together with the thirty-ninth, are what our own Church uses on this occasion; both which will appear, upon a little reflection, to be exactly agreeable to this solemnity.

Psalm xxxix.

§. 1. The thirty-ninth Psalm is supposed to have been composed by David, upon Joab's reproaching him for his public grief for Absalom's death; and is of use in this place, to direct and comfort those that mourn, to check all loud and unseemly complaints, and to turn them into prayers and devout meditations.

Psalm xc.

§. 2. The other was composed by Moses in the wilderness, upon the death of that vast multitude, who, for their murmuring and infidelity, were sentenced to leave their carcasses in the wilderness; and who accordingly wasted by little and little before they came into the land of Canaan. Upon this the prophet breaks forth into these religious meditations, not accusing the divine providence, but applying all to the best advantage; shewing us withal what thoughts we should entertain, when we have the prospect of a funeral before our eyes; viz. that we should reflect upon, and consider our own lot, and endeavour to apply the instance of mortality now before us, to the bettering and improving of our own condition.

In the first book of king Edward, instead of the Psalms of

[67] Porphyr. de Abst. l. 4, §. 18. Polydor. Virg. de Invent. l. 6, c. 10. [68] Hieron. de Morte Fabiolæ. Chrys. Ep. iv. in Ep. ad Hebr. Anton. in Fun. Paul. Erem. apud Hieron. [69] Eucholog. Offic. Exeq. 526.

which we have now been speaking, there were three others appointed, viz. the cxvith, the cxxxixth, and cxlvith. And when they were left out at the next review, there were no other whatever ordered in the room of them, till these were inserted at king Charles's restoration.

The Lesson.

II. After the Psalms out of the Old Testament, follows the proper Lesson out of the New: for since the faith of the resurrection is not only the principal article of a Christian's belief, but also the article which chiefly concerns us on this occasion, (as well to allay our sorrow for the party deceased, as to prepare us freely to follow him when God shall call us;) therefore the Church has chosen here the fullest account of the resurrection of the dead that the whole Scripture affords; that article being here so strongly proved, so plainly described, and so pertinently applied, that nothing could have been more suitable to the present purpose; for which reason we find it has always been used in this office of the Church.[70]

Prayers for the dead, in what sense used in king Edward's Common Prayer.

§. 2. The Psalms and Lesson in king Edward's first Liturgy are followed by some other suffrages (which I have printed in the margin *) in behalf of the deceased; how far, and in what sense, *prayers for the dead* were used by the

* The Lesson ended, then shall the Priest say,
Lord have mercy upon us.
Christ have mercy upon us.
Lord have mercy upon us.
Our Father which art in heaven, &c.
And lead us not into temptation.
Answ. But deliver us from evil. Amen.
Priest. Enter not (O Lord) into judgment with thy servant.
Answ. For in thy sight no living creature shall be justified.
Priest. From the gates of hell,
Answ. Deliver their souls, O Lord.
Priest. I believe to see the goodness of the Lord,
Answ. In the land of the living.
Priest. O Lord, graciously hear my prayer,
Answ. And let my cry come unto thee.

Let us pray.

O Lord, with whom do live the spirits of them that be dead; and in whom the souls of them that be elected, after they be delivered from the burden of the flesh, be in joy and felicity: Grant unto this thy servant, that the sins which he hath committed in this world be not imputed unto him, but that he, escaping the gates of hell, and pains of eternal darkness, may ever dwell in the regions of light, with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, in the place where there is no weeping, sorrow, nor heaviness: and when that dreadful day of the general resurrection shall come, make him to rise also with the just and righteous; and receive this body again to glory, then made pure and incorruptible: set him on the right hand of thy Son Jesus Christ, among thy holy and elect, that then he may hear with them these most sweet and comfortable words: Come to me, ye blessed of my Father, possess the kingdom which hath been prepared for you from the beginning of the world. Grant this, we beseech thee, O merciful Father, through Jesus Christ our Mediator and Redeemer. Amen.

[70] Durand. Rational. l. 7, c. 35. Man. Sarisb. fol. 107.

primitive Church, I have already had occasion to shew.[71] And how different the prayers for departed souls, in our first Common Prayer Books, were from those which the Church of Rome makes use of, and how inconsistent with their doctrine of Purgatory, may be gathered from the paragraph which I there transcribed out of the old prayer for *the whole state of Christ's Church;* and will further appear from this prayer in the Burial-office, which I have here inserted, as well as from others which I shall have occasion to transcribe by and by. All therefore I shall say in reference to them here, shall be only to note once for all, that whatever in that book related directly and immediately to the dead was all thrown out of the second Liturgy, at the instance of Calvin and his old friend Bucer. There was one clause indeed permitted to stand till the last review, viz. in the prayer that immediately follows the Lord's Prayer, in which, till then, we prayed, that, *we* WITH THIS OUR BROTHER, *and all other departed in the true faith of God's holy name, might have our perfect consummation and bliss*, &c. Nor did the Presbyterians at the Savoy Conference make any other objection against this clause, than what they did in general against all that expressed any assurance of the deceased party's happiness, which they did not think proper to be said indifferently over all that died.[72] However, upon the review of the Common Prayer afterwards, these words were left out. Not but that the sentence, as it is still left standing, may well enough be understood to imply the dead as well as the living: for we pray (as it is now) that *we, with all those that are departed in the true faith of God's holy name, may have our perfect consummation and bliss;* which is not barely a supposition, that all those who are so departed *will* have their perfect consummation and bliss; but a prayer also that they *may* have it, viz. that *we with them, and they with us*, may be made perfect together, both in body and soul, in the eternal and everlasting glory of God. For "though (saith bishop Cosin upon this very prayer) the souls of the faithful be in joy and felicity; yet because they are not in such a degree of that joy and felicity, as that they can never receive no more than they have already; therefore in the latter part here of this our prayer, we beseech God to *give them a full and perfect consummation of bliss both in body*

[71] See ch. VI. §. XI. p. 283. [72] See their Exceptions against the Book of Common Prayer, page 31, 4to, 1661, or in Baxter's Narrative of his own Life, page 332.

and soul, in his eternal kingdom of glory, which is yet to come. And whatsoever the effect and fruit of this prayer will be, though it be uncertain; yet hereby we shew that charity which we owe to all those that are fellow-servants with us to Christ; and in this regard our prayers cannot be condemned, being neither impious nor unfit for those that profess the Christian religion. For in like manner, if I should make a prayer to God for my father or mother, for my brother or sister, for my son or daughter, or any other friend of mine who were travelling in a journey, beseeching him that he would prosper them in their way, and keep them from all danger and sickness, till they should safely and happily arrive at their journey's end, and the place where they desire to be; although at the same time, when I prayed this for them, peradventure they be arrived at the place already (which I knew not) with all safety, and met with no danger or diseases by the way, whereby all my prayer is prevented; yet the solicitude and charity, in the mean while, that I had for them, cannot be justly or charitably reprehended by any others."[73] Much to the same purpose just before: "Although (saith he) it cannot be exactly and distinctly declared what benefit the dead receive by these prayers which the living make for them: yet if there be nothing else, there is this at least in it, that hereby is declared the communion and conjunction which we have still with one another, as members of the same body whereof Christ is the head."[74] So also before him bishop Overal, in his notes upon this same place: "The Puritans (saith he) think that here is prayer for the dead allowed and practised by the Church of England; and so think I: but we are not both in one mind for censuring the Church for so doing. They say it is popish and superstitious; I for my part esteem it pious and Christian. The body lies dead in the grave, but by Christ's power and God's goodness shall men be raised up again; and the benefit is so great, that sure it is worth the praying for: because then we may pray for what we ourselves or our deceased brethren as yet have not, therefore doth the Church pray for the *perfect consummation of bliss, both in soul and body*, to be given to our brethren departed. We believe the resurrection; yet may pray for it as we do for *God's kingdom to come*. Besides, prayer for the dead cannot be denied but to have been uni-

[73] See the Additional Notes to Dr. Nichols on the Common Prayer, p. 65. [74] Ibid. p. 65.

versally used of all Christians in the ancientest and purest state of the Church, and by the Greek Fathers, who never admitted any purgatory, no more than we do, and yet pray for the dead notwithstanding. What though their souls be in bliss already? they may have a greater degree of bliss by our prayers: and when their bodies come to be raised, and joined to their souls again, they shall be sure of a better state. Our prayers for them then will not be in vain, were it but for that alone." [75] But to return.

The Psalms and Lesson, whether ever to be omitted.

§. 3. By the first Common Prayer, both the Psalms and Lesson, with the suffrages above mentioned, were *to be said in the church either before or after the burial of the corpse.* But from that time to the restoration of king Charles, the Lesson (for I have observed during all that time there were no Psalms) was appointed to be read wherever the grave was, whether in the church, or churchyard, immediately after the sentence taken out of the Revelation. But the Presbyterians objecting that this exposed both Minister and people to many inconveniences, by standing in the air,[76] there was a rubric added at the last review, which orders, that the Psalms and Lesson shall be said *after they are come into the church:* so that now, I suppose, it is again left to the Minister's discretion (as it was in the rubric of the first book of king Edward) whether he will read them before or after the burial of the corpse. For the second rubric at the beginning of the office permits him to go *to the church or to the grave*, i. e. to either of them directly, which he pleases: nor is there any further direction, that if he goes into the church, it shall be before he goes to the grave: but only that *after they are come into the church*, one or both of the Psalms shall be read with the Lesson that follows; and *when they come to the grave*, the rest of the devotions that are to be used.

I know some are of opinion, that the design of the rubrics, as they are worded now, is to give liberty to the Minister to go immediately to the grave, and so wholly to omit the Lesson and Psalms: but if that were the design of them, one would have expected some hint that they might be omitted; whereas the expression in the rubric, *after they are come into the church*, seems to suppose that either first or last they will

[75] See the Additional Notes to Dr. Nichols on the Common Prayer, p. 64.
[76] See Exceptions, as before.

come thither. I am therefore rather inclined to think, that the meaning of leaving the rubric so dubious is, that if the Minister go directly *into the church*, the grave being there, he should use the Psalms and Lesson before the burial: but if the grave be without the church, he may first go thither to bury the corpse, and then afterwards, to prevent any inconveniency from the air, proceed to the church itself, to read the Psalms and Lesson, according to the rubric in the first Common Prayer. For I do not know any instance in the whole Liturgy besides, where the Minister is at liberty to leave out so considerable a part of an office, when it is so proper to be used. But I only give this as my private opinion: for I know it belongs to a much higher authority *to appease diversity, and to resolve doubts concerning the manner how to understand, do, and execute the things contained in this book.*[77]

SECT. V.—*Of the Devotions and Solemnity to be used at the Grave.*

I. WHEN the body is stript of all but its grave-attire, and is just going to be put into the ground, it is most like to make the deepest impression upon us, and to strike us with the most serious apprehensions of our mortality. This happy opportunity the Church is unwilling to lose; and therefore, whilst we are in such good dispositions of mind, she presents us with a noble strain of devotion, consisting of a meditation on the shortness, and misery, and uncertainty of life, together with an acknowledgment of our dependence on God, whom yet we have disobliged and offended with our sins. However, we presume to fly to him for succour, and beg of him to preserve us from eternal death hereafter, and to support us under the pains of temporal death here. The meditation at the grave.

II. Next after this follows the solemn interment: immediately before which the Gentiles took *their leave* of their deceased friends, by bidding them *Farewell for ever*.[78] And the ancient Christians used to give a parting kiss of charity, just as the body was about to be put into the grave, to declare their affection, and evidence that he died in the unity and peace of the Church,[79] a custom still retained in the Greek Church,[80] and in some of the northern parts of England. The taking leave of the body.

[77] See the Preface concerning the Service of the Church. [78] Virg. Æn. 11, v. 97. Alex. ab Alex. l. 3, c. 7. [79] Dionys. Areop. c. 7, p. 150, A. Durand. Rational. l. 7, c. 35. [80] Euchelog. p. 535.

The position of the corpse in the grave.

§. 2. As for the posture or position of the corpse in the grave, it hath been always a custom to bury them with *their feet eastward, and their face upwards*, that so at the resurrection they may be ready to meet Christ, who is expected from the *east*, and that they may be in a posture of prayer as soon as they are raised.[81]

The throwing earth upon the body.

§. 3. The casting earth upon the body was esteemed an act of piety by the very heathens;[82] insomuch that to find a body unburied, and leave it uncovered, was judged amongst them a great crime.[83] In the Greek Church this has been accounted so essential to the solemnity, that it is ordered to be done by the Priest himself.[84] And the same was enjoined by our own rubric in the first Common Prayer of king Edward VI. But in our present Liturgy it is only ordered that it *shall be cast upon the body by some standing by:* and so it is generally left to one of the bearers, or sexton, who, according to Horace's description,[85] gives three casts of earth upon the body or coffin, whilst the Priest pronounces the solemn form which explains the ceremony, viz. *Earth to earth, ashes to ashes, dust to dust.*

The form of words.

§. 4. And indeed the whole form of words, which the Priest is to use whilst the ceremony is performed, is very pertinent and significant.* The phrase of *committed his body to the ground*, implies, that we deliver it into safe custody, and into such hands as will faithfully restore it again. We do not cast it away as a lost and perished carcass; but carefully lay it in the ground, as having in it a seed of eternity, *and in sure and certain hope of the resurrection to eternal life:* not that we believe that every one we bury shall rise again to joy and felicity, or profess this *sure and certain hope* of the resurrection of the person that is now interred. It is not HIS resurrection, but THE resurrection, that is here expressed; nor do we go on to mention the change of HIS body, in the singular number, but of *our vile body*, which comprehends the bodies of Christians in general. That this is the sense and meaning of the words, may be shewn from the other parallel form which the Church

* In the first Common Prayer Book of king Edward VI. the beginning was different from what it is now—"Then the Priest, casting earth upon the corpse, shall say, I commend thy soul to God the Father Almighty, and thy body to the ground, earth to earth," &c.

[81] Durand. ut supra. [82] Ælian. Var. Hist. l. 5, c. 14. [83] Horat. l. 1, Od. 28, v. 36. [84] Goar. Eucholog. Offic. Exeq. p. 538. [85] Injecto ter pulvere. Horat. ut supra.

has appointed to be used at the burial of the dead *at sea*.* And this being a principal article of our faith, it is highly reasonable that we should publicly acknowledge and declare our steadfastness in it, when we lay the body of any Christian in the grave.

The Sentence out of the Revelation.

III. After the foregoing form follows a *consolatory sentence* from Rev. xiv. 3, *to be said* by the Priest alone, or to be *sung* by him and the Clerks together. The propriety of it to the present solemnity occasioned its being used in the Western Church many centuries ago.[86] It is a special revelation that was made to St. John, and ordered to be recorded for ever by him, to be a perpetual consolation in relation to the state of departed saints. For since JESUS hath now conquered death, *from henceforth blessed are the dead which die in the Lord.* They are no more to be lamented, but to be the subjects of our joy. The Spirit assures us that they *rest from their labours*, their work is done, their warfare accomplished, and now they enjoy crowns of victory as the rewards of their pains.

The Lord's Prayer.

IV. But though the deceased rest from *their* labours, yet *we* are in the midst of *ours:* and therefore in the next place we proceed to pray for our own salvation, and the consummation of our own happiness, beginning first (as in most other offices) with the *lesser Litany* and *Lord's Prayer*.

The two prayers.

V. After this follow two other Prayers; in each of which there is such a noble mixture of acts of faith and hope concerning the state of our deceased friend, and of prayers and petitions for our happiness with him, as, being duly attended to, will effectually pacify that unnecessary grief, which is pernicious to ourselves without benefiting the deceased; and will turn our thoughts to a due care of our own souls, in order to our meeting again, with infinitely more joy, than we now part with sorrow and grief.

Hope of the party's salvation, how much it necessarily implies.

§. 2. Against the last of these prayers it is often objected that we make declaration of *hope* that all we bury are saved. In order to appease the scruples about which, as far as the nature of the

* We therefore commit his body to the deep, to be turned into corruption, looking for the resurrection of the body (when the sea shall give up her dead) and the life of the world to come, through our Lord Jesus Christ, who at his coming shall change our vile body, &c.

[86] Durand Rational. l. 7, c. 35. Man. Sarisb. fol. 137, &c.

expression will bear, we desire it may be considered, that there are very different degrees of *hope*, the lowest of which is but one remove from *despair*. Now there are but very few with whom we are concerned, that die in a state so utterly desperate, as that we may positively affirm they are damned; which yet we might do, did we absolutely and entirely despair of their salvation. It remains, therefore, that we must have some, though very faint hopes of their salvation: and this seems sufficient to warrant this declaration, especially if it be pronounced as faintly as the hope itself is entertained. However, it must be confessed, that it is very plain, from the whole tenor of this office, that the compilers of it, presuming upon a due exercise of discipline, never supposed that any would be offered to Christian burial, who had not led Christian lives. But since iniquity hath so far prevailed over the discipline of the Church, that schismatics, heretics, and all manner of vicious livers, escape its censures, this gloss seems the best that our present circumstances will admit of. And if it be not satisfactory, there seems to be no other remedy left, than that our governors should leave us to a discretionary use of these expressions, either till they be altered by public authority, or, which is much rather to be wished, till discipline be so vigorously exercised, that there be no offence in the use of them.

Celebration of the Communion at funerals formerly appointed.

§. 3. The prayer, against which this objection is made, is in our present Common Prayer Book called *the Collect:* the reason of which is, because in king Edward's first book, at the end of the Burial-office, there is an order for *the celebration of the holy Communion when there is a burial of the dead.* The forty-second Psalm is appointed for the introit. The prayer I am now speaking of, with a little alteration at the end, which I shall give by and by, stands there for the Collect; 1 Thess. iv. 13 to the end, is ordered for the Epistle; and for the Gospel, St. John vi. 37 to 48.

Receiving the Eucharist at funerals is not without precedents in the ancient Church.[57] Bishop Cosin was of opinion, that "the design of it was to declare, that the dead person departed out of this life in the public faith and unity of the Catholic Church of Christ. From whence, saith he, we learn,

[57] Vide Concil. Carthag. Can. 44, ap. Bevereg. Pandect. Can. vol. i. p. 567, et vol. ii. p. 207. Aug. de Funere Matris suæ Monicæ, Lib. Confess. 9, c. 12, et Possid. de Morte et Funere August. in ejusdem Vita.

what the reason was, that Monica, the mother of St. Augustine, so much desired to be remembered at the altar after her death, which was not (as the fond and ignorant sort of people among the new Roman Catholics imagine) to fetch her soul so much the sooner out of purgatory, (for the papal purgatory fire was not then kindled or known;) but partly to testify her faithful departure in the religion and communion among all other good Christians; and partly to have praise and thanksgivings rendered to Almighty God, for her happy departure out of this world to a better; and partly also, that by the prayers of the Church, made at the celebration of the holy Eucharist, and by virtue of Christ's death and sacrifice therein commemorated, she might obtain a joyful resurrection of her body out of the grave, and have her perfect consummation of glory, both in body and soul, in God's everlasting kingdom."[88] "Innocent (saith Mr. L'Estrange) was this rite, whilst it preserved its first intent: but it degenerating from its original purity, by masses and dirges sung for the souls of the dead, wisely was it done of our second Reformers, to remove not only the evils themselves of such heterodox opinions, but even the occasions of them also, viz. the Communion used at Burials."[89] Which being so evident as to matter of fact, (for the second book of king Edward was published without it,) it may seem something strange, how it came to be reprinted in the Latin translation of queen Elizabeth's Common Prayer Book, in the second year of her reign. That this was not a translation of a private pen not licensed by authority, and so the effect of mistake, or a clandestine practice, (as bishop Sparrow conjectures,[90]) is plain from its being done by the command of the queen, and by her recommendation of it to the two Universities, and to the colleges of Winchester and Eton: and particularly by the express words of her Majesty's proclamation, wherein she declares, that *some things peculiar at the funerals of Christians she had added and commanded to be used, the Act for Uniformity, set forth in the first year of her reign, to the contrary notwithstanding.*[91] Perhaps it might have been ordered for the same reason that I have supposed the reserv-

[88] See Bishop Cosin's Note upon this Collect, in Dr. Nichol's Additional Notes, p. 65. As also another Note of Bishop Overal's to the same purpose, in the same place. [89] Alliance of Divine Offices, p. 303. [90] See the Bishop's Answer to some Liturgical Demands, at the end of his Rationale on the Common Prayer, §. 10. [91] Peculiaria quædam in Christianorum Funeribus et Exequiis decantanda adjungi præcipimus, Statuto de Ritu Publicarum Precum, anno primo Regni nostri promulgato, in contrarium non obstante. Bishop Sparrow's Collection, p. 202.

ation of the elements was allowed, or indulged to those learned societies by the same book,[92] viz. because they were in less danger of abusing it, and it might contribute to reconcile them the easier to the Reformation.

I have already hinted that the close of the prayer, which is called the Collect in our present office, was different, as it stood in the first Common Prayer, from what it is now. The present conclusion of it was taken from the end of another prayer, which was then in this office; but of which the beginning has ever since been left out: but the best way to give the reader a clear notion of it, is to transcribe the prayers at the bottom of the page, whither therefore I refer him.*

The blessing.

§. 4. The blessing was added at the end of the whole office at the last review, of which enough has been said in other places.

The peal.

§. 5. The whole solemnity is concluded with another peal, which the same canon[93] orders after the Burial, that appoints one before it.

* After the sentence, "I heard a voice from heaven," &c. followed,

"Let us pray.

"We commend into thy hands of mercy, (most merciful Father,) the soul of this our brother departed, N. And his body we commit to the earth, beseeching thine infinite goodness to give us grace to live in thy fear and love, and to die in thy favour: that when the judgment shall come, which thou hast committed to thy well-beloved Son, both this our brother, and we, may be found acceptable in thy sight, and receive that blessing which thy well-beloved Son shall then pronounce to all that love and fear thee, saying, Come ye blessed children of my Father, receive the kingdom prepared for you before the beginning of the world. Grant this, merciful Father, for the honour of Jesus Christ our only Saviour, Mediator, and Advocate, Amen.

"This Prayer shall also be added.

"Almighty God, we give thee hearty thanks for this thy servant, whom thou hast delivered from the miseries of this wretched world, from the body of death, and all temptation; and, as we trust, has brought his soul, which he committed into thy holy hands, into sure consolation and rest. Grant, we beseech thee, that, at the day of judgment, his soul and all the souls of thy elect, departed out of this life, may with us, and we with them, fully receive thy promises, and be made perfect altogether, through the glorious resurrection of thy Son Jesus Christ our Lord."

These were the two prayers which were then used instead of the Prayers that are used at present: the last of which was then the Collect appointed for the Communion-office, except that instead of the latter part of it, which we see was the conclusion of another form in king Edward's book, it ended thus:

"And that, at the general resurrection in the last day, both we and this our brother departed, receiving again our bodies, and rising again in thy most gracious favour, may, with all thy elect saints, obtain eternal joy. Grant this, O Lord God, by the means of our Advocate Jesus Christ, who with thee and the Holy Ghost liveth and reigneth one God for ever. Amen."

[92] See Appendix to chap. XI. sect. I. §. 2, page 459. [93] Canon LXVII.

CHAPTER XIII.

OF THE THANKSGIVING OF WOMEN AFTER CHILDBIRTH, COMMONLY CALLED THE CHURCHING OF WOMEN.

THE INTRODUCTION.

Why placed after the office for the Burial of the Dead.

ONE would think that, after an office *for the Burial of the Dead*, no other should be expected; and yet we see here another rises to our view, which the Church has appointed for the use of such women as have been safe delivered from the great pain and peril of childbirth, and which she has placed in her Liturgy after the office foregoing, to intimate, as it were, that such a woman's recovery is next to a revival or resurrection from the dead. For indeed the birth of man is so truly wonderful, that it seems to be designed as a standing demonstration of the omnipotence of God. And therefore that the frequency of it may not diminish our admiration, the Church orders a public and solemn acknowledgment to be made on every such occasion by the woman on whom the miracle is wrought: who still feels the bruise of our first parent's fall, and labours under the curse which Eve then entailed upon her whole sex.

The original of it.

§. 2. As to the original of this custom, it is not to be doubted, but that as many other Christian usages received their rise from other parts of the Jewish economy, so did this from the rite of Purification, which is enjoined so particularly in the twelfth chapter of Leviticus. Not that we observe it by virtue of that precept, which we grant to have been ceremonial, and so not now of any force; but because we apprehend some moral duty to have been implied in it by way of analogy, which must be obligatory upon all, even when the ceremony is ceased. The uncleanness of the woman, the set number of days she is to abstain from the tabernacle, and the sacrifices she was to offer when she first came abroad, are rites wholly abolished, and what we noways regard: but then the open and solemn acknowledgment of God's goodness in delivering the mother, and increasing the number of mankind, is a duty that will oblige to the end of

the world. And therefore though the mother be now no longer obliged to offer the material sacrifices of the law, yet she is nevertheless bound to offer the evangelical sacrifice of praise. She is still publicly to acknowledge the blessing vouchsafed her, and to profess her sense of the fresh obligation it lays her under to obedience. Nor indeed may the Church be so reasonably supposed to have taken up this rite from the practice of the Jews, as she may be, that she began it in imitation of the blessed Virgin, who though she was rather sanctified than defiled by the birth of our Lord, and so had no need of Purification from any uncleanness, whether legal or moral, yet wisely and humbly submitted to this rite, and offered her praise, together with her blessed Son, in the temple.[1] And that from hence this usage was derived among Christians, seems probable, not only from its being so universal and ancient, that the beginning of it can hardly any where be found:[2] but also from the practice of the Eastern Church, where the mother still brings the child along with her, and presents it to God on her churching-day.[3] The Priest indeed is there said to *purify* them: and in our first Common Prayer, this office with us was entitled *The Order of the Purification of Women.* But that neither of these terms implied, that the woman had contracted any uncleanness in her state of childbearing, may not only be inferred from the silence of the offices both in the Greek Church and ours in relation to any uncleanness; but is also further evident from the ancient laws relating to this practice, which by no means ground it upon any impurity, from which the woman stands in need to be purged.[4] And therefore, when our own Liturgy came to be reviewed, to prevent all misconstructions that might be put upon the word, the title was altered, and the office named (as it is still in our present Common Prayer Book) *The Thanksgiving of Women after Childbirth, commonly called The Churching of Women.*

SECT. I.—*Of the Rubric before the Office.*

The woman to be churched at the

IN the Greek Church, the time for performing this office is limited to be on the *fortieth day*;[5]

[1] Vide Chrysost. et Theophylact. in Luc. ii. 22. [2] Vide Dionys. Alexandr. Can. 2, apud Bevereg. Concil. tom. ii. pag. 4. Novel. Const. Leon. Aug. Novel. 17, ap. Balsam. in loc. Dionysii ap. Bever. ut supra. Can. Pœnitent. Greg. 3, cap. 30, Biblioth. Patr. tom. vi. Honorius Colitar. l. 1, c. 146, ut citat. ap. Goar. in Eucholog. See also Pope Gregory's Answer to the Eighth Question of Augustin the Monk, in Mr. Johnson, A. D. 601, 8, §. 2. [3] Vide Simeon. Thessalonic. in Not. ad Eucholog. p. 329. [4] See the places cited above, note [2]. [5] Simeon. Thessalonic. ut supra.

and therefore the office with them is called, *The Prayer for a woman forty days after child-bearing.*[6] But in the West the time was never strictly determined, as will appear from the Salisbury Manual, which was of use here in England before the Reformation, where the old rubric runs thus: *Note, That women after childbirth may come to church, and, giving thanks, be purified whenever they will, and they are not guilty of any sin in so doing: neither is the entrance of the church to be denied them, lest we turn their punishment into a crime; but if, out of reverence, they will abstain for some time, their devotion is not to be disallowed.*[7] And as this was consonant to the ancient canons of the Church, in relation to this affair, so is it agreeable to our present rubric; which does not pretend to limit the day when the woman shall be churched, but only supposes that she will come *at the usual time after her delivery.* The *usual time* is now about a month: for the woman's weakness will seldom permit her coming sooner. And if she be not able to come so soon, she is allowed to stay a longer time; the Church not expecting her to return her thanks for a blessing before it is received.

usual time after the delivery.

§. 2. It is only required that whenever she does it, she *shall come into the church.* And this is enjoined, first, for the honour of God, whose marvellous works in the formation of the child, and the preservation of the woman, ought publicly to be owned, that so others may learn to put their trust in him. Secondly, that the whole congregation may have a fit opportunity for praising God for the too much forgotten mercy of their birth. And, thirdly, that the woman may in the proper place own the mercy now vouchsafed her, of being restored to the happy privilege of worshipping God in the congregation of his saints.

The office to be always performed in the church.

How great therefore is the absurdity which some would introduce of stifling their acknowledgments in private houses, and of giving thanks for their recovery and enlargement in no other place than that of their confinement and restraint! a practice which is inconsistent with the very name of this office, which is called *The Churching of Women*, and which consequently implies a ridiculous solecism of being *churched at home.* Nor is it any thing more consistent with the end and devotions pre-

The absurdity of being churched at home.

[6] Eucholog. p. 324. post part. p. 37, b.

[7] Manual. Sarisb. Rubric. post Officium Benedict. Mulier.

scribed by this office, than it is with the name of it. For with what decency or propriety can the woman pretend to *pay her vows in the presence of all God's people, in the courts of the Lord's house*, when she is only assuming state in a bedchamber or parlour, and perhaps only accompanied with her midwife or nurse? To *give thanks therefore at home* (for by no means call it *churching*) is not only an act of disobedience to the Church, but a high affront to Almighty God; whose mercy they scorn to acknowledge in a church, and think it honour enough done him, if he is summoned by his Priest to wait on them at their houses, and to take what thanks they will vouchsafe him there. But methinks a Minister, who has any regard for his character, and considers the honour of the Lord he serves, should disdain such a servile compliance and submission, and abhor the betraying his Master's dignity. Here can be no pretence of danger in the case, should the woman prove obstinate, upon the Priest's refusal, (which Ministers are apt to urge for their excuse, when they are prevailed upon to give public baptism in private;) nor is the decision of a Council wanting to instruct him (if he has any doubts upon account of the woman's ill health) that *he is not to perform this office at home, though she be really so weak as not to be able to come to church.*[8] For if she be not able to come to church, let her stay till she is; God does not require any thanks for a mercy before he has vouchsafed it: but if she comes as soon as her strength permits, she discharges her obligations both to him and the Church.

The woman to be decently apparelled.

§. 3. When the woman comes to this office, the rubric (as it was altered at the last review) directs that she be *decently apparelled*, i. e. as the custom and order was formerly, with *a white covering*, or *veil*. And we find that as late as in the reign of king James I., an order was made by the chancellor of Norwich, that every woman who came to be churched should come thus apparelled; an order it seems so well founded upon the practice of the Church, that a woman refusing to conform with it was excommunicated for contempt. And though she prayed a prohibition, and alleged in her defence, that such order was not warranted by any custom or canon of the Church of England, yet she got no relief; for the judges desiring the opinion of the archbishop of Canter-

Veils used formerly.

[8] Concil. 3, Mediol. cap. 5, ap. Binium, tom. iv. par. 2, p. 417, edit. Col. Agrip. 1618.

bury; and he, together with several other bishops, whom he convened to consult upon it, certifying that it was the ancient usage of the Church of England for women to come veiled, who came to be churched; a prohibition was refused her.[9] But that custom having now for some time been discontinued, long enough I suppose to make it obsolete, I take the decency of the woman's apparel to be left entirely to her own discretion.

§. 4. The woman being come into the church decently apparelled, must *there kneel down in some convenient place, as has been accustomed.* To know where that is, it is necessary that we look back into the Old Common Prayer Books. King Edward's first Liturgy says, *in some convenient place, nigh unto the quire-door*, which is still rendered plainer by all the other Common Prayer Books from that time till this present one, which say it must be *nigh unto the place where the Table standeth*, i. e. to be sure, at the rails of the Communion Table, or where she is to kneel if she receives the Communion, which the last rubric of this office declares it is convenient she should do, if there be any Communion in the church at that time. And that this same place is meant by our present rubric, which orders her to kneel *in some convenient place, as has been accustomed*, is evident, because we see that was the accustomed and appointed place, when these words were put in. It is true, the Presbyterians, at the Conference in the Savoy, objected against the rubric as it was worded then: *And in regard that the woman's kneeling near the table was in many churches inconvenient, they desired that those words might be left out; and that the Minister might perform that service in the desk or pulpit.*[10] And it is also true, that these words were accordingly left out, and the rubric altered thus, viz. that the woman should *kneel in some convenient place, as has been accustomed, or as the Ordinary shall direct.* But yet it is plain, that wherever the Ordinary does not otherwise direct, the woman is still to kneel *in the accustomed place.* And that *the accustomed place*, till the last review, *was nigh unto the place where the table standeth*, I have shewed before. And that no alteration was then designed, is further evident beyond contradiction, from the answer which the Bishops and the other Episcopal

Where to kneel.

[9] Bishop Gibson's Codex, tit. 18, cap. 12, p. 451.

[10] Proceedings of the Commissioners, &c., p. 37, quarto, 1661.

Commissioners gave to the aforesaid exception of the Presbyterians, viz. *It is fit that the woman performing especial service of thanksgiving should have a special place, where she may be perspicuous to the whole congregation; and near the holy Table, in regard of the offering she is there to make. They need not fear Popery in this, since in the Church of Rome she is to kneel at the church-door.*[11] So that the reason, I presume, of their altering the rubric was not to give the Ordinary a general power to change the accustomed place, where there was no occasion; but because in some places the churches were so inconveniently built, that by the interposition of a belfry between the church and the chancel (as I have observed elsewhere[12]) the Minister could not be heard out of the chancel into the church; therefore the Ordinary should, in such cases, have power or authority to allow the woman to be churched in some other place. Just as I have shewed he has power,[13] in the same case, to order the Morning and Evening Prayer to be read where he pleases. But where there is no such impediment, or at least where the Ordinary has not otherwise enjoined, there to be sure this office is to be performed, even by virtue of this rubric, at the Communion Table or Altar.

In what part of the service to be performed.

§. 5. In what part of the service this office is to come in, the rubric does not say: but by some old Articles of Visitation, which the bishops used to make the subject of their inquiry, it appears to have been used just before the Communion-office:[14] and no one, I believe, will deny, that it is more regular there, than when it interrupts the ordinary service, as it does when it is used either just before or just after *the general Thanksgiving;* or than when it is performed in the midst of the hurry and noise of the people's going out of church, as it is when it is deferred till the whole service is done. All the difficulty that lies against confining it to be used just before the Communion-office is, that no woman could then be churched but on a Sunday or a holy-day, when that office is to be read. But to this it may be answered, that if she could not, the inconvenience would not be great: and therefore since most of the other occasional offices of the Church are supposed to be performed on Sundays and holy-days, why should not this? If I judge

[11] Proceedings of the Commissioners, &c., p. 128, quarto, 1661. [12] Chap. II. sect. V. p. 108. [13] Ibid. [14] Bishop of Norwich's Articles, 1536, as cited in the Additional Notes of Dr. Nichols, p. 66.

right from the rubric at the end of this office, it is so supposed; for it is there said, that *if there be a Communion, it is convenient that the woman receive it.* Now there can never be a Communion, but when the Communion-office is read; and therefore since the Church supposes there may be a Communion when the woman is churched, she seems to make no doubt but that she will come to be churched on some Sunday or holy-day when that office is appointed; though if she come upon an ordinary week-day, the Communion may be administered if she desires to receive, and then she may be churched regularly at the holy Table, before the Communion-office begins.

SECT. II.—*Of the Devotions.*

I. IT is a common defect in all other Liturgies, that they have no prefaces to introduce the several offices, and to prepare the parties concerned to do their duties with understanding. But it is the peculiar care of the Church of England to instruct us how to do every duty, as well as to assist us in the doing it. Hence the daily prayers begin with an exhortation, as do most of the other offices of the Church. Even this short one is not without a suitable preface directed to the woman, whereby the Priest first excites her to a thankful acknowledgment for the mercy she has received, and then directs her in what words to perform it. The Preface.

II. The Psalm appointed on this occasion, in all the Common Prayer Books till the last review, was the cxxist,* which with the cxxviiith was also prescribed by the office used in the Church of Rome. But neither of these is so very apt to the case, as those are which we have now. The first of which, though composed by David upon his recovery from some dangerous sickness, is yet, by leaving out a verse or two, which makes mention of the other sex, easily enough applicable to the case of a woman, who comes to give her thanks for so great a deliverance. The Psalms. Psalm cxxi.

§. 2. The other more regards the birth of the child, and is very seasonable to be used whenever it is living, to excite the parents to the greater thankfulness. And as the first is most proper, when we respect the pain and peril which the mother has gone through, so the last Psalm cxxvii.

* The Scotch Liturgy orders the cxxist, or the xxviiith.

ought to be used when an heir is born, or a child bestowed on those who wanted and desired one. Nor may it less aptly be used when those of meaner condition are churched: for by enlarging on the blessings of a numerous family, it obviates the too common murmurings of those wretches who think themselves oppressed by such an increase.

The woman to repeat after the Minister with an audible voice.

§. 3. And here by the way the woman should observe, that *she* is to *say* the following Psalm of Thanksgiving, i. e. she is to repeat it with an *audible voice*, as she does the daily confession, after the Minister. For the Psalm is properly applicable to her alone; and the Minister reads it, not upon his own account, but only to instruct and lead the woman, by going before her, and, as it were, putting into her mouth what words she must say.

The Lord's Prayer, and Responses.

III. The Psalm being over, the Minister gives notice that another part of duty, viz. prayer, is beginning: in which by the usual form, *Let us pray*, he calls upon the whole congregation to join: and that the address may be humble, it is begun with the short Litany, *Lord have mercy upon us*, &c. That it may also be effectual, it is continued in the *Lord's Prayer*, (to which the *Doxology* was added at the last review, by reason of its being an office of thanksgiving:) and that all may bear a part, two or three short *Responses* are added for the woman's safety and defence.[15]

The Prayer.

IV. And at last the whole office is closed with a short and pious *Collect*, consisting of a devout mixture of prayer and praise, so peculiarly suited to the present occasion, that it needs no enlargement to shew its propriety.*

SECT. III.—*Of the last Rubric.*

The woman formerly to offer her chrisom, and why.

THE office being thus devoutly performed, the rubric gives notice, that *the woman who comes to give her thanks must offer accustomed offerings*. By the first Common Prayer of king Edward VI. *the woman that was purified was to offer her chrisom and other accustomed offerings*. And by a rubric in the same book, at the end of the public office of Baptism, *the Minister was to command*, at the time of baptism, *that the*

* In all former books, the Collect began thus: "O Almighty God, which hast delivered this woman," &c.

[15] Psalm lxxxvi. 2. lxi. 3. lxii. 1.

chrisom be brought to the church, and delivered to the Priests, after the accustomed manner, at the purification of the mother of every child. The chrisom, I have formerly had occasion to shew,[16] was a white vesture or garment, which was put upon the child at the time of its baptism, as a token of innocency, and which took its name from the chrism or ointment, with which the child was anointed when the chrisom was put on. These, I have observed, it was the custom anciently for the new-baptized to appear in at church during the solemn time for baptism, to shew their resolution of leading an innocent and unspotted life for the future, and then to put them off, and to deliver them to be laid up, in order to be produced, as evidences against them, should they afterwards violate or deny that faith which they had then professed.[17] And this, I suppose, was the design of our own Church at the beginning of the Reformation, in ordering the woman to offer the chrisom when she came to be churched. For if the child happened to die before, then it seems she was excused from offering it; and indeed there was then no occasion to demand it, since it would be of no use to the Church when the child was dead. And therefore in such case it was customary to wrap the child in it when it was buried, in the nature of a shroud.[18] And from this practice I suppose the name of chrisoms had its rise in the weekly bills of mortality, which we may still observe among the casualties and diseases: though it is not now used to denote children that die between the time of their baptism and their mother's being churched, as it originally signified; but, through the ignorance of parish clerks, and those that make the report, is put for children that die before they are baptized, and so are not capable of Christian burial.

The word Chrisoms in the weekly bills, whence it had its rise, and what it should signify.

§. 2. But to return to the rubric. The Liturgy having been altered in the fifth year of king Edward, the use of the chrisom at the baptism of the child was then discontinued; and in consequence thereto, the order for the woman's offering it at her churching was then left out: so that now she is directed only to offer *accustomed offerings*,* i. e. those offerings which were cus-

Accustomed offerings, what they are.

* In the Scotch Liturgy the order for offerings is entirely left out; the whole of the rubric being this that follows: "The woman that cometh to give her thanks, it is convenient that she receive the holy Communion, if there be any at that time."

[16] See chap. VII. sect. III. p. 353, 354. [17] See chap. V. sect. XVIII. XIX. page 231, &c. [18] Gregory's Posthumous Works, chap. xxii. p. 108.

tomary besides the chrisom, and which, when the chrisom was in use, was distinguished in the rubric by *other accustomed offerings*. By which undoubtedly is to be understood some offering to the Minister who performs the office, not under the notion of a fee or reward, but of something set apart as a tribute or acknowledgment due to God, who is pleased to declare himself honoured or robbed according as such offerings are paid or withheld.[19] We see under the law, that every woman who came to be purified after childbearing, was required to bring something that put her to an expense:[20] even the poorest among them was not wholly excused, but obliged to do something, though it were but small. And though neither the kind nor the value of the expense be now prescribed; yet sure the expense itself should not covetously be saved: a woman that comes with any thankfulness or gratitude should scorn to offer what David disdained, viz. *of that which costs nothing*. And indeed with what sincerity or truth can she say, as she is directed to do in one of the Psalms, *I will pay my vows now in the presence of all his people*, if at the same time she designs no voluntary offering which vows were always understood to imply?

The woman to receive the Communion, if there be one.

§. 3. But, besides the accustomed offering to the Minister, the woman is to make a yet much better and greater offering, viz. an offering of herself, to be a reasonable, holy, and lively sacrifice to God. For the rubric declares, that *if there be a Communion, it is convenient that she receive the holy Communion*; that being the most solemn way of praising God for him by whom she received both the present, and all other God's mercies towards her: and a means also to bind herself more strictly to spend those days in his service, which, by this late deliverance, he hath added to her life.

CHAPTER XIV.

OF THE COMMINATION.

THE INTRODUCTION.

The occasion and design of this office.

THE preface which the Church has prefixed to this office will supply the room of an introduction. It informs us, that *in the primitive Church*

[19] Malachi iii. 8. [20] Leviticus xii. 6, &c.

there was a godly discipline; that at the beginning of Lent, such persons who stood convicted of notorious sins were put to open penance, and punished in this world, that their souls might be saved in the day of the Lord; and that others, admonished by their example, might be the more afraid to offend. How and in what manner this discipline was inflicted, I have formerly had occasion to shew;[1] so that I have nothing further to observe in this place, than that it was anciently exercised in our own as well as in foreign churches.[2] But in latter ages, during the corruption of the Church of Rome, this godly discipline degenerated into a formal and customary confession upon *Ash-Wednesdays*, used by all persons indifferently, whether penitents or not, from whom no other testimony of their repentance was required, than that they should submit to the empty ceremony of sprinkling ashes upon their heads. But this our wise reformers prudently laid aside as a mere shadow or show; and not without hearty grief and concern, that the long continuance of the abominable corruptions of the Romish Church, in their formal confessions and pretended absolutions, in their sale of indulgences, and their sordid commutations of penance for money, had let the people loose from those primitive bands of discipline, which tended really to their amendment, but to which, through the rigour and severity it enjoins, they found it impracticable to reduce them again. However, since they could not do what they desired, they desired to do as much as they could: and therefore till the said discipline may be restored again, (which is rather to be wished than expected in these licentious times,) they have endeavoured to supply it as well as they were able, by appointing an office to be used at this season, called A COMMINATION, *or denouncing of God's anger and judgments against sinners:* that so the people being apprized of God's wrath and indignation against their wickedness and sins, may not be encouraged, through the want of discipline in the Church, to follow and pursue them: but be moved by the terror of the dreadful judgments of God, to supply that discipline to themselves, by severely judging and condemning themselves, and so to avoid being judged and condemned at the tribunal of God.

§. 2. But besides *the first day of Lent*, on How often, and

[1] Chap. V. sect. XI. §. 2, p. 219, 220. [2] Canones R. Edgar. A. D. 967, ap. Spelm. tom. i. p. 460.

upon what occasions to be used.

which it is expressly enjoined, it is also supposed in the title of it to be used *at other times, as the Ordinary shall direct.* This was occasioned by the observation of Bucer: for it was originally ordered upon *Ash-Wednesdays* only; and therefore in the first Common Prayer Book it had no other title but *The first day of Lent, commonly called Ash-Wednesday.* But Bucer approving of the office, and not seeing reason why it should be confined to one day, and not used oftener, at least four times a year,[3] the title of it was altered when it came to be reviewed; from which time it was called *A Commination against Sinners, with certain Prayers to be used diverse times in the Year.* How often, or at what particular times, we do not find prescribed; except that bishop Cosin informs us, from the Visitation Articles of archbishop Grindal for the province of Canterbury in the year 1576, that it was appointed three times a year; viz. on one of the three Sundays next before Easter, on one of the two Sundays next before Pentecost, and on one of the two Sundays next before Christmas;[4] i. e. I suppose the office was appointed yearly to be used on these three days, as well as on *Ash-Wednesday.* For that *Ash-Wednesday* was then the solemn day of all, and on which this office was never to be omitted, may be gathered from the Preface, which is drawn up for the peculiar use of that day. And accordingly we find that in the Scotch Common Prayer a clause was added, that it was to be used *especially on the first day of Lent, commonly called Ash-Wednesday.* However, in our own Liturgy, the title stood as above till the last review, when a clause was added for the sake of explaining the word *Commination;* and the appointing of the times, on which it should be used, left to the discretion of the Bishop, or the Ordinary. So that the whole title, as it stands now, runs thus: A COMMINATION, *or Denouncing of God's Anger and Judgments against Sinners, with certain prayers to be used on the first day of Lent, and at other times, as the Ordinary shall appoint.* The Ordinaries indeed seldom or never make use of the power here given them, except that sometimes they appoint part of the office, viz. from the fifty-first Psalm to the end, to be used upon solemn days of fasting and humiliation. But as to the whole office, it is never used entirely but upon the day mentioned in the title of it, viz. *The first day of* LENT.

[3] Bucer. Script. Anglican. p. 491. [4] See Dr. Nichols's Additional Notes, p. 66.

SECT. I.—*Of the Rubric before the Office.*

THIS rubric was, in all our former Common Prayer Books, expressed a little differently from what it is now: *After Morning Prayer, the People being called together by the ringing of a Bell, and assembled in the Church, the English Litany shall be said after the accustomed manner; which ended, the Priest shall go into the pulpit, and say thus,* [*the People sitting and attending with reverence.**] This I have formerly had occasion to shew was owing to the Litany's being a distinct service by itself, and so used sometimes after Morning Prayer was over.[5] But it now being made one office with the Morning Prayer, and so both of them read at one and the same time, the rubric only directs, that *after Morning Prayer, the Litany ended according to the accustomed manner*, this office shall ensue; i. e. after the whole Litany has been concluded as usual, with *The general Thanksgiving*, the Prayer of *St. Chrysostom*, and *The Grace of our Lord*, &c., and not (as I have observed some to bring it in) immediately after the Collect, *We humbly beseech thee, O Father*, &c. For till the three forementioned prayers have all of them been used, *the Litany is* not *ended according to the accustomed manner*. For the *Thanksgiving* being to be used *before the two final prayers of the Litany*, must certainly make a part of the Litany. And if the prayer of *St. Chrysostom*, and *The Grace of our Lord*, &c., be the two final prayers of that office, then sure this office cannot be concluded without them. But what I think clearly puts this matter out of doubt, are four words that immediately follow *The Grace of our Lord*, &c., viz. *Here endeth the Litany*; from whence, one would think, any man might conclude that it is not ended before.

This office to be said after the Litany ended.

The Litany, when properly ended.

§. 2. The name of a *reading-pew* was never mentioned in our Liturgy till the last review, (the reason of which I have largely given before;[6]) for by this rubric, till the Restoration, the Priest was to go into *the pulpit*, and say the following Preface and Exhortation. And indeed that is a place not improper for the office, since the *Denouncing of God's Judgments* is as it were preaching of his word. And it is certain that the pulpit was at first de-

To be said in the reading-pew or pulpit.

* The words within the crotchets [ ] were only in the Scotch Liturgy.

[5] See chap. IV. Introduction, §. V. p. 166. [6] See chap. II. sect. V. page 108, &c.

signed, not only for preaching, but for any thing else that tended to the edification of the people. There the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments, were formerly appointed to be read to the people in English on every holy-day in the year, when there was no Sermon to hinder it:[7] and there also at the beginning of the Reformation, whilst the Romish Mass was continued till the English Liturgy could be prepared, the Epistle and Gospel for the day, with a Lesson out of the New Testament in the morning, and another out of the Old Testament in the afternoon, was read to the people in the English tongue.[8] However, reading-pews having been generally brought into use before the Restoration, it was not then thought proper to confine the use of this office any longer to the pulpit, but to allow it to be said as the Minister should think proper, either there or in the reading-pew.

SECT. II.—*Of the Preface, Denunciation, or Application.*

The Preface.

I. To bring the minds of the congregation into a serious composure, the office is introduced with a grave and solemn preface; by which the Church informs them, in the first place, of the ancient discipline, and then proposes to them the best means to supply it. The ancient discipline, she tells them, was *to put those to open shame*, who by *any notorious sins* had given public scandal and offence. By which means both the souls of those that sinned were often rescued from damnation, and others also, being admonished by their example, were deterred from incurring the same danger or punishment. But as this discipline is now lost through the degeneracy of the times, and even beyond retrieval as affairs stand now, she proposes that the congregation would supply it to themselves, by hearing the curses which God has denounced against impenitent sinners; by which means, as in a glass, each one will be able to discern his own sins, and the curses he is exposed to; the serious prospect of which will be apt to awaken them from their thoughtlessness and security, and to put them upon flying from such imminent danger, by having recourse to a speedy repentance.

The Sentences.

II. The original of repeating the curses, in the manner we now use them, was a positive and divine institution, which twice enjoined it by Moses,[9] and in

[7] Injunctions of king Edward VI. in Bishop Sparrow's Collection, p. 3, and Injunctions of queen Elizabeth, ibid. p. 68. [8] King Edward's Injunctions, ibid. page 7, 8.
[9] Deut. xi. 29, and chap. xxvii.

obedience to which we find Joshua afterwards most religiously observed it.[10] And Josephus also reckons it amongst those things which the Jews always used to perform.[11] And though the circumstances in the Jewish manner of reciting these curses were purely ceremonial, yet doubtless the end for which this duty was prescribed was truly moral. For to publish the equity and truth of God, and to profess our belief that his laws are righteous, and the sanctions thereof just and certain, is an excellent means of glorifying God, and a proper method for converting of sinners. So that it cannot be unfit for the Gospel-times, nor at all unsuitable to our Christian worship; especially when the necessities of the Church require the sinner should be warned and brought to repentance. Christ indeed hath taken away the curse of the Law, by being himself made *a curse for us;*[12] but this is only with respect to those that truly repent; for as to all others the curse stands in full force still. It is therefore fit, that all should declare their belief of the truth and reasonableness of these curses: the *good* man, to own what his sins had deserved, and to acknowledge his obligation to our Lord for redeeming him; the *bad* man, to awaken him from his security and ease, and to bring him to repentance before it be too late.

Amen, what it signifies at the end of these sentences.

§. 2. For this reason all *the people*, as those sentences are read, *are to answer and say*, at the end of each of them, *Amen*. The end of which is not that the people should curse themselves and their neighbours, as some have foolishly imagined; but only that they should acknowledge they have deserved a curse. For it is not here said, Cursed *be* he, or *may he be cursed;* but, Cursed *is* he, or *he is cursed*, that is guilty of any of these sins. And consequently any one that answers *Amen*, does not signify his desire, that the thing may be so, as he does when he says *Amen* to a prayer; but only signifies his assent to the truth of what is affirmed, as he does when he says *Amen* to the Creed. It is used in this place in no other sense than it is in several parts of the New Testament, where it is translated *Verily*, and signifies no more than *Verily it is true*. The man that says it, verily believes that idolaters, and all those other kinds of sinners that are mentioned in these sentences, are all exposed to the curse of God; and his believing this is the cause of his repentance, and begging pardon

[10] Joshua viii. 33 [11] Antiq. l. 4, c. ult. [12] Gal. iii. 13.

for his sins; since he must be a desperate sinner indeed, that will not fly from such vices, for which he affirms with his own mouth so great and heavy a judgment to be due. In short, these curses, and the answers that are made to them, are like our Saviour's woes in the Gospel; not the causes or procurers of the evil they denounce; but compassionate predictions of it in order to prevent it. And one would indeed think, when we consider that this manner of answering was originally appointed by God himself, people should be cautious how they charge it with being a wicked or foolish institution. But to proceed.

The application. III. Having heard to what sins the curse of God is due, the Church has too much reason to conclude, that we are all of us guilty of more or fewer of them, and consequently all of us in danger of God's wrath, except we repent. To excite us therefore to so necessary a duty, that so we may escape those dreadful judgments, she hath collected a pious and pathetical discourse, to set home the foregoing denunciations to our conscience. It is all of it gathered from the holy Scriptures, that it may be more regarded, as coming directly from the word of God; and is so methodical and apt to the occasion, that the fault must be in the hearers, if the delivery of it be not attended with a happy effect.

SECT. III.—*Of the Penitential Devotions.*

Psalm li. I. AFTER so serious and rational a discourse, the Church may justly suppose that we are all resolved to repent; and therefore, to assist us in so necessary a duty, she hath prepared such penitential devotions, as will be very suitable to our pious resolutions: and that they may be said with a greater humiliation and reverence, *all the people are to kneel upon their knees, and the Priests and Clerks to kneel in the place where they are accustomed to say the Litany.*[13] And here they are to begin with David's Litany, viz. Psalm li., the most solemn and penitential one of all that he composed.

The Lord's Prayer, &c. II. After this follow the lesser Litany, the Lord's Prayer, and Suffrages, of which we have often spoken before.

The first Collect III. And because the Minister may know it to

[13] See chap. IV. page 165.

be time to bind up the wounds of true penitents, he in the next place addresses himself solemnly to God for their pardon and forgiveness.

The second Collect.

IV. And knowing also that now he cannot well be too importunate, he subjoins a second Collect to the first; the more pathetically to press our most merciful Father, by phrases well suited to the desires of penitents, and mostly selected from holy Scripture.

The general supplication.

V. And the people being now prepared and revived by these importunate addresses, are allowed to open their lips for themselves, and to plead for their own pardon in so moving a form, that if it be presented with a suitable devotion, it cannot miss of prevailing; but will admirably fit them for

The blessing.

VI. The following blessing,* which, being to be pronounced in the name of God, is taken from a form of his own prescribing:[14] so that all who are prepared to receive its benefit must humbly kneel, and firmly believe that he who prescribed it will be sure to confirm it to their infinite advantage and endless comfort.

THE PSALMS OF DAVID

FOLLOW in our Common Prayer Book, next after the *Commination:* but of these I have formerly said as much as, I think, the nature of this work requires:[15] I have therefore no occasion to say any thing of them here, nor do I apprehend that there is any need for my enlarging upon the

FORMS OF PRAYER TO BE USED AT SEA;

WHICH were first added at the last review, but not designed for a complete office, nor comprised in any particular method; but are all of them (except the two first alone, which are *daily to be used in his Majesty's navy*) occasional forms, to be used as the circumstances of their affairs require; and are so very well adapted to their several occasions, that any one that observes them will see their suitableness without any illustration.

* Added at the last review.

[14] Numbers vi. 24.

[15] Chap. III. sect. IX. p. 128, &c.

CHAPTER XV.

OF THE FORM OF PRAYER FOR THE FIFTH OF NOVEMBER.

THE INTRODUCTION.

THE occasions and reasons of the observation of this and the following days are so well known to all that have any knowledge in the affairs of this nation, that it would be needless to repeat the several histories of them here.

And the suitableness of the prayers appointed on these occasions is so apparent of itself, that I think nothing further needful, even in relation to the offices, than to give a short account of the Hymns, and Psalms, and Lessons, and of the Epistles and Gospels, by shewing in what sense they are applicable to their days. And in treating of them I shall consider our present forms only, without noting how they differ or vary from the former, except where there is something remarkable in the alteration. For the Common Prayers that were printed before the Revolution (at which time the chief of the alterations in these were made) being as yet in many hands, it is easy for the readers to turn to and observe them, without my swelling these sheets with them here. I shall therefore immediately begin with the present office for the *Fifth of November.*

Of the Sentences, Hymn, Psalms, Lessons, Epistle, and Gospel.

The sentences.

I. INSTEAD of the ordinary sentences before the exhortation, are three verses taken out of the hundred and third psalm,[1] declaring the long-suffering and goodness of God, the short continuance of his anger, and his mercy in not dealing with us according to our sins: all of them attributes we cannot help reflecting on, when we look back on the signal mercies of this day.

The hymn.

II. And the hymn that is appointed instead of the *Venite Exultemus* is so methodically put together, that it seems, as it stands in this place, to be an entire psalm composed on purpose for the day. It begins with an act of praise to God for his gracious nature and providence over us,[2] and then particularly commemorates our enemies'

[1] Verse 8, 9, 10. [2] Verse 1, 2.

attempts, and how providentially they were entrapped in the works of their own hands:[3] upon this it breaks out into an humble acknowledgment of the power, and wisdom, and justice of God,[4] and at last concludes with a prayer for the Governor whom he hath set over us, and a promise of fidelity to God for the future. The whole was added in the second year of king William and queen Mary, when this office was very much altered and enlarged, upon the account of the Revolution. At which time also the foregoing sentences were inserted in the room of others that had been used till then.[5]

III. The *proper psalms* are Psalm lxiv. cxxiv. cxxv. The lxivth was a prayer which David made for deliverance from his enemies, when they were secretly plotting and conspiring against him; but which he foretold should be signally disappointed through their own untoward contrivance and device. The psalms, Psalm lxiv.

§. 2. The cxxivth Psalm is an acknowledgment of God's assistance, and a thankful commemoration of the deliverance wrought by him. It was occasioned, as some think, by the victory in Rephaim,[6] or, as others, by David's deliverance from Absalom: though all agree it was composed on the account of some signal deliverance from some potent enemy. Psalm cxxiv.

§. 3. The cxxvth declares the safety of those who firmly adhere to God, without seeking to any irregular means for attaining it. It is appointed on this day, to remind us of the providential care of God in frustrating the designs of the enemies of our Church, even before they were sensible of their being so much as in danger from them. Till the second year of king William and queen Mary, the cxxixth Psalm was used instead of this, and the xxxvth was used first of all, which is now discontinued. Psalm cxxv.

IV. The *proper Lessons* are 2 Samuel xxii. and Acts xxiii. The first is David's psalm of praise,[7] composed upon his deliverance from the hands of his enemies, especially of Saul, who sought, by murdering him, to cut off the succession God had entailed on his family. The words are so applicable to the present occasion, that they explain themselves to an attentive hearer. Lessons. The first.

§. 2. The history contained in the second Lesson agrees with the treason commemorated on The second.

[3] Verse 2, 3, 4, 5, 6. [4] Verse 7, 8. [5] Viz. Psalm li. 9. Jer. x. 24. Luke xx. 18, 19. [6] 2 Sam. v. 17, &c. [7] Psalm xviii.

this day in some particulars, but falls short of it in others. There we find a crew of desperate zealots enraged at St. Paul, for persuading them to reform the corrupt traditions of their forefathers, and binding themselves in a bloody vow to murder him as he went to the hall of judgment. Thus far the stories agree; but in what is behind they widely differ. St. Paul was only a private man, and their fellow-subject, and so they aimed at a single sacrifice to their fury and rage; whereas the conspirators concerned in the story of this day aimed at their own indulgent sovereign, and the whole nation in representative; seeming to copy after Caligula's wish, viz. that all the people of Rome might have but one neck, that so he might cut them off at a stroke. As the whole Scripture therefore affords no parallel of such cruel and bloodthirsty men, we must be content with an instance something like it, though in a far lower degree.

The Epistle and Gospel.

V. The Epistle[8] is designed to remind the people of their allegiance to their sovereign: the Gospel,[9] which was appointed in the second year of king William, instead of the story of Judas betraying his Master,[10] which for some good reasons, I suppose, was then thought proper to be discontinued, is intended to correct the unruly effects of mistaken zeal for our religion; shewing us that our faith, be it ever so true, cannot warrant us to persecute or destroy those of different persuasions.

CHAPTER XVI.

OF THE FORM OF PRAYER FOR THE THIRTIETH OF JANUARY.

SECT. I.—*Of the Rubrics.*

The rubrics.

IT having never been the practice of the Catholic Church, nor indeed of any part of it, except the Roman, and that which has too many marks of its parent, the Presbyterian Church in Scotland,[1] to allow of humiliation or fasting on Sundays, which are appointed for duties of a different nature; it is ordered, that *If this day shall happen to be Sunday, this form of prayer*

The first.

[8] Rom. xiii. 1—8. [9] Luke ix. 51—57. [10] Matt. xxvii. 1—10. [1] Clergyman's Vade Mecum, p. 182.

shall be used, and the fast kept the next day following. And upon the Lord's day next before the day to be kept, (i. e. on whatever day of the week it shall happen,) *at Morning Prayer, immediately after the Nicene Creed, notice shall be given for the due observation of the said day.*

The second.

II. As to *the service of this day*, (like that appointed for the fifth of November,) *it is to be the same with the usual office for holy-days in all things, except where it is in this office otherwise appointed:* i. e. the ordinary Morning and Evening Service, and Office for the Communion, are to be said as usual, except where any thing in either of these services is to be added to, or to be used in the room of, the ordinary service for the day; as the Collects, for instance, and the several prayers appointed on these occasions, are to be used either instead of, or besides, the prayers daily in use; and the Hymn, Psalms, and Lessons, the Epistle and Gospel, instead of those in ordinary course.

SECT. II.—*Of the Sentences, Hymn, Psalms, Lessons, Epistle, and Gospel.*

The sentences.

I. THE office is introduced with some of the usual sentences at Morning Prayer.[2]

The hymn.

II. The hymn, instead of the xcvth Psalm, was drawn up in the reign of king James II., when a review was taken, and several alterations made in this office. And whoever looks into king Charles's book, must acknowledge the old hymn not to be near so fine as the new one, which is as solemn a composure, and as pertinent to the occasion, as can be imagined or contrived.

The psalms. Psalm ix.

III. The proper psalms appointed for the morning are Psalms ix. x. xi. The viith was originally prefixed to them all, but that was afterwards discontinued. The first of those that are now appointed, was wrote upon Goliath's death, and was designed for David's victory over the Philistines: and though the chief end of this day's solemnity is to bewail our sins, which were the occasion of the late bloody and dismal times; yet when we recollect how happily we were at last delivered from them, and how remarkably God's justice was executed on the enemies of our David, we cannot forbear intermingling a thanksgiving to praise the divine Majesty for so wonderful a work.

[2] Dan. ix. 9, 10. Jer. x. 24. Psal. cxliii. 2.

Psalm x. §. 2. The xth Psalm, wanting a title, was by the Hebrews anciently, and by the Vulgar Latin is still, joined to the former: but though it be on a like subject, yet there is a plain difference between them. The ixth Psalm speaks of Pagan enemies, whose cruelty was ended some time before, and is therefore fuller of praises; whereas this psalm speaks of domestic foes, who still acted unjustly, and so abounds more with prayers and complaints proper to be used on this day.

Psalm xi. §. 3. The xith Psalm is a declaration of David's full confidence and trust in God, in despite of all discouragements, and is very applicable to our royal martyr under his sufferings.

The first Lesson. IV. The first Lesson for the morning is 2 Samuel i. There is no parallel for this inhuman and barbarous murder of a good and pious king by his own subjects in all the Old Testament: and therefore the Church is content to read the history of David's justice and vengeance upon the Amalekite, that accused himself of killing king Saul, though at his own request, to ease him of his pain; and of David's own decent mourning for his sovereign, notwithstanding he had been always his mortal enemy, had apostatized from God, and was forsaken by Heaven. How much more reason then had our state to punish those impious rebels, who murdered the best of kings, only for adhering to the best of religions; and also to set apart a day of humiliation for fasting and prayer, and to draw up a mournful office for the occasion, after the example of David in the Lesson!

The second Lesson. §. 2. As for the second Lesson, it is no other than that appointed by the Church in the ordinary course, to be read on the thirtieth of January.[3] For by a signal providence the bloody rebels chose that day for murdering their king, on which the history of our Saviour's sufferings was appointed to be read as a Lesson for the day. The blessed martyr had forgot that it came in the ordinary course; and therefore when bishop Juxon (who read the morning office immediately before his martyrdom) named this chapter, the good prince asked him, if he had singled it out as fit for the occasion; and when he was informed it was the Lesson for the day, could not without a sensible complacency and joy admire how suitably it concurred with his cir-

[3] Matt. xxvii. to the end.

cumstances: betrayed by some, denied by others, and despised by the rest of his seeming friends, who left him to the implacable malice of his barbarous enemies; who treated him with the same contempt and ingratitude, outrage and cruelty, with which the Jews treated their King and Saviour; while he followed the steps of his great Master in meekness and patience, piety to God, and charity to men, and at last praying for his murderers.

V. The Epistle[4] shews the duty which Christians owe to magistrates: the Gospel[5] severely and justly upbraids those unparalleled rebels, who were the villanous projectors of this day's tragedy. It calls to our mind the care and diligence of the poor good king, who, when he had omitted nothing for the quiet and safety of his kingdoms, had the misfortune to commit the administration of the government into such hands, as made use of the power he had intrusted with them, to deny him the rights and prerogatives of his crown; rejecting his commissioners, slaying his servants, seizing his crown, murdering his person, banishing his heir, and usurping his kingdom. The Epistle and Gospel.

VI. The Psalms for the evening service are different now from what they were when the office was composed;[6] at present they are the lxxixth, xcivth, and lxxxvth. The lxxixth Psalm contains a lively description of the miseries of Jerusalem, upon the sacking of it by the king of Babylon; and is very applicable to our sad condition during the rebellion: only the Jews suffered by heathens, we by men whose behaviour was worse than heathenish, while they called themselves Christians. The Psalms for the evening. Psalm lxxix.

§. 2. The xcivth Psalm is a prayer to God, and a confident assurance in him, that he will dissipate the attempts of wicked men, and uphold the righteous. Psalm xciv.

§. 3. The lxxxvth Psalm is appointed with respect to that happy change at the Restoration, and is for that reason placed out of its usual order; it containing an acknowledgment of God's mercy in delivering the land from those sad calamities, and a prayer for a continuance of it in prosperity hereafter. Psalm lxxxv.

VII. For the first Lesson is appointed a choice of two chapters for variety: one of which[7] is Je- The first Lesson.

[4] 1 Peter ii. 13—23. [5] Matt. xxi. 33—42. [6] Viz. Psalm xxxviii. lxiv. and cxliii. [7] Jeremiah xii.

remiah's complaint to God of great mischiefs done in Church and State by false prophets and tyrannical rulers, with God's answer, giving the reason of his permitting it, and threatening withal, in due time, to punish the authors of these mischiefs, and to deliver the righteous.

§. 2. The other is out of Daniel,[8] being an excellent prayer, which that holy man used on a day that he had set apart to solemn humiliation, fasting, and repentance; wherein he so effectually bewailed the sins and sufferings of God's people, that he prevailed with God to restore them to their liberty, and to the exercise of their religion. Which justly reminds us of the prayers and penitence of devout men under those usurpers, which at last had the same effect with us.

The second Lesson.

§. 3. The second Lesson[9] sets before us the faith and patience of the holy martyrs, whom St. Paul records, and is very proper as a commemoration of our royal martyr's sufferings and faith, and an exhortation to us to imitate them, whensoever it shall please God to require it of us. In the old Gallican Liturgy this was the proper Lesson for the festival of any martyr.[10]

CHAPTER XVII.

OF THE FORM OF PRAYER FOR THE TWENTY-NINTH OF MAY.

SECT. I.—*Of the Rubrics.*

The first rubric.

To the end (saith the Act of Parliament, by which this day is appointed) that all persons may be put in mind of their duty thereon, and be better prepared to discharge the same with that piety and devotion as becomes them; *the Act of Parliament made in the twelfth, and confirmed in the thirteenth year of king Charles the Second, for the observation of the twenty-ninth day of May yearly, as a day of public thanksgiving, is to be read publicly in all churches at Morning Prayer, immediately after the Nicene Creed, on the Lord's day next before every such twenty-ninth of May, and*

The Act to be read, and notice to be given for the observation of the day.

[8] Daniel ix. 1—22. [9] Heb. xi. 32, to chap. xii. 7. [10] Vide Mabillon, Lit. Gallic. l. 2, p. 160.

notice to be given for the due observation of the said day. So also the Act for the observation of the *Fifth of November* is appointed to be read, by that Act itself, publicly in the church after Morning Prayer or preaching on the said day.

By what authority these offices are enjoined.

And yet it is remarkable, that though both these Acts, together with the Act for the thirtieth of January, appoint these several days to be solemnly observed, and both suppose and enact that proper prayers and praises shall be used on those days; yet not one of them provides for or establishes any office for the use of either one or other of the said days: nor have our kings, by whose order and directions alone these several offices are printed and annexed to the Book of Common Prayer, and appointed to be used on their respective days, any power or authority invested in them by king Charles II.'s *Act of Uniformity*, to establish or enjoin any other form than what is provided in the Book of Common Prayer, or to do any thing else in relation to that book, than *to alter and change from time to time the names of the king, queen, and royal progeny.* So that it might be very well questioned, whether these, or any other occasional offices put out by the same order, could safely be used, were it not for the general connivance, or rather concurrence of the two other parts of the legislative authority, the lords and commons, who, if sitting, are always present at the performance of such offices, and frequently address the king to order them.[1]

The rubric of directions for reading this office upon other holy-days.

II. The second rubric has already been spoken to in the foregoing chapter: but because this festival falls in such a time of the year, as that it often happens to concur with some other great holy-day, which has a proper service appointed for itself; therefore here is a third rubric of directions in this case, that whenever such concurrence shall happen, the preference shall be given to that other holy-day, and so much of this office as interferes with the service proper for that day shall be omitted. Thus, for instance, it is said in the rubric, *If this day shall happen to be Ascension-day, or Whit-Sunday, the Collects of this office* (i. e. all the prayers of it, for all prayers are called Collects both in the rubrics of this and all other offices) *are to be added to the office of those festivals in their proper places:—and the rest of this office shall be*

[1] See this proved at large by Mr. Johnson in his Case of Occasional Days and Prayers.

omitted; i. e. the Psalms, Lessons, Epistle, and Gospel, because both those days have proper Psalms, Lessons, Epistles, and Gospels of their own. And that only the portions of Scripture appointed for this day are to be omitted upon this occasion, is plain, because if this day happens to be Monday or Tuesday in Whitsun-week, or Trinity-Sunday, (which have no proper Psalms,) then *the proper Psalms here appointed for this day, instead of those of ordinary course, shall be also used.* And because none of the days mentioned in the rubric have any peculiar hymn instead of the *Venite Exultemus*, therefore the rubric orders, that, *what festival soever shall happen to fall upon this solemn day of thanksgiving, the following hymn, appointed instead of Venite Exultemus, shall be constantly used.* The only question then remaining is, whether the Litany ought to be used if this day happens to be Ascension-day, or Monday or Tuesday in Whitsun-week, (for upon Whit-Sunday and Trinity-Sunday it is used of course.) And to this, I think, the answer is plain, viz. That the Litany does not interfere with any part of the service appointed for any of those days; and therefore it should be read (as it is enjoined by this office) for the greater solemnity of this day. Besides, whatever festival happens to fall upon this day, *the collects of this office are to be added to the office of such festival in their proper places:* now one of the collects or prayers of this office is to be said *in the end of the Litany, after the collect, We humbly beseech thee, O Father*, &c. Unless therefore the Litany be read, and that collect used, one of the collects of this office cannot be added *in its proper place.* But one would think there should be no room for any doubt in this matter, when it is said so expressly in the rubric, that *the Litany shall always this day be used;* to imply, undoubtedly, that though it happen upon a day on which otherwise the Litany is *not* to be used, yet it shall be added on purpose on this occasion.

SECT. II.—*Of the Sentences, Hymns, Psalms, Lessons, Epistle, and Gospel.*

The Sentences.

I. FOR the sentences are appointed one of the ordinary sentences at morning service, (being Daniel's confession of his people's transgression, and of God's mercy notwithstanding,[2]) and an additional one out of the

[2] Daniel ix, 9, 10.

Book of Lamentations,[3] ascribing our preservation wholly to the mercy and compassion of God.

II. The following hymn, which was new drawn up in king James II.'s reign, in the room of another that had been used before, is sufficiently plain and applicable to the day, without any comment. The hymn.

III. The proper Psalms, till king James's reign, were the xxth, xxist, lxxxvth, and cxviiith. But now they are the cxxivth, cxxvith, cxxixth, and cxviiith. The first of these hath been already spoken to in the office for the *Fifth of November*. It may very properly be repeated here; since the papists and sectaries, like Samson's foxes, though they look contrary ways, do yet both join in carrying fire to destroy us: their end is the same, though the method be different. The Psalms. Psalm cxxiv.

§. 2. The cxxvith Psalm celebrates the deliverance of the Israelites out of their captivity, which was so sudden and unexpected, that they who saw it thought themselves in a dream, and could scarce be persuaded that the thing was real: which may exactly be applied to the strange and miraculous turn of affairs at the happy Restoration; which was so surprising, that those who saw it were in such an ecstasy of joy and wonder, that they were almost afraid that their senses deceived them. Psalm cxxvi.

§. 3. The cxxixth Psalm is a reflection upon the endeavours of our enemies to destroy us, and an acknowledgment of God's continual help in delivering us; and concludes with a curse denounced upon the enemies of the Church. Psalm cxxix.

§. 4. The cxviiith Psalm was composed originally for David's coronation after God had brought him from his exile through many troubles, and had settled him safely on his throne in peace. It is set last, because it peculiarly relates to the last scene of the Restoration, the crowning of king Charles II. Psalm cxviii.

IV. The first Lesson[4] is almost an exact parallel to our own case, describing how, after Absalom's death, (whereby the rebellion was happily ended,) the people unanimously resolved to bring back their lawful king David, and sent an honourable message to him in his exile, to invite him home; and how also upon this he returned, not The first Lesson.

[3] Chap. iii. 22.

[4] 2 Samuel xix. 9.

only without any opposition, but by the general consent, and to the great satisfaction of all his subjects; his people contending which part of them should shew themselves most forward and joyful upon so happy an occasion.

§. 2. But if any new practices make it necessary to reflect upon that faction and sedition which began the rebellion, Numbers xvi. was added by king James, to be used instead of the former, where the example of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram sets out the greatness of their sin, and the severity of their punishment, who delight in opposing their lawful governors.

The second Lesson.

§. 3. The second Lesson, which is now the Epistle of Saint Jude, (but which was Romans xiii. till king James's reign,) foretells the coming of false teachers in the last days, and describes their hypocrisy in pretending to sanctity, while their lives are notoriously evil; remarking particularly their railing at those in authority, and prophesying falsely for a reward, and containing at the same time a prophecy of their fall: and as the character of these was exactly answered by some in those sad times; so also was their prophecy soon after fulfilled to their ruin and destruction, to warn others to beware of such pretenders.

The Epistle and Gospel.

VI. The Epistle[5] (except the two first verses) is the same with that for January 30, commanding us to be *subject to the king as supreme*. But, lest we should doubt who our king is, the Gospel gives us a token to know him by, viz. *he whose image and superscription our tribute-money bears*. For coining of money is as certain a mark of sovereignty, as the making of laws, or the power of the sword. Wherever therefore that mark is found, there tribute and the rights of sovereignty are due. For this reason our Saviour, to answer the question proposed to him, (viz. *whether it was lawful to pay tribute to Cæsar or not?*) does not examine into Cæsar's right, nor how he came by his sovereign power; but all the foundation he thinks necessary to proceed upon, is this of Cæsar's *image and superscription*, i. e. the current coin of the country. For this was a proof that Cæsar, at that time, was actually possessed of the supreme power in Judea, and that even the Jews, who used his money, acknowledged as much: an answer so plain, that the Pharisees were ashamed of the question they had proposed, and went away without making a reply. For they

[5] 1 Peter ii. 11—18.

no more dared to deny that Cæsar was king, than they thought that Jesus dared either to own or deny the lawfulness of paying tribute to him. But one necessarily infers the other. For "since peace (saith the historian [6]) cannot be secured without forces, nor forces raised without pay, nor pay had without taxes or tribute;" it follows that tribute must necessarily be paid to the person actually governing, so long as he governs, in consideration of the safety and protection we enjoy by him, whosoever he be that is possessed of the government.

I know how injurious this doctrine hath been represented to rightful princes in distress from usurping powers. But I never yet saw it proved, that Providence is confined always to maintain the same family on the throne; or that, when another is raised up in the room of it, we are not obliged to embrace or submit to such a change in the government, according as it is ordained for a blessing or a scourge. However, to waive that argument at present, it is sufficient to say here, that, supposing subjects to act upon the principles that are here laid down, no rightful prince will ever be dispossessed. And sure it will be hard to charge those consequences upon the explanation of any Scripture, which can never happen till men have acted in direct opposition to the text so explained.

CHAPTER XVIII.

OF THE FORM OF PRAYER DRAWN UP FOR THE FIRST OF AUGUST; AND NOW TO BE USED ON THE TWENTIETH OF JUNE.

THE INTRODUCTION.

As the godly Christian emperors in ancient times, so it appears that our most religious princes since the Reformation, have always caused the days of their inaugurations to be publicly celebrated by all their subjects with prayers and thanksgivings to Almighty God.[1] And to the end that this day might be duly celebrated, we find that *particular forms of prayer have*

[6] Nec quies gentium sine armis, nec arma sine stipendiis, nec stipendia sine tributis haberi possunt. Tacitus apud Grotium in Matt. xxii. 20. [1] See Can. 2, 1640, in Bishop Sparrow's Collection, page 349, and king James II.'s Order for the Service on the sixth of February.

been appointed by authority, at least ever since the reign of king Charles I. *for that day on purpose.*[2] It is true, after the death of that prince, *this pious custom received a long and doleful interruption, upon occasion of his murder, which changed the day, on which king Charles the Second succeeded to the crown, into a day of sorrow and fasting.*[3] And indeed a great part of the duty of that day, and the devotions proper to it, were performed in the service for the twenty-ninth of May. However, upon king James II.'s accession, *the former laudable and religious practice was immediately revived; a form of prayer and thanksgiving having been composed by the bishops for this purpose*, in many things agreeing with this we now use. But in the reign of king William, the Inauguration festival was again disused: and it must be owned there was so much the less occasion for it during his reign, as there were large additions made to the form of thanksgiving appointed for the *Fifth of November*, to commemorate his arrival, which happened on that day. However, when our late glorious and pious queen ANNE succeeded to the throne, there was fresh occasion to revive the festival. And therefore the day was again ordered to be observed, and a form of prayer with thanksgiving drawn up, part of it being taken from king James's office, and part of it being composed entirely new; and is, altogether, the same (except the first Lesson) with the present office, which comes now in order to be explained.

Of the Sentences, Hymn, Psalms, Lessons, Epistle, and Gospel.

The Sentences.

I. THE rubrics are the same as in the foregoing offices; and so the Sentences are the first that need to be considered: and of these it is sufficient to say, that the first is a proper introduction to the duties we are now going to perform,[4] and that the other is one of the ordinary sentences at morning service,[5] and inserted here, in order to prepare us for the following confession.

The Hymn.

II. The Hymn is an abridgment of a much longer one that was appointed in the office drawn up for king James II. However this, as it stands, is as proper to the occasion, containing suitable petitions and praises for the king.

[2] See Can. 2. 1640, in Bishop Sparrow's Collection, page 349, and king James II.'s Order for the Service on the sixth of February. [3] Ibid. [4] 1 Tim. ii. 1—3. [5] 1 John i. 8, 9.

III. The proper Psalms are Psalm xx. xxi. ci. The xxth is a Psalm of David, wherein the people are taught to pray for his good success. The Psalms. Psalm xx.

§. 2. The xxist was originally composed upon the same account for which we now make choice of it, viz. to be a form of public prayer, to be used in the congregation for God's blessing on the prince. Psalm xxi.

§. 3. The cist Psalm is a resolution that David made to be a strict observer of piety and justice both in his private and public conduct, and is appointed here to remind us, that whoever desires God's blessing upon his person and government, must diligently attend to discountenance impiety, and to nourish true religion and virtue. In the room of this Psalm, in king James's office, were appointed the lxxxvth and the cxviiith; but they being both chose with an eye to the exile, which that prince underwent with his royal brother, were, in the office for queen Anne, more properly changed. Psalm ci.

IV. The first Lesson in queen Anne's time was Proverbs viii. 13, to the end: but now the first of Joshua is again appointed, which was the Lesson for this office when it was put out by king James. Now indeed only the first ten verses are appointed, which contain the history of God's setting up Joshua to succeed Moses in the government of the Israelites, with the instructions that he gave him upon that occasion. Why the latter part was not continued as well as the former, I do not see; since certainly some part of it is as applicable as the former to the case of his present Majesty, it going on with the story of Joshua's passing with the Israelites over Jordan, to take possession of the land which God had given him. The Lessons. The first.

§. 2. The second Lesson[6] is appointed upon account of that part of it which is read for the Epistle on November 5, of which what I have there said may suffice. The second.

V. The Epistle and Gospel are the same with those appointed on the twenty-ninth of May, and have already been spoken to in my discourse on that office. The Epistle and Gospel.

[6] Romans xiii.

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